THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, INCREASE, AND PROGRESS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

QUAKERS.

INTERMIXED WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES,

WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH,

AND ALSO TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH.

By WILLIAM SEWEL.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

GEORGE,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, IRELAND, &c.

PRINCE ELECTOR OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG, &c.

Great and Mighty Prince,

As there is a great variety in the inclinations of men in general, ſo it is particularly remarkable in thoſe who addict themſelves to the ſtudies of nature and human literature: for ſome with great eagerneſs enquire into the operations of nature, and the natural cauſes of things; ſome endeavour to dig up antiquities from the dark, by ſearching out the ſignification of ſtatues, the inſcriptions of antique ſtones, and old and almoſt worn out medals; and others peruſe with unwearied diligence, the hiſtories both of modern and ancient times; and not without good cauſe; for hiſtory is not unjuſtly called the looking-glaſs of human life; not only becauſe it ſheweth unto us matters of fact, which are either commendable or reproveable, and we behold therein that which is paſt, as if it were preſent; but alſo becauſe from things which have already happened we may learn what is beſt for us to do, and what we ought to avoid. And therefore great benefit may be reaped from the reading of hiſtories, beſides the pleaſure which the variety of tranſactions affords to our ſenſes, when matters are accompanied with ſingular circumſtances, and unexpected events.

Now, ſince the reading of hiſtorical treatiſes was one of the moſt pleaſant diverſions of my youth, this drew me, when I attained to ſome maturity of age, to enquire after many things that had happened in thy kingdoms and domi

nions, which by many were almoſt forgotten. And having gathered great ſtore of very remarkable caſes, which I thought worthy to be kept upon record, and not buried in oblivion, I was induced to compoſe an hiſtory, which contains ſuch rare occurrences, and unuſual matters as I believe, are not eaſily paralleled.

And after a long and difficult labour having at length finiſhed the work, ſo far as to expoſe it to publick view; and then thinking to whom I ſhould dedicate it, it preſently came into my mind, that this could not be done more ſuitably to any, than to the king of theſe countries, which are the chief theatre of this hiſtory; and the rather, becauſe therein is deſcribed the riſe of a people, who are no ſmall part of his faithful ſubjects, (for ſo I may ſafely call them) ſince they never, how much ſoever wronged and oppreſſed, offered any reſiſtance to the government; and when for conſcience-ſake they could not comply with what was required of them, by patient ſuffering they ſhewed their ſubjection and obedience to the higher power. Nay, when opportunity was offered to revenge themſelves of their enemies, even then they would not, but left it to the Lord; and thus at all times they behaved themſelves like a peaceable people.

And ſince I have alſo had occaſion in this hiſtory to mention ſome illuſtrious branches of thy royal family, to whom could I with more juſtice offer this work, than to thee, O king of Great Britain, who, having already made thyſelf glorioufly renowned by thy eminent clemency, beſtowed even upon ſuch who by their unnatural rebellion had forfeited it, didſt rather chooſe to eſtabliſh thy throne thereby, than by ſeverity, and thus effectually to obſerve this leſſon of the wiſeſt of kings, "Mercy and truth preſerve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy."

All this hath emboldened me, great king, to dedicate this work to thee, with due regard, and in a way of humble addreſs to approach thy royal preſence. Be pleaſed, therefore, according to thy wonted goodneſs, to excuſe this modeſt freedom; and to know, that though it be offered by a foreigner, yet it proceeds from him who

heartily wiſheth that God may vouchſafe thee long to reign in peace and tranquillity over thy ſubjects; and when removed hence from an earthly and periſhing diadem, to grant thee an heavenly and incorruptible crown of glory: which is the unfeigned deſire of,

Great and mighty Prince,

Thy affectionate and ſincere well-wiſher,

WILLIAM SEWEL.

THE

PREFACE.

AFTER a labour of more than five and twenty years, this hiſtory at length appears in publick view; to the compiling of which I was induced from the conſideration that the riſe and increaſe of that religious ſociety, which in this work I have given a circumſtantial account of, is indeed ſo rare and wonderful a thing, that I think few will be met with in modern hiſtories, which in the like reſpect may be compared therewith; becauſe the Quakers, ſo called, are become a great people, under ſuch heavy oppreſſion as is herein after mentioned: and that not by any human power, or making reſiſtance, but merely by an harmleſs deportment, and the exerciſing of patience; for bearing arms and reſiſting the wicked by fighting, they always have counted unlawful, and contrary to the doctrine of our Saviour. Thus they who had no king, prince, nor potentate to protect them; and who in the beginning had not among themſelves any man of renown or literature, but relying on their integrity, and truſting to God alone; have at length triumphed over the malice of their oppoſers, by ſuffering (which roſe to that degree that it was at the expence of the lives of many of them) under violent oppreſſion from high and low, and the oppoſition of learned and unlearned.

All this after much ſearch, being found out by aſſiduous diligence, appeared ſo wonderful to me, that I reſolved to give a relation thereof, notwithſtanding the great labour I ſoon perceived this work required. To this may be added, that when I conſidered that ſeveral authors, both Germans and others, had publiſhed books and accounts of this

people ſtuffed with groſs untruths, I was the more ſpurred on thereby to ſet down in due order, for my countrymen's ſake, what I knew of the matter; for it ſeems indeed to be of ſmall advantage that when any thing is well known to us, we keep that knowledge only to ourſelves,* without imparting it to others.

Now how difficult ſoever I found it, yet having made a beginning, I reſolved to go on; and ſo I did, though often ſtopped by ſeveral accidents, and alſo other work: for during this labour I have not only tranſlated ſeveral bulky books into Dutch, beſides Kennet's Antiquities of Rome, but alſo compoſed ſeveral treatiſes of moment, and among theſe my great dictionary, Engliſh and Low Dutch. And notwithſtanding all theſe impediments, I continually reſumed this work by intervals ſo often, that I have written it almoſt thrice to make it complete: for doubting of ſome things and finding others defective, it made me write to England for better information; which having gotten at length, after much pains and long writing, I was ſeveral times, obliged to lay aſide part of my former deſcription and make a new one; which happened ſo often that had I not been ſupported by an unwearied application, the difficulty of the labour, which hath been much greater in Holland, than if I had compoſed the work in England, would have made me give it over. But I went on, and ſo finiſhed this hiſtory in that form as it now appears.

And I am not without thoughts, that I was prepared to be inſtrumental for ſuch a work as this: for ſeveral remarkable things I have made uſe of, I had noted down before ever I thought of compoſing ſuch a hiſtory; and even in my young years, when I was in England, I copied out from manuſcripts ſeveral pieces and letters, which are inſerted in this hiſtory: it may be hardly to be found elſewhere.

At the firſt ſight perhaps ſome will be ready to think that I might have ſuperſeded this labour, ſince the learned world hath long ago ſeen a book written by Gerard Croeſe, with the title of Hiſtoria Quakeriana. But be it known to the reader, that though the author got the chief contents

* Scire tuum nihil eſt, niſi te ſcire hoc ſciat alter.——*Perſ. Sat.* 1.

thereof from me, yet that relation which he gives of the riſe and progreſs of the Quakers, is very imperfect and defective; and that he preſumed to relate things of which he had no true knowledge. I gave him indeed many things in writing, but not all I had collected; beſides having ſince that time written to my acquaintance in England, I got narratives of many remarkable occurrences given forth in print there, and many authentic pieces in manuſcript. Now though this collection was, as Ovid called the chaos, '*Rudis indigeſtaque moles*,' 'a rude undigeſted heap;' yet from thence, and from my own collection of matters known to me, I have compiled the greateſt part of this hiſtory: but as to the life and tranſactions of G. Fox, who is largely treated of in this work, I took them chiefly from his journal; and the greateſt part of other occurrences, or the lives and tranſactions of others, I have taken from the works of deceaſed authors; and out of abundance of ſmall books publiſhed in print not long after the things happened and not contradicted, by whatever I could learn.

Thus I have endeavoured to aſſert nothing but what I had good authority for; which, in regard of ſome circumſtances, would have been yet far more difficult after the expiration of ſome years: for now time gave opportunity to be informed of many things, which ſome ancient people had yet remembrance of, and which after their deceaſe perhaps would have been buried in oblivion.

I cannot well omit here publickly to acknowledge the ſignal kindneſs and diligence of my well-beloved and much eſteemed friend Theodore Eccleſton, of London, who hath furniſhed me with abundance of materials, not only very uſeful, but alſo abſolutely neceſſary for the compiling of this work: from him I had intelligence on that account, and have exchanged a multitude of letters. And thus by a long-continued correſpondence I came to be acquainted with many things and circumſtances, which after ſome years might have been more difficult to obtain.

Add to this, that I have deſcribed ſeveral things well known to me, which few beſides myſelf within theſe thirty or forty years had better knowledge of. I have alſo mentioned ſeveral remarkable caſes, which I noted down from

the mouths of credible perſons, who have been dead many years, and thought not that at any time I ſhould have publiſhed them in print. In the mean-while I took account of what ſeemed to me worthy to be left upon record, and collected a great quantity of books, wherein many occurrences mentioned in this hiſtory were related. Of ſuch kind of relations and accounts I have made uſe of, without taking from thence all that was remarkable: for it hath not been for want of matter that this hiſtory hath not run out farther, ſince I could have made it thrice as big, if I had been minded ſo to do. But as I was unwilling to extend my work any farther than my ſtrength and health in all probability ſhould permit, ſo I would not glut my reader with many things of one and the ſame nature; but have endeavoured by variety of matter, to quicken his appetite; and therefore have intermixed the ſerious part ſometimes with a facetious accident.

Yet I have not thought myſelf bound to take notice of every odd caſe that may have happened among the Quakers, ſo called: for there have converſed among them ſuch who acted ſome particular things that were not approved of by thoſe of that ſociety. And if any one, ſwayed by human paſſion, commits any exceſs which is diſapproved of by his fellow members of the church, ſuch an act may not be duly imputed to the people he makes profeſſion with. Among ſuch particulars may be reckoned the caſe of one Heſter Biddle, which Croeſe makes mention of about the end of his hiſtory. For though it was told him from the relation ſhe gave of it at Amſterdam, not with any intention that he ſhould publiſh it, yet this was a particular caſe which ſhe herſelf muſt be reſponſible for; ſince experience hath taught that imagination ſometimes works ſo powerfully on the mind, that one thinks himſelf obliged to do a thing which were better left undone.

Yet for all that, it is true, that men fearing God, may miſtake, and through ignorance do ſomething, which others not without reaſon might judge not commendable. Alſo it may happen that ſome again, from a godly fear, have omitted what others, no leſs pious, would not have ſcrupled,

And though ſome among the Quakers, in the beginning of their riſe, for fear of tranſgreſſing Chriſt's command, "Be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Maſter, even Chriſt," ſpeaking to perſons in authority, called them by the name of Friend; yet others of the ſame perſuaſion have not therefore thought themſelves bound to refuſe to magiſtrates their diſtinguiſhing titles of magiſtracy. Nay, if any, for ſome ſpecial reaſon, may not have given a full or direct anſwer to a query, yet others of the ſame ſociety have not looked upon this as a pattern to imitate. For the moſt eminent valiants among this people in the beginning, were not men of note or learning, though of great courage; inſomuch that their immoveable ſtedfaſtneſs ſometimes ſo exaſperated their enemies, that their fear of doing or omitting any thing which they judged would diſpleaſe God, often hath been ſtamped with the odious denomination of ſtubbornneſs and ſtiffneckedneſs; but they have borne this patiently, believing that it was their duty to perſevere immovably in minding their Chriſtian profeſſion, and in frequenting their religious aſſemblies. And that ſuch a ſtedfaſtneſs was the duty of a Chriſtian, ſeems alſo to have been the judgment of the authors of the confeſſion of faith of the reformed churches in the Netherlands, Art. xxviii. where it is ſaid, that it is the office or duty of all believers, to ſeparate themſelves according to the word of God, from thoſe that are not of the church; and to join to this congregation, in what place ſoever God hath placed them, though the magiſtrates and edicts of princes were againſt it; and that death or any corporeal puniſhment was annexed to it.

It is true, there have been ſuch among the Quakers, who were exceeding bold in repreſenting to their enemies their evil behaviour and deportment; but this hath been a peculiar talent of pious men, of whom examples are extant in the books of martyrs, viz. that ſome of them in very plain terms told their perſecutors of their wickedneſs. Very remarkable in that reſpect is the ſpeech of John Molleus, who about the year 1653, being priſoner at Rome, without any diſſimulation expoſed to publick view the wicked lives of the cardinals and biſhops, who were ordered

by the pope to examine him. The like boldneſs appears alſo in the letter of Hans van Ovendam, to the magiſtrates of Ghent in Flanders, as may be ſeen in the Mirror of Martyrs of the Baptiſts; from whence it appears, that the Quakers have not been the only people who have told their perſecutors very boldly of their wicked deportment and cruelty.

It cannot be denied that there have been at times among this ſociety ſome people of an odd behaviour, who in proceſs of time embraced ſtrange opinions and perverſe notions; but that is no new thing, ſince this hath happened alſo among thoſe of other perſuaſions, though none of theſe would allow that this was the conſequence or effect of their doctrine. We find in Sacred Writ, that even in the primitive Chriſtian church there were apoſtates; either ſuch as maintained ſtrange doctrine, as the Nicolaitanes; or ſuch who finding the ſtrait way too narrow for them, left it, and like Demas, falling in love again with the world, entered into the broad way. And therefore it can now, no more than then, be argued from thence, that the exorbitancies to which ſome launched out, were the effects of the doctrine they forſook.

Since in this hiſtory ſome predictions are alſo mentioned, and that ſome biaſſed by prejudice will perhaps look upon them as frivolous, imagining that the Quakers pretend to have the ſpirit of propheſy; I will anſwer to this, that though among thouſands of them there may have been one that prophetically foretold a thing, which afterwards truly happened; yet others of that ſociety preſumed to have that gift no more than to have that of being a preacher; and all are not called to that work. There muſt be anteceſſors and leaders in the religious economy, as well as in the politick ſtate: for if every one not qualified ſhould aſſume the office of governing, things would ſoon run into confuſion. Now though ſome have had this falſe conceit, that to be able to predict future things was a quality the Quakers attributed to themſelves; as proceeding from their doctrine, that Chriſtians ought to be led by the Spirit of God; yet this is a very ſiniſter and prepoſterous conceit; for what they ſay concerning the leading and guiding

of the Spirit of God, is agreeable with the doctrine of the apoſtle, who ſaith, "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the ſons of God." And this was alſo the doctrine of the firſt reformers. What muſt we think then of thoſe who will not be led by this ſpirit, but call this doctrine by the odious denomination of enthuſiaſm? The ſame apoſtle tells us alſo, "If any have not the Spirit of Chriſt, he is none of his." And he ſaith alſo, "The manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." But from thence it doth in no wiſe follow that the ſpirit of propheſy is given to every one; neither that although it might pleaſe God to reveal to one a thing which yet was to come, ſuch an one therefore was endued with ſuch a prophetical ſpirit, that he was able at any time to predict future things.

If this poſition be true, then thoſe of other perſuaſions might alſo lay claim to that prerogative; becauſe among them ſometimes there have been pious men who predicted remarkable things, which afterwards really happened; as among the reſt, James Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, and primate of Ireland, who foretold the rebellion in Ireland forty years before it came to paſs; beſides the inteſtine war and miſeries that befel England, and other things that were fulfilled: which leads us not to reject as frivolous his prediction of the dreadful perſecution that would fall upon all the Proteſtant churches by the Papiſts; for though one of his friends once objected to him, that ſince great Great Britain and Ireland had already ſuffered ſo deeply, there was reaſon to hope that the judgments of God in reſpect of theſe kingdoms might have been paſt; yet he replied to it, 'Fool not yourſelves with ſuch hopes, for I tell you all you have yet ſeen hath been but the beginning of ſorrows, to what is yet to come upon the Proteſtant churches of Chriſt, who will ere long fall under a ſharper perſecution than ever yet hath been upon them. And therefore look you be not found in the outward court, but a worſhipper in the temple before the altar: for Chriſt will meaſure all thoſe that profeſs his name, and call themſelves his people; and the outward worſhippers he will leave out, to be trodden down by the Gentiles. The outward court is the

formal Chriſtian, whoſe religion lies in performing the outſide duties of Chriſtianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love, uniting them to Chriſt: and theſe God will leave to be trodden down and ſwept away by the Gentiles. But the worſhippers within the temple and before the altar, are thoſe who do indeed worſhip God in Spirit and in truth; whoſe ſouls are made his temples, and he is honoured and adored in the moſt inward thoughts of their hearts; and they ſacrifice their luſts and vile affections, yea, and their own wills to him; and theſe God will hide in the hollow of his hand, and under the ſhadow of his wings. And this ſhall be the great difference between this laſt, and all the other preceding perſecutions; for in the former the moſt eminent and ſpiritual miniſters and Chriſtians did generally ſuffer moſt, and were moſt violently fallen upon; but in this laſt perſecution theſe ſhall be preſerved by God as a ſeed to partake of that glory which ſhall immediately follow and come upon the church, as ſoon as ever this ſtorm ſhall be over; for as it ſhall be the ſharpeſt, ſo it ſhall be the ſhorteſt perſecution of them all, and ſhall only take away the groſs hypocrites and formal profeſſors; but the true ſpiritual believers ſhall be preſerved till the calamity be over paſt.'

If any now-a-days ſhould ſpeak at this rate, it is credible that many who think themſelves to be good Chriſtians, would decry this as mere enthuſiaſm. But the ſaid biſhop is ſtill in ſuch great repute with the learned, and hath obtained ſuch an high eſteem by his writings, that his words are likely to be of more weight with many, than thoſe of other pious men. And therefore I was willing to renew them, and revive his memory, if perhaps this might make ſome impreſſion upon the minds of any: for this is a certain truth, that no outward performances will avail any, if they do not worſhip God in ſpirit and in truth; for ſuch worſhippers God ſeeks, according to what our Saviour himſelf ſaid; beſides, that "Not every one that ſaith to him, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the kingdom of heaven:" nay, when many in that day will ſay to him, "Lord, have we not propheſied in thy name?" He

will ſay to them, "I never knew you; depart from me "ye that work iniquity."

As the many ſingular caſes related in this hiſtory will afford no unpleaſing entertainment to curious readers, ſo they will be found alſo inſtructive; for we ſhall not only meet with inſtances of true piety and love to one's neighbour, and of ſaints triumphing on their death beds, and alſo with remarkable examples of ſinners truly penitent at the hour of death; but we may alſo find here abundance of proofs of a peaceable behaviour: for the Quakers, ſo called, have not plotted againſt the government, nor meddled with treaſonable practices or rebellions: and how much ſoever they were oppreſſed, yet they always were quiet, and never made any reſiſtence; but with an harmleſs patience they have borne their moſt heavy oppreſſions and injuries, and ſo at length overcame: for to be ſubject to magiſtracy hath always been one of their principles; and that they were really dutiful ſubjects, they have ſhewed at all times, by paying obedience to the higher power, in all they could do with a good conſcience. And when any thing was required of them, which from a reverential reſpect to God they durſt not do, or omit; they have ſhewed their obedience by ſuffering, without making any reſiſtence, or joining with others who were inclined thereto.

Now though many have made it their buſineſs to repreſent them in odious colours, and to write great untruths concerning them; nay, to faſten doctrines upon them which they never approved, and that not a few of the learned have contended againſt them with their pens; yet among theſe there have alſo been ſuch, who though they never joined with, yet gave a good account and favourable teſtimony concerning them, as may be ſeen in Richard Claridge's anſwer to a book of Edward Cockſon, page 266, and ſeq. And at Amſterdam in Holland, many years ago, a learned man publiſhed a book called, Lucerna ſuper Candelabrum, wherein he very eminently defended the doctrine of the inward light; and this book was publiſhed in Dutch, and afterwards alſo into Engliſh, with

the title of The Light upon the Candleſtick; and ſince the name of William Ames, a zealous preacher among the Quakers, was placed upon the title, many have believed him to be the author of that book, becauſe his doctrine of the divine and inward light was ſo effectually aſſerted therein. That he approved the contents of the book I know; but I know alſo that it never proceeded from his pen. And many years afterwards it was publiſhed under the name of one Peter Balling as the author, though there were thoſe who fathered it upon Adam Boreel, becauſe it is found printed in Latin among his Scripta Poſtuma. And this opinion is not altogether improbable, for among his works are found alſo ſome other writings that contain ſeveral poſitions aſſerted by the Quakers; beſides, he and ſome other of the collegians, and among theſe alſo Dr. Galenus Abrahamſon, were ſo effectually convinced of the doctrine preached by William Ames when he firſt came to Amſterdam, that they approved of it; though afterwards from a miſapprehenſion they oppoſed it. Now if we preſuppoſe that Adam Boreel was the author of the ſaid Latin book, Peter Balling might be the tranſlator thereof into Dutch; for that it was originally written in Latin ſeems to me very probable.

But however this be, it appears plainly, that the author would not publickly be known; for the title ſeemed deſignedly compoſed ſo that the readers ſhould believe W. Ames to be the author of it, viz. The Light on the Candleſtick, ſerving for Illuſtration of the principal matters in the Book called, The Myſteries of the Kingdom of God, &c. againſt Galenus Abrahamſon and his Aſſenters, treated of, and written by W. Ames. And this name ſtood in capital letters underneath, in ſuch a manner as the name of an author is uſually placed upon a title; though the publiſher meant no more but that W. Ames was the author of the book called, The Myſteries of the kingdom of God. And there was no printer's name added to it, but only, Printed for the author, 1662.

Now though I cannot tell certainly who was the author, yet I have thought fit, ſince the ſaid book is not eaſily to be got in Latin, to inſert it in the appendix of this

hiſtory; from whence it may appear, as well as from the writings of ſome others, that there have been ſuch as either commended the Quakers, or defended their doctrine, though they themſelves never could reſolve to join with them publickly.

But notwithſtanding all this, there have been others who to render the deportment and carriage of the Quakers ſuſpected and odious, have been ready to repreſent their honeſt behaviour and religious life as Phariſaical righteouſneſs; although Chriſt and his apoſtles earneſtly recommended ſuch a life. Pray, what mean theſe words of our Saviour, "Be ye perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." But that we ought to endeavour to the utmoſt of our power, to lead a virtuous and godly life: when thoſe that heard the apoſtle Peter preach, were thereby pricked in their hearts, and ſaid, "Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do;" he anſwered, "Repent." And at another time, "Repent, ye, and be converted, that your ſins may be blotted out." The apoſtle Paul ſaith, "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind." And the apoſtle Peter, agreeable to this, ſaith, "As obedient children, not faſhioning yourſelves according to the former luſts in your ignorance; but as he which hath called you is holy, ſo be ye holy in all manner of converſation;" all which clearly implieth, that a Chriſtian ought to be very ſtrict and careful in his converſation; and of this judgment were alſo the firſt reformers: and that Archbiſhop Tillotſon was alſo of the ſame mind appears from many paſſages that are to be found in his ſermons.

But though the Quakers have endeavoured to make their life and converſation agree with their Chriſtian profeſſion, yet this hath raiſed envy, grudge, and malice againſt them: and among the clergy there have been ſuch, who to render them odious, did not ſtick to repreſent them as diſguiſed Papiſts, notwithſtanding theſe were none of their meaneſt enemies. For, after a due reflection and conſideration, it hath ſeemed to me, that when king Charles the ſecond was on the throne, the Romaniſts, and ſuch among the church of England as favoured them, were the

chief promoters of perſecution. And theſe, to purſue their wicked ends, would not proceed according law, in the trials of the impriſoned Quakers; but they continually ſtrove to introduce an arbitrary power, and ſo from time to time they did not omit to proſecute the Quakers ſeverely: thinking that when they were once ſuppreſſed, the other diſſenters muſt fall of neceſſity, though they were not for non-reſiſtance. But Providence acted very remarkably; for when a popiſh prince afterwards would introduce liberty of conſcience, the eyes of the moſt moderate maintainers of the church of England came to be ſo opened, that in the reign of king William III. they promoted a general liberty of conſcience, by which the people called Quakers at length obtained liberty to perform their publick worſhip without moleſtation.

Thus far the limits of this hiſtory are extended; and being arrived there, I did not think myſelf bound to enlarge any farther; what follows being no more than an overplus.

I have related nothing in this work but what I believed to be unqueſtionably true: for what ſeemed doubtful to me, I rather choſe to paſs by; having never been of ſo credulous a temper, as eaſily to take things on truſt without due examination: for we often ſee that high ſoaring imaginations make people believe things that are far from being true. But for all that we ought not to reject as untrue every thing that appears ſtrange or unuſual; ſince experience convinceth us of the contrary, viz. that ſometimes we have ſeen a thing which if we had not beheld with our own eyes, we could hardly have believed. Wherefore I would not reject as untrue what was extraordinary or unuſual, when it was told me by credible perſons, or confirmed by eye-witneſſes. And therefore, though my reader may meet with ſome very ſingular occurrences, yet this is true, that I have endeavoured to the utmoſt to relate nothing but what after a nice enquiry ſeemed to me to be true, or at leaſt very probable. And yet I have ſilently paſſed over ſome caſes which I did not queſtion to be true, leſt any might think me too credulous.

As to the tranſactions of ſtate affairs I have taken them moſtly from the hiſtory of the rebellion and the civil wars in England, written by Edward earl of Clarendon, and from the Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow. Yet ſome few things relating to ſtate affairs, that have not been mentioned by them, nor in any other publick hiſtory that I know of, I thought worthy to be delivered to poſterity by my pen.

For my ſtile, I know it is but indifferent: I do not pretend to ellegancy in the Engliſh tongue; for being a foreigner, and never having been in England but about the ſpace of ten months, and that near fifty years ago, it ought not to be expected that I ſhould write Engliſh ſo well as Dutch, my native language. If therefore my pen hath ſometimes been guilty of a Belgiciſm, I beg excuſe of my reader. And ſince my abſence hath hindered me from correcting the printer's miſtakes, either in omiſſions or other errors, ſuch faults I do not think myſelf reſponſible for, becauſe I have been fain to truſt the overſight and correction of my work to others, who may have been more liable to let errors eſcape than myſelf ſhould have been. This I hope will ſuffice to excuſe me with diſcreet perſons.

What the envious may judge of this work I little care for, well knowing that the moſt eminent authors have been expoſed to envy, and been obnoxious to the cenſures of pedantick criticks. Whatever any may think, this I am well aſſured of, that my chief ſcope hath been by the relation of many unuſual occurrences, not only to delight my reader, but alſo to lead him to virtue. If I may be ſo happy as to have contributed thereto, I ſhall think my pains well rewarded; and if not, I ſhall have at leaſt this ſatisfaction, that according to my ability I have endeavoured to be beneficial to others, and to edify my fellow-mortals in that which is good; which I cannot but think to be well-pleaſing to God. And if I have performed any thing that is good, the honour and glory thereof belongs to him, who is the Giver of all good gifts; and it is from Him alone I have received all my ability to do any good thing. Thus concluding, I wiſh the reader diſcretion, and an impartial judgment.

THE HISTORY OF THE *RISE AND PROGRESS* OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THAT the wonderful Work of Reformation was ſmall, and of very little account in its beginning, and yet hath been advanced with remarkable progreſs, will, I believe, be denied by none, that have with attention and due conſideration read the hiſtory of its firſt riſe; ſince God, the beginner and author of this glorious work, proceeding by ſteps and degrees, uſed therein ſuch ſingular wiſdom and prudence, that every circumſtance duly conſidered, inſtead of cenſuring any part thereof, we ſhall be obliged to cry out, Thou, O Lord, alone knoweſt the right times and ſeaſons to open the eyes of the people, and to make them capable of thy truth!

If we look to the firſt beginnings, to go back no farther than John Hus, we ſhall find, that though in many things he was conſiderably enlightened, yet he remained ſtill in ſeveral groſs errors; for although he had a clear ſight of the vain doctrines of purgatory, praying to, and worſhip-

ping of images, &c. nevertheleſs it is reported of him, that he favoured the invocation of ſaints, the ſeven ſacraments, auricular confeſſion, and other tenets of the church of Rome; and yet Chriſtian charity conſtrains us to believe (though we find Proteſtant writers who deny him the name of a martyr) that by his death, which he ſuffered in the flames at Conſtance in Germany, on the 6th of the month called July, in the year 1415, he was an acceptable ſacrifice unto God: and with what a ſedate and well compoſed mind he ſuffered death, may be concluded from this, that ſeeing a country fellow very zealouſly carrying wood to burn him, he ſaid, with a ſmiling countenance, O holy ſimplicity! And after the fire was kindled, he ſang with joy in the flames, his mind being firmly eſtabliſhed on God: for he had been faithful according to his knowledge, and had not hid his talent in the earth, but improved it, having ſhewn himſelf a zealous promoter of that ſmall illumination which God was pleaſed to grant him; it being without queſtion great enough in that grievous night of darkneſs, when idolatry had ſo univerſally blinded mankind, that, morally ſpeaking, it would have been impoſſible for them to have underſtood the declaration of an entirely reformed religion; whereas it is evident that the moſt ſober and diſcreet people of that age were capable to underſtand the doctrine and ſermons of that honeſt man.

To give a clearer proſpect into this matter, let it be conſidered, that if a man had been kept ſhut up a long time in a dark priſon, where he could neither behold the light of the ſun or moon, and ſhould have been let out on a ſudden at clear noon day, he would not only not be able to endure the bright day light, but would alſo, if he ſtrove to open his eyes with force, be endangered of loſing his ſight, and falling into a worſe condition than he was in before; whereas if he had been brought into the open air at the time of twilight, he would by degrees have learned to diſcern the objects, and come to an ability of beholding every thing in a clear day aright.

Agreeable to this, in the reigns of King Henry the VIIIth, and the bloody Queen Mary, the principal teſt in England was, whether a man owned the corporal preſence

of Chriſt in the ſacrament; and he who denied this, was to be burnt as an heretick. Alſo in the Netherlands, it was enough to bring a man to the ſtake, if he confeſſed that he had been re-baptized. Inſomuch that it ſeems the Lord did raiſe in thoſe days zealous men chiefly to teſtify againſt the idolatry of the hoſt, and the error of infant baptiſm, that ſo gradually he might break down the great ſtructure of human inventions.

Now, how ſmall ſoever the beginnings of this great work of Reformation were, yet it increaſed from time to time; and oftentimes ſingular inſtances were ſeen of the workings of the power and Spirit of God.

In the year 1513, I find that one John Le Clerc, of Meaux in France, being at Metz in Lorrain, was filled with ſuch zeal againſt idolatry, that he broke to pieces the images in a chapel, which the next day were to have been worſhipped in a very ſolemn manner. And being taken priſoner for this fact, and cruelly tortured to death, he was ſo eminently ſtrengthened, even to the amazement of the beholders, that in the height of the torments, being torn with red hot pincers, he ſaid, from Pſ. cxv. "Their idols are ſilver and gold, the work of mens hands."

Not leſs was the zeal of one Aymond à Vie, impriſoned in France, about the year 1541, becauſe he had preached the goſpel undauntedly; and though he had been adviſed to fly, yet he would not be perſuaded thereto, but ſaid with an heroick mind, 'I would rather never have been born, than commit ſuch a baſe act; for it is the duty of a good paſtor not to fly from danger, but to ſtay in it, leſt the ſheep be ſcattered.' He was tortured cruelly to betray his fellow-believers; but no torment, how great ſoever, could extort the name of any from him; and he ſuffered death valiantly for the teſtimony of Jeſus, feeling himſelf very powerfully ſtrengthened by the Spirit of God, which worked ſo glorioufly in the martyrs of thoſe times, that thoſe of Merindol in Provence ſaid, 'The Holy Ghoſt is an infallible teacher, by whoſe inſpiration all Chriſtians receive the knowledge of truth: this ſpirit dwells in them, he regenerates them to a new life, he ſlayeth the old man in them, and he makes them alive to every good work,

conſolidating them in tribulations, and ſtrengthening them in adverſities,' &c.

And of the pious profeſſors at Meaux, I find mentioned in the year 1546, that though a great number of men and women were led priſoners by but a few, they yet made no reſiſtance, but ſhewed themſelves harmleſs, not ſad with grief, but ſinging with joy.

Nay, ſo powerfully did God work in Gabriel Beraudin, who was executed at Chambery in Savoy, in the year 1550, that after his tongue was cut off by the hangman, he ſpoke intelligibly to the people, and celebrated God's praiſe in a miraculous manner.

Claude Morier being burnt very cruelly at Lyons in France, wrote whilſt in his priſon, 'Let us pray our heavenly Father continually, that he create in us a clean heart, that he give us a new heart, that he guide our will by the leadings of his Spirit.'

Very remarkable it is alſo, that Godfried de Hammelle, a year after that, being impriſoned at Tournay in the Netherlands, and being told that the Apoſtle in his Epiſtle to the Epheſians, had called marriage a ſacrament, ſaid in a letter, 'That though at firſt this had puzzled him, yet the Lord had not long left him in this difficulty, but put him in mind by his Spirit, that the word there was not ſacrament, but myſtery.' For the martyrs of thoſe times did not ſtick to profeſs, with the primitive Chriſtians, that the children of God muſt be led by his Spirit.

Peter Schryver, burnt at Lyons about the year 1552, wrote from priſon, 'That he having heard God's pure word preached, believed it, becauſe the Spirit of God gave him a teſtimony [or evidence] of it in his heart: and did ſo confirm it to him, that he could not queſtion it in the leaſt.' He alſo ſays in his letter, 'That once having prayed to God, he had been ſo refreſhed by the virtue of his Spirit, and ſo ſtrengthened, that though he ſat in a dark naſty place, yet he felt ſuch conſolation and joy, that overcame all ſorrow and anguiſh. Nay, ſaid he, the leaſt comfort and joy I feel now in my bonds, ſurpaſſeth all the joys that ever I had in my life; for now the Holy Ghoſt puts me in mind of thoſe gracious promiſes that are made

to thoſe who ſuffer for his name's ſake.' And being aſked, how he knew that which he aſſerted to be the pure word of God; he anſwered, 'Becauſe it did agree with the doctrine of the prophets and apoſtles, and that of Jeſus Chriſt; and that the Holy Ghoſt gave him a certain evidence thereof.' Concerning the indwelling of God's Spirit in man, he alſo ſpeaks very notably in his letter to John Chambon, (whoſe wonderful converſion in priſon, was an eminent proof of the truth of his ſayings) telling him, 'That his heavenly Father was near him, and by his Spirit dwelt in his heart.'

That this was alſo the doctrine of John Calvin, appears from his letters to the ſaid man and his fellow-priſoners, where he ſaith, 'Do not doubt but God will, in thoſe things wherein he will uſe your ſervice, give you that power, by which the work in you being begun will be perfected, for that he hath promiſed to do: and we have many examples and inſtances of that excellent faith, by which we clearly know, that God never in any thing hath failed thoſe who have been led and guided by his Spirit. Truſt firmly, brethren, that when it is needful, you will become ſo ſtrong and ſtedfaſt, that you ſhall not faint under any burden of temptations, how great and heavy ſoever. The fight is now at hand, to which the Holy Ghoſt exhorts us, not only that we ſhould go, but even that with all alacrity of mind, we ſhould run.' Many other excellent teſtimonies of eminent men of thoſe times might be produced: and it alſo is very remarkable, that Peter Bergier, being priſoner at Lyons, in the year 1553, and afterwards ſuffering death, cried in the midſt of the flames, 'I ſee the heavens opened.'

Now that the doctrine of being taught by the Spirit of God, was generally received by the martyrs of thoſe times, we learn from many of their writings. Denis Peloquin, burnt in the ſaid year at Ville Franche, ſaid in his confeſſion, 'That it was the Holy Ghoſt that gave him witneſs in his conſcience, that the books of the Old and New Teſtament were the Holy Scripture. Lewis de Marſac, being about the ſame time put to death by fire at Lyons, when he was aſked how he knew the Holy Scriptures to

be the goſpel, ſaid, 'God hath taught me ſo by his Spirit:' and being alſo aſked, whether it was his incumbent duty to read the Holy Scriptures, and who had inſtructed him concerning them; he anſwered, 'That God by his Spirit had effected it, that he got ſome knowledge thereof; and that without his grace, and the enlightening of his Spirit, he could not comprehend and underſtand any thing in the goſpel.' John Calvin did alſo write to the foreſaid Peloquin and Marſac: 'God will cauſe that the confeſſion which you will make according to the meaſure of the Spirit he has given you, will produce a greater fruit of edification, than all others that might be ſent you.' And to Matthew Dymonet, priſoner at Lyons, he wrote thus: 'Submit modeſtly to the guidings of God's Spirit; anſwer with all moderation and diſcretion, keeping to the rule of the Scriptures. I have believed, and therefore I will ſpeak; but let not this hinder thee to ſpeak freely and ſincerely, being perſuaded that he who promiſed to give us a mouth, and ſuch wiſdom as the gainſayers cannot withſtand, will never forſake thee.'

More of the like inſtances of the operations of the Spirit of God in his witneſſes I could allege, if I had ſo intended; but I give here only a ſlender draught of the ſincerity and the principle of thoſe that were come but to the dawnings of the Reformation; for higher I cannot eſteem that time, becauſe the eyes of the moſt zealous men of thoſe days, were yet ſo much covered with the fogs which then were, and the prejudice of the old leaven, that they did not diſcern all things in a full clearneſs; for one ſaw the error of one thing, and others of another; but human affection did work too ſtrong, and thereby they judged one another, as is abundantly mentioned in hiſtory.

If we rightly look into this, it ſeems very abſurd to think that the Reformation (which in former times had been pretty much advanced by ſome eminent men; as Luther, Melanćthon, Œcolompadius, Calvin, Menno, and others) then was brought to perfection: for we perceive that even thoſe reformers themſelves, at firſt had not ſuch a clear ſight into many things, as afterwards they got; which to demonſtrate at large, I count unneceſſary. Since

England being the chief ſtage on which the things I intend to deſcribe have been tranſacted, I will turn my face thitherward, to take a view curſorily of the beginning and proceſs of the Reformation there.

Paſſing by Wickliff and others, I begin with Thomas Cranmer, who, becauſe of his ſincere and good life, being advanced by King Henry the VIIIth to the Archbiſhop's ſee of Canterbury, did all that was in his power to reform the errors crept into the Church of Rome; and therefore in the year 1536, he exhorted the King, who much loved him to proceed to a reformation, and that nothing in religion ſhould be determined without clear proofs from Scripture; and therefore he propoſed that theſe points, 'Whether there was a purgatory; Whether deceaſed ſaints ought to be invocated; and how images were to be regarded,' well needed to be inquired into; ſince it began to appear that ſeveral things were errors, for which ſome people not long before had ſuffered death.

Some time after, Thomas Cromwel, a chief miniſter of the kingdom, and a great friend of Cranmer, publiſhed ſome injunctions in the king's name, wherein all churchmen were required, no more to recommend to people, images, relicks, or pilgrimages, but to teach them the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh. This was a great ſtep towards the tranſlation of the Bible into Engliſh, which being alſo furthered by Cranmer, the next year came out in print; and by the king's warrant, the clergy were required to ſet up Bibles in their churches; ſo that now all that could, might read the holy Scripture in their native tongue. Cranmer not content with this, obtained in the year 1539, a permiſſion for all people to have the Bible in their houſes; yet for all that, he ſtill was an aſſerter of the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the hoſt, until in the year 1549, in the reign of King Edward VI. when the times were more free, he was induced by Nicholas Ridley, a zealous reformer, and afterwards a martyr under Queen Mary, to inquire better into the thing, and to diſcover the abſurdity of it; from whence he did not only oppoſe and ſuppreſs that ſuperſtition, but alſo many others; and it is likely, that if oppor-

tunity had been given him, he would have reformed more. Nevertheleſs, it cannot but be wondered at, that he who ſeems to have been a man of a meek temper, could give his vote to the burning of thoſe whom he looked upon to be hereticks; as John Nicholſon, *alias* Lambert, in the reign of Henry VIII. for denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament; and Joan Bocher, and George Parr, under Edward VI. the firſt for denying that Chriſt had taken fleſh from the Virgin Mary, and the latter for not believing the deity of Chriſt: from whence we may ſee, what a wrong zeal for religion is able to effect: but without queſtion, he was come to be of another mind, when in the year 1556, under the bloody reign of Queen Mary, this was not only laid in his diſh, but he was alſo forced to undergo the ſame lot of being burnt alive.

Now, though after his death, the biſhops under Queen Elizabeth were content with the reformation made by Cranmer; yet it pleaſed God in the year 1568, to raiſe other perſons that teſtified publickly againſt many of the remaining ſuperſtitions; and although Coleman, Burton, Hallingham and Benſon were impriſoned by the Queen's order, yet they got many followers, and alſo the name of Puritans. And notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop, to prevent this, drew up ſome articles of faith, to be ſigned by all clergymen, yet he met with great oppoſition in the undertaking: for one Robert Brown, a young ſtudent of Cambridge, (from whom the name of Browniſts was afterwards borrowed) and Richard Harriſon, a ſchoolmaſter, publiſhed in the year 1583 ſome books, wherein they ſhewed how much the Church of England was ſtill infected with Romiſh errors; which was of ſuch effect, that the eyes of many people came thereby to be opened, who ſo valiantly maintained that doctrine which they believed to be the truth, that ſome of the moſt zealous among them, viz. Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, about the year 1593, were put to death becauſe of their teſtimony, more, (as may very well be believed) by the inſtigation of the clergy, than by the deſire of the Queen: for ſome time after it happened, that ſhe aſked Dr. Reynolds his opinion of thoſe men, eſpecially Barrow

and Greenwood: To which he anſwered, 'That it would not avail any thing to ſhew his judgment concerning them, ſeeing they were put to death.' But the Queen yet preſſing him farther, he ſaid, 'That he was perſuaded if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy inſtruments for the church of God, as had been raiſed up in that age.' At which the Queen ſighed, and ſaid no more. But afterwards riding by the place where they were executed, and calling to mind their death, ſhe demanded of the Earl of Cumberland, that was preſent when they ſuffered, what end they made; he anſwered, 'A very godly end, and they prayed for your Majeſty and the State.' Moreover one Philips, a famous preacher, having ſeen Barrow's preparation for death, ſaid, 'Barrow, Barrow, my ſoul be with thine.'

After the death of Queen Elizabeth, when James I. had aſcended the throne, the followers of thoſe men ſuffered much for their ſeparation from the Church of England: but very remarkable it is, that even thoſe of that perſuaſion, of which many in the reign of King Charles I. went to New England, to avoid the perſecution of the biſhops, afterwards themſelves turned cruel perſecutors of pious people, by inhuman whippings, &c. and laſtly by putting ſome to death by the hands of a hangman: a clear proof indeed, that thoſe in whom ſuch a ground of bitterneſs was left ſtill, though it had not always brought forth the like abominable fruits, were not come yet to a perfect reformation; for though the ſtem of human traditions and inſtitutions ſometimes had been ſhaken ſtrongly, yet much of the root was left. Therefore it pleaſed God, who is uſed to enlighten men gradually, to make yet a clearer diſcovery of his truth, which in ſome places already darted forth its beams to mankind, in a time when many godly people were zealouſly ſeeking after a farther manifeſtation of the will of God, from a ſenſe that, notwithſtanding all their outward obſervations of religious performances, there ſtill ſtood a partition wall whereby the ſoul was hindered from living in perfect peace with its Creator.

For in that time there were in England many ſeparate ſocieties, and amongſt the reſt alſo, ſuch as were called

Seekers, who at firſt ſeemed to promiſe great matters; but the ſequel ſhewed that their foundation was not the Rock of Ages, and ſo divers of them ſoon loſt their firſt integrity. Now thoſe people who began to take heed to a divine conviction in the conſcience, and accordingly preached to others the doctrine of an inward light, wherewith Chriſt had enlightened men, in the latter end of the time of King Charles I. began to increaſe in number, and they became a ſeparate ſociety among men, and in proceſs of time the name of QUAKERS, was in ſcorn impoſed on them; and in moſt countries in Europe, they have been accuſed of many exorbitant abſurdities, both in life and doctrine. I have deſigned to deſcribe impartially, and according to truth, the firſt beginnings and riſe, and alſo the progreſs of that people, and to ſtretch out the relation of their increaſe and tranſactions, ſo far as my time of life and leiſure will permit.

I enter upon a work, which, conſiſting of many very ſingular inſtances, in its beginning appears hard and difficult, and in the proceſs often ſad and dreadful. For among manifold adverſities, we ſhall not only meet with bitter revilings, ſcornful mockings, rude abuſes, and bloody blows from the fool-hardy rabble; but alſo ſevere perſecutions, hard impriſonments, grievous baniſhments, unmerciful ſpoil of goods, cruel whippings, cutting off of ears, ſmotherings in priſons, and alſo putting to death by the hands of the hangman, by order of the magiſtrates: afterwards ſome quiet and reſt; then again ſevere perſecution, until the furious promoters of it, at laſt wearied, deſiſted from their miſchievous labour for a time, more by being at their wits end, than out of mercy. And among all theſe viciſſitudes, notable inſtances have been ſeen of unfeigned godlineſs, ſincere love, much true-heartedneſs, extraordinary meekneſs, ſingular patience, ardent zeal, undaunted courage, and unſhaken ſtedfaſtneſs, even among the female ſex, which though the weakeſt, yet in the hardeſt attacks, ſhewed a more than manly ſpirit; inſomuch, that ſeldom any age hath afforded matter where more powerful examples to virtue have been ſeen.

The firſt I find that was thus immediately reached in

his mind, was a young man called George Fox, born at Drayton in Leiceſterſhire, in the month called July, in the year 1624, from parents that were members of the publick church, or church of England, as appeareth to me from a paper, in his life-time drawn up by his order, at my requeſt, and ſent me. His father was Chriſtopher Fox, a weaver by trade, an honeſt man, and of ſuch a virtuous life, that his neighbours were uſed to call him Righteous Chriſter. His mother was Mary Lago, an upright woman, and of the ſtock of the martyrs. This George Fox was even in his minority endued with a gravity and ſtaidneſs of mind, that is ſeldom ſeen in children; ſo that he ſeeing how old people carried themſelves lightly and wantonly, had ſuch an averſion to it, that he would ſay within himſelf, 'If ever I come to be a man, ſurely I will not be ſo wanton.' His parents in the mean-while endeavoured to train him up, as they did their other children, in the common way of worſhip, his mother eſpecially contributing thereto, as being eminent for piety: but even from a child he was ſeen to be of another frame of mind than his brethren; for he was more religious, retired, ſtill, and ſolid, and was alſo obſerving beyond his age, as appeared from the anſwers he gave, and the queſtions he aſked, concerning religious matters, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that heard him. His mother ſeeing this extraordinary temper and godlineſs, which ſo early did ſhine through him, ſo that he would not meddle with childiſh plays, did not think fit to trouble him about the way of worſhip, but carried herſelf indulgent towards him. Mean-while he learned to read pretty well, and to write ſo much as would ſerve him afterwards to ſignify his meaning to others. When he was come to eleven years of age, he endeavoured to live a pure and righteous life, and to be faithful in all things, viz. inwardly to God, and outwardly to man; ſince the Lord by his good ſpirit had ſhewed him, that he was to keep his word always, and that he ought not to commit exceſs in eating or drinking. Thus growing up in virtue, ſome of his relations were for having him trained up in the ſchools, to make a prieſt of him; but others perſuaded to the contrary, and ſo he was put to a

ſhoemaker, that dealt alſo in wool, and in cattle. In his maſter's employment he took moſt delight in ſheep, and was very ſkilful in what belonged thereto, for it was an employment that very well ſuited his mind; and his thus being a ſhepherd, was as an eminent author ſaith, 'A juſt emblem of his after miniſtry and ſervice.' He acquitted himſelf ſo diligently in his buſineſs, and minded it ſo well, that his maſter was ſucceſsful in his trade whilſt George was with him. He often uſed in his dealings the word Verily, and then he kept ſo ſtrict to it, that people that knew him, would ſay, 'If George ſays Verily, there is no altering him.'

Now, though my deſign is not to give a deſcription of ſtate affairs, yet I find it neceſſary to mention ſomething of the chief temporal occurrences in England, in as much as they may have relation to the affairs of the church, leſt my hiſtory might ſeem an incomplete work. Tranſiently therefore I will ſay, that in England about this time, appeared the beginnings of a civil war, in which religion had ſome ſhare; for the biſhops began to introduce ſeveral innovations, and cauſed not only rails to be made about the communion table, which now was called the high altar; but thoſe that approached it, bowed thrice, and a bow was made at the pronouncing of the name of Jeſus. Thus ceremonies increaſed from time to time; and thoſe preachers that were really religious, and ſpoke moſt to edification, were ſlighted and ſet by; the biſhops, in their viſitations, minding chiefly to promote ſuch rites as favoured popery: and this was not only done in England, but in Scotland alſo endeavours were made to bring in epiſcopacy. This cauſed a ferment among the people, which when it came to an inſurrection, they generally believed that it was for religion's ſake, which made ſome cry in the open ſtreets, where there was any confluence of people, 'To your tents, O Iſrael.' And becauſe the Parliament was of opinion that King Charles I. encroached upon their privileges, which they would not ſuffer, this ſo exaſperated that prince, that he brought together an army, and ſet up his ſtandard, firſt on the caſtle of Nottingham, where it was blown down the ſame evening, on the 25th of the

month called Auguſt, in the year 1642. But before that time the king had taken poſſeſſion of ſome fortified places, and the Parliament on the other hand, had alſo got ſome in their power. Some time after, a battle was fought between the Royaliſts and the Parliament, near Edge Hill, in Warwickſhire, where neither party prevailed much.

About this time George Fox, who more and more endeavoured to lead a godly life, being come to the nineteenth year of his age, it happened at a fair, that a couſin of his and another coming to him, aſked whether he would drink a jug of beer with them; he being thirſty, ſaid yes, and went with them to an inn: but after each had drank a glaſs, they began to drink healths, and ſaid, that he that would not drink ſhould pay for all. This grieved George much, ſeeing that people who profeſſed to be religious, behaved themſelves thus, and therefore he roſe up to be gone; and putting his hand into his pocket, he took a groat, and laid it down upon the table, ſaying, 'If it be ſo, I'll leave you;' and ſo he went away; and when his buſineſs was done, he returned home; but did not go to bed that night, but prayed, and cried earneſtly to the Lord; and it ſeemed to him that his ſupplications were anſwered after this manner, 'Thou ſeeſt how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; therefore thou muſt forſake all, both young and old, and be as a ſtranger to them.' This, which he took to be a divine admonition, made ſuch a powerful impreſſion on his mind, that he reſolved to break off all familiar fellowſhip and converſation with young and old, and even to leave his relations, and live a ſeparate and retired life. On the 9th of September, in the year 1643, he departed to Lutterworth, where he ſtaid ſome time, and from thence went to Northampton, where he alſo made ſome ſtay, and then paſſed to Newport-Pagnel, in Buckinghamſhire; and after having ſtaid a while there, he went to Barnet, whither he came in the month called June, in the year 1644.

Whilſt he thus led a ſolitary life, he faſted often, and read the holy Scriptures diligently, ſo that ſome profeſſors took notice of him, and ſought to be acquainted with him.

But he ſoon perceiving they did not poſſeſs what they profeſſed, grew afraid of them, and ſhunned their company. In this time he fell into a ſtrong temptation, almoſt to deſpair, and was in mighty trouble, ſometimes keeping himſelf retired in his chamber, and often walking ſolitary to wait upon the Lord. In this ſtate he ſaw how Chriſt had been tempted; but when he looked to his own condition, he wondered, and ſaid, 'Was I ever ſo before?' He began to think alſo that he had done amiſs againſt his relations, becauſe he had forſaken them; and he called to mind all his former time, to conſider whether he had wronged any. Thus temptations grew more and more; and when Satan could not effect his deſign upon him that way, he laid ſnares for him to draw him to commit ſome ſin, thereby to bring him to deſpair. He was then about twenty years of age, and continued a long while in this condition, and would fain have put it from him; which made him go to many a prieſt to look for comfort, but he did not find it from them. In this miſerable ſtate he went to London, in hopes of finding ſome relief among the great profeſſors of that city: but being come there, he ſaw them much darkened in their underſtandings. He had an uncle there, one Pickering, a baptiſt, and thoſe of that perſuaſion were tender then; yet he could not reſolve to impart his mind to them, or join with them, becauſe he ſaw all, young and old, where they were. And though ſome of the beſt would have had him ſtaid there, yet he was fearful, and ſo returned homewards; for having underſtood that his parents and relations were troubled at his abſence, he would rather go to them again leſt he ſhould grieve them. Now when he was come into Leiceſterſhire, his relations would have had him married; but he prudently told them he was but a lad, and muſt get wiſdom. Others would have had him in the auxiliary band among the forces of the Parliament, which being entered now into an inteſtine war with the king, had, with their forces this year, beaten not only the King's army under Prince Rupert, but alſo conquered the city of York. But to perſuade George to liſt himſelf a ſoldier, was ſo againſt his mind, that he refuſed it, and went to Coventry,

where he took a chamber for a while at a profeſſor's houſe, where he ſtaid ſome time, there being many people in that town who endeavoured to live religiouſly. After ſome time he went into his own country again, and was there about a year, in great ſorrows and troubles, walking many nights by himſelf.

Nathaniel Stevens, the prieſt of Drayton (the town of George's birth), would often come to him, and George to the prieſt; and when Stevens viſited him, he would ſometimes bring another prieſt along with him, and then George would aſk them queſtions, and reaſon with them. Once Stevens aſked him why Chriſt cried out upon the croſs, 'My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me:'—and why he ſaid, 'If it be poſſible, let this cup paſs from me; yet not my will, but thine be done.' To this George anſwered thus: 'At that time the ſins of all mankind were upon Chriſt, and their iniquities and tranſgreſſions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an offering for them, as he was man; but died not, as he was God: and ſo, in that he died for all men, and taſted death for every man, he was an offering for the ſins of the whole world.' When George Fox ſpoke this, he was in ſome meaſure ſenſible of Chriſt's ſufferings, and what he went through. And his ſaying did ſo pleaſe the prieſt, that he ſaid it was a very good full anſwer, and ſuch a one as he had not heard. He would alſo applaud and ſpeak highly of George Fox to others, and what George ſaid in diſcourſe to him, that he would preach of on the Firſt-days of the week: for which George did not like him.

After ſome time he went to an ancient prieſt at Manſetter, in Warwickſhire, and reaſoned with him about the ground of deſpair and temptations; but he being altogether ignorant of George's condition, bid him take tobacco, and ſing pſalms. But George ſignified that he was no lover of tobacco, and as for pſalms, he was not in a ſtate to ſing. Then the prieſt bid him come again, and that then he would tell him many things. But when George came, the prieſt was angry and pettiſh, for George's former words had diſpleaſed him; and he was ſo indiſcreet, that what George

had told him of his ſorrows and griefs, he told again to his ſervants, ſo that it got among the milk laſſes; and grieved him to have opened his mind to ſuch an one; and he ſaw they were all miſerable comforters. Then he heard of a prieſt living about Tamworth, who was accounted an experienced man, and therefore he went to him, but found him like an empty hollow caſk.

Hearing afterwards of one Dr. Cradock of Coventry, he went to him alſo, and aſked him whence temptations and deſpair did ariſe, and how troubles came to be wrought in man. The prieſt, inſtead of anſwering, aſked him who was Chriſt's father and mother. George told him Mary was his mother, and he was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of Joſeph; but he was the Son of God. Now as they were walking together in Dr. Cradock's garden, it happened that George, in turning, ſet his foot on the ſide of a bed, which ſo diſturbed that teacher, as if his houſe had been on fire, and thus all their diſcourſe was loſt; and George went away in ſorrow, worſe than he was when he came, ſeeing he found none that could reach his condition. After this he went to one Macham, a prieſt of high account; and he, no more ſkilful than the others, was for giving George ſome phyſick, and for bleeding him; but they could not get one drop of blood from him, either in the arms or the head: his body being, as it were, dried up with ſorrows, grief, and trouble, which were ſo great upon him, that he could have wiſhed never to have been born, to behold the vanity and wickedneſs of men; or that he had been born blind, and ſo he might never have ſeen it; and deaf, that he might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blaſphemed. And when the time called Chriſtmas came, while others were feaſting and ſporting themſelves, he went from houſe to houſe, looking for poor widows, and giving them ſome money. And when he was invited to marriages (as ſometimes he was) he would go to none at all; but the next day, or ſoon after, he went and viſited thoſe that were newly married; and if they were poor, he gave them ſome money; for he had wherewith both to keep himſelf from being chargeable to others, and to adminiſter ſomething to the needful.

Whilſt the mind of George Fox was thus in trouble, the ſtate of England was alſo in a great ſtir; for the Parliament was for turning out of biſhops, and introducing the Preſbyterian Directory; which however as yet could not well be effected, although William Laud, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, had been made to ſtoop to the block; and the power of the king by this time was much weakened; for his army was this ſummer near Naſeby, not far from Leiceſter, overcome by an army of untrained bands, and about ſix thouſand men, among whom many great officers were taken priſoners, and his cabinet, with abundance of letters of great moment, was ſeized; inſomuch, that though they had ſome ſkirmiſhes, yet no deciſive battle was fought afterwards.

But ſince a circumſtantial deſcription of theſe ſtate affairs is not within my deſign, I will return again to George Fox, who in the beginning of the year 1646, as he was going to Coventry, and entering towards the gate, a conſideration aroſe in him how it was ſaid that all Chriſtians are believers, both Proteſtants and Papiſts: and it was opened to him, that if all were believers, then they were all born of God, and paſſed from death to life, and that none were true believers but ſuch: and though others ſaid they were believers, yet they were not. At another time as he was walking in a field on a Firſt-day morning, it was diſcovered unto his underſtanding, that to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to make a man to be a miniſter of Chriſt. At this he wondered, becauſe it was the common belief of people; but for all that, he took this to be a divine revelation, and he admired the goodneſs of the Lord, believing now the ordinary miniſters not to be ſuch as they pretended to be. This made him unwilling to go any more to church, as it was called, to hear the prieſt Stevens, believing that he could not profit thereby: and therefore inſtead of going thither, he would get into the orchard, or the fields, by himſelf, with his Bible, which he eſteemed above all books, ſeeking thus to be edified in ſolitarineſs. At this his relations were much troubled; but he told them, did not John the Apoſtle ſay to the believers, "that they needed no

man to teach them, but as the anointing teacheth them;" and though they knew this to be Scripture, and that it was true, yet it grieved them, becauſe he would not go to hear the prieſt with them, but ſeparated himſelf from their way of worſhip: for he ſaw now that a true believer was another thing than they looked upon it to be; and that being bred at the univerſities did not qualify a man to be a miniſter of Chriſt. Thus he lived by himſelf, not joining with any, nay, not of the diſſenting people, but became a ſtranger to all, relying wholly upon the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Some time after, it was opened in him, that God, who made the world, did not dwell in temples made with hands. And though this ſeemed at firſt ſtrange to him, becauſe both prieſts and people uſed to call their churches dreadful places, holy ground, and temples of God; yet it was immediately ſhewed him, that the Lord did not dwell in theſe temples which man had erected, but in peoples hearts, and that his people were the temple he dwelt in. This was diſcovered to him when he was walking in the fields to the houſe of one of his relations. And when he came there, it was told him, that Nathaniel Stevens the prieſt had been there, and told them he was afraid of Fox, for going after new lights. This made him ſmile, becauſe now he ſaw the true ſtate of the prieſts. But he ſaid nothing of this to his relations, who, though they ſaw that ſomething more was required than the vulgar way of worſhip, yet they continued therein, being grieved becauſe he would not alſo go to hear the prieſts. Only he told them there was an anointing in man, to teach him; and that the Lord would teach his people himſelf. He had great openings now concerning the things written in the Revelations; and when he ſpake of them, the prieſts and profeſſors would ſay, that was 'a ſealed up book.' But to this he ſaid, 'Chriſt could open the ſeals, and that the things contained in that book, very nearly concerned us; ſince the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles were written to the ſaints of thoſe times, but the Revelations point at things to come.'

In England, in thoſe days, were people of very odd

notions, and among the reſt ſuch as held, 'that women have no ſouls.' He lighting on ſome of theſe, could not forbear reproving them, ſince the Scripture, as he told them plainly, held forth the contrary; for the bleſſed Virgin Mary ſaid, "My ſoul doth magnify the Lord; and my ſpirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour." He alſo came among a people that relied much on dreams; but he told them, 'Except they could diſtinguiſh between dream and dream, their obſervations would be nothing but confuſion, ſince there were three ſorts of dreams; for multiplicity of buſineſs ſometimes cauſed dreams; and there were whiſperings of Satan in the night ſeaſons; and there were alſo ſpeakings of God to man in dreams.' But becauſe theſe people were more in want of a clear diſcerning, than of goodwill, they at length came out of thoſe imaginations, and at laſt became fellow-believers with him; who, though he had great openings in his underſtanding, yet great trouble and temptations many times came upon him; ſo that when it was day, he wiſhed for night, and when it was night, he wiſhed for day. Nevertheleſs among all thoſe troubles, his underſtanding was ſo opened, that he could ſay with David, "Day unto day uttereth ſpeech, and night unto night ſheweth knowledge;" for even in theſe troubles he had great openings of many places in Scripture.

As to ſtate affairs, things continued in a diſtracted condition; for the King, who after his army had been beaten, was gone to the Scots, was by them delivered up to the Engliſh; to whom now he could no more preſcribe laws, but was fain to receive them. And the Churchmen were alſo at variance; for the Independents (ſeveral of which ſat alſo in Parliament) began to ſay, that between Epiſcopacy (againſt which they had fought conjunctly), and Preſbytery, the difference was only in the name, and ſome few outward circumſtances; ſince people of a tender conſcience might apprehend no leſs oppreſſion from the Preſbyterians, than from the Epiſcopalians: and that this fear was not vain or idle, time afterwards hath ſhewn abundantly.

But let us return to George Fox, who in the beginning of the year 1647, feeling ſome drawings to go into Derby-

ſhire, went thither, and meeting there with ſome friendly people, had many diſcourſes with them. Then paſſing farther into the Peak-Country, he met with more ſuch people, and alſo ſome that were ſwayed by empty and high notions. And travelling into Nottinghamſhire, there he met with a tender people, and among theſe one Elizabeth Hooton, of which woman more will be ſaid in the ſequel: with theſe he had ſome meetings and diſcourſes. But his troubles and temptations ſtill continued; and he faſted much, and walked often abroad in ſolitary places, taking his Bible with him; and then ſat in hollow trees, and loneſome places till night came on; and frequently in the night he walked mournfully about, being ſurrounded with many ſorrows in the times of theſe firſt workings of the Lord in him.

During all this time, he never joined in profeſſion of religion with any, but gave up himſelf to the diſpoſing of the Lord; having forſaken not only all evil company, but alſo taken leave of father and mother, and all other relations; and ſo he travelled up and down as a ſtranger on the earth, which way he felt his heart inclined: and when he came into a town, he took a chamber to himſelf there, and tarried ſometimes a month, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, in a place; for he was afraid of ſtaying long in any place, leſt, being a tender young man, he ſhould be hurt by too familiar a converſation with men.

Now, though it might ſeem not very agreeable with the gravity of my work, to mention what kind of clothes he wore in theſe firſt years of his peregrination; yet I do not count it abſurd to ſay here, that it is indeed true what a certain author, viz. Gerard Croes, relates of him, that he was clothed with leather; but not, as the ſaid author adds, becauſe he could not, nor would not, forget his former leather work; but it was partly for the ſimplicity of that dreſs, and alſo becauſe ſuch a cloathing was ſtrong, and needed but little mending or repairing; which was commodious for him who had no ſteady dwelling-place, and every where in his travelling about ſought to live in a lonely ſtate: for keeping himſelf thus as a ſtranger, he ſought heavenly wiſdom, and endeavoured to get know-

ledge of the Lord, and to be weaned from outward things, to rely wholly on the Lord alone. Although his troubles were great, yet they were not ſo continual, but that he had ſome intermiſſions, and was ſometimes brought into ſuch a heavenly joy, that admiring the love of God to his ſoul, he would ſay with the Pſalmiſt, "Thou, Lord, makeſt a fruitful field a barren wilderneſs, and a barren wilderneſs a fruitful field." Now he regarded the prieſts but little, becauſe he clearly ſaw that to be trained up in the univerſities, and to be inſtructed in languages, liberal arts, and the like ſciences, was not ſufficient to make any one a miniſter of the goſpel; but he looked more after the diſſenting people: yet as he had forſaken the prieſts, ſo he left the ſeparate preachers alſo, becauſe he ſaw there was none among them all that could ſpeak to his condition. And when all his hopes in them, and in all men were gone, then he heard, according to what he relates himſelf, a voice which ſaid, 'There is one, even Chriſt Jeſus that can ſpeak to thy condition.' Having heard this, his heart leapt for joy, and it was ſhewed him why there was none upon the earth that could ſpeak to his condition; namely, that he might give the Lord alone all the glory, and that Jeſus Chriſt might have the pre-eminence.

He then experimentally knowing that Chriſt enlightens man, and gives him grace, faith, and power, his deſires after the Lord, and his zeal in the pure knowledge of God grew ſtronger; ſo that he wiſhed to increaſe therein without the help of any man, book, or writing. Yet he was a diligent reader of the holy Scriptures, that ſpeak at large of God and Chriſt, though he knew him not but by revelation, as he, who had the key, did open. Thus he entered into no fellowſhip with any ſociety of people, becauſe he ſaw nothing but corruptions every where; which made him endeavour to keep fellowſhip only with Chriſt: ſince in the greateſt temptations, when he almoſt deſpaired, it was ſhewed him, that Chriſt had been tempted by the ſame devil; but that he had overcome him, and bruiſed his head, and that therefore through the power, light, grace, and Spirit of God, he himſelf might alſo overcome. Thus the Lord aſſiſted him in the deepeſt

miſeries and ſorrows, and he found his grace to be ſufficient: inſomuch that, though he had yet ſome deſires after the help of men, his thirſt was chiefly after the Lord, the Creator of all, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt; becauſe nothing could give him any comfort but the Lord by his power; and he clearly ſaw that all the world, though he had poſſeſſed a king's ſtate, would not have profited him.

In this condition his underſtanding came more and more to be opened, ſo that he ſaw how death in Adam had paſſed upon all men; but that by Chriſt, who taſted death for all men, a deliverance from it, and an entrance into God's kingdom, might be obtained. Nevertheleſs his temptations continued, ſo that he began to queſtion whether he might have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt. This brought great perplexity and trouble over him for many days; yet he ſtill gave up himſelf to the Lord: and one day, when he had been walking ſolitarily abroad, and was come home, he became exceeding ſenſible of the love of God to him, ſo that he could not but admire it. Here it was ſhewed him, that all was to be done in and by Chriſt; that he conquers and deſtroys the tempter the devil, and all his works; and that all theſe troubles and temptations were good for him, for the trial of his faith. The effect of this was, that though at times his mind was much exerciſed, yet he was ſtayed by a ſecret belief; and his ſoul, by a firm hope, which was to him as an anchor, was kept unhurt in the diſſolute world, ſwimming above the raging waves of temptations. After this (as he relates himſelf) there did a pure fire appear in him; and he ſaw that the appearance of Chriſt in the heart was as a refiner's fire, and as the fuller's ſoap; and that a ſpiritual diſcerning was given to him, by which he ſaw what it was that veiled his mind, and what it was that did open it: and that which could not abide in patience, he found to be of the fleſh, that could not give up to the will of God, nor yield up itſelf to die by the croſs, to wit, the power of God. On the other hand, he perceived it was the groans of the Spirit which did open his underſtanding, and that in that Spirit there muſt be a waiting upon God to obtain redemption.

About this time he heard of a woman in Lancaſhire that had faſted twenty-two days, and he went to ſee her; but coming there he ſaw that ſhe was under a temptation: and after he had ſpoken to her what he felt on his mind, he left her, and went to Duckenfield and Mancheſter, where he ſtaid a while among the profeſſors he found there, and declared to them that doctrine which now he firmly believed to be truth; and ſome were convinced, ſo as to receive the inward divine teaching of the Lord, and take that for their rule. This, by what I can find, was the firſt beginning of George Fox's preaching; which, as I have been credibly informed, in thoſe early years chiefly conſiſted of ſome few, but powerful and piercing words, to thoſe whoſe hearts were already in ſome meaſure prepared to be capable of receiving this doctrine. And it ſeems to me that theſe people, and alſo Elizabeth Hooton (already mentioned) have been the firſt who by ſuch a mean or weak preaching came to be his fellow-believers: though there were alſo ſome others who by the like immediate way, as George Fox himſelf, were convinced in their minds, and came to ſee that they ought diligently to take heed to the teachings of the grace of God that had appeared to them. And thus it happened that theſe unexpectedly and unawares came to meet with fellow-believers, which they were not acquainted with before, as will be more circumſtantially related hereafter.

But to return again to George Fox; it ſet the profeſſors of thoſe times in a rage, that ſome of their adherents hearkened to his preaching; for they could not endure to hear perfection ſpoken of, and a holy and ſinleſs life, as a ſtate that could be obtained here. Not long after he travelled to Broughton in Leiceſterſhire, and there went into a Meeting of the Baptiſts, where ſome people of other notions alſo came. This gave him occaſion to preach the doctrine of truth among them, and that not in vain; for ſince he had great openings in the Scriptures, and that a ſpecial power of the Lord's workings began to ſpring in thoſe parts, ſeveral were ſo reached in their minds, that they came to be convinced, and were turned from darkneſs to light, partly by his preaching, and partly by reaſon-

ing with ſome. Yet he himſelf was ſtill ſometimes under great temptations, without finding any to open his condition to, but the Lord alone, unto whom he cried night and day for help.

Some time after, he went back into Nottinghamſhire, and there it pleaſed the Lord to ſhew him, that the natures of thoſe things which were hurtful without, were alſo within, in the minds of wicked men; and that the natures of dogs, ſwine, vipers, and thoſe of Cain, Iſhmael, Eſau, Pharoah, &c. were in the hearts of many people. But ſince this did grieve him, he cried to the Lord ſaying, 'Why ſhould I be thus, ſeeing I was never addicted to commit thoſe evils?' And inwardly it was anſwered him, 'That it was needful he ſhould have a ſenſe of all conditions; how elſe ſhould he ſpeak to all conditions?' He alſo ſaw there was an ocean of darkneſs and death; but withal an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkneſs; in all which he perceived the infinite love of God. About that time it happened that walking in the town of Mansfield, by the ſteeple-houſe ſide, it was inwardly told him, 'That which people trample upon muſt be thy food;' and at the ſaying of this, it was opened to him, that it was the life of Chriſt people did trample upon; and that they fed one another with words, without minding that thereby the blood of the Son of God was trampled under foot. And though it ſeemed at firſt ſtrange to him, that he ſhould feed on that which the high profeſſors trample upon, yet it was clearly opened to him how this could be.

Then many people came far and near to ſee him; and though he ſpoke ſometimes, to open religious matters to them, yet he was fearful of being drawn out by them. Now the reaſon of people thus flocking to him might proceed partly from this: there was one Brown, who upon his death-bed ſpoke by way of prophecy many notable things concerning George Fox, and among the reſt, 'that he ſhould be made inſtrumental by the Lord to the converſion of people.' And of others that then were ſomething in ſhew, he ſaid, 'That they ſhould come to nothing; which was fulfilled in time, though this man did

not live to ſee it, for he was not raiſed from his ſickneſs. But after he was buried, George Fox fell into ſuch a condition, that he not only looked like a dead body, but unto many that came to ſee him he ſeemed as if he had been really dead; and many viſited him for about fourteen days time, who wondered to ſee him ſo much altered in countenance.

At length his ſorrows and troubles began to wear off, and tears of joy dropped from him, ſo that he could have wept night and day with tears of joy in brokenneſs of heart. And to give an account of his condition to thoſe that are able to comprehend it, I will uſe his own words: 'I ſaw,' ſaith he, 'into that which was without end, and things which cannot be uttered; and of the greatneſs and infiniteneſs of the love of God, which cannot be expreſſed by words: for I had been brought through the very ocean of darkneſs and death, and through and over the power of Satan, by the eternal glorious power of Chriſt: even through that darkneſs was I brought which covered all the world, and which chained down all, and ſhut up all in the death. And the ſame eternal power of God, which brought me through thoſe things, was that which afterwards ſhook the nation, prieſts, profeſſors, and people. Then could I ſay, I had been in ſpiritual Babylon, Sodom, Egypt, and the grave; but by the eternal power of God I was come out of it, and was brought over it, and the power of it, into the power of Chriſt. And I ſaw the harveſt white, and the ſeed of God lying thick in the ground, as ever did wheat, that was ſown outwardly, and none to gather it: and for this I mourned with tears.' Thus far George Fox's own words, of whom now a report went abroad, that he was a young man that had a diſcerning ſpirit: whereupon many profeſſors, prieſts, and people, came to him, and his miniſtry increaſed; for he having received great openings, ſpoke to them of the things of God, and was heard with attention by many, who going away, ſpread the fame thereof. Then came the tempter, and ſet upon him again, charging him that he had ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; but he could not tell in what; and then Paul's condition came before him, how

after he had been taken up into the third heavens, and ſeen things not lawful to be uttered, a meſſenger of Satan was ſent to buffet him, that he might not exalt himſelf. Thus George Fox, by the aſſiſtance of the Lord, got alſo over that temptation.

Now the 47th year of that century drew to an end, and ſtate affairs in England grew more and more clouded and intricate; for the King not thinking himſelf any longer ſafe at Hampton Court, whither he had been brought from the army; he withdrew to the Iſle of Wight, whilſt the Parliament ſtill inſiſted on the abrogation of Epiſcopacy, and would be maſter of the military forces: which the King not being willing to yield to, was now kept in cloſer cuſtody, and no more regarded as a Sovereign, to whom obedience was due from the Parliament.

Under theſe inteſtine troubles, the minds of many people came to be fitted to receive a nearer way and doctrine of godlineſs, and it was in the year 1648, that ſeveral perſons, ſeeking the Lord, were become fellow-believers, and entered into ſociety with George Fox; inſomuch that they began to have great meetings in Nottinghamſhire, which were viſited by many. About that time there was a meeting of prieſts and profeſſors at a juſtice's houſe, and George Fox went among them, and heard them diſcourſe concerning what the Apoſtle Paul ſaid, He had not known ſin, but by the law, which ſaid, thou ſhalt not luſt. And ſince they held that to be ſpoken of the outward law, George Fox told them, Paul ſpoke that after he was convinced; for he had the outward law before, and was bred up in it, when he was in the luſt of perſecution; but it was the law of God in his mind, which he ſerved, and which the law in his members warred againſt. This ſaying found ſo much entrance, that thoſe of the prieſts and profeſſors, that were moſt moderate, yielded, and conſented that it was not the outward law, but the inward, that ſhewed the inward luſt, which the Apoſtle ſpoke of. After this, he went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of profeſſors and other people; and being among them, and moved to pray, ſuch an extraordinary power appeared, and ſeized on the hearts of ſome in ſo eminent

a manner, that even the houſe ſeemed to be ſhaken: and after prayer, ſome of the auditory began to ſay, 'That this reſembled that in the days of the Apoſtles, when on the day of Pentecoſt, the houſe where they were met was ſhaken.'

Not long after this, there was another great meeting of profeſſors, where G. Fox came alſo, who hearing them diſcourſe about the blood of Chriſt, he cried out among them: 'Do ye not ſee the blood of Chriſt? Ye muſt ſee it in your hearts, to ſprinkle your hearts and conſciences from dead works, to ſerve the living God.' This was a doctrine which ſtartled theſe profeſſors, who would have the blood of Chriſt only without them, not thinking that it was to be felt inwardly. But a certain captain, whoſe name was Amos Stoddard, was ſo reached, that ſeeing how they endeavoured to bear G. Fox down with many words, he ſaid, 'Let the youth ſpeak, hear the youth ſpeak;' and coming afterwards to be more acquainted with G. Fox, he had an opportunity to be farther inſtructed in the way of godlineſs, of which he came to be a faithful follower.

Some time after, G. Fox returned to Leiceſterſhire, his own country, where ſeveral tender people came to be convinced by his preaching. Paſſing thence into Warwickſhire, he met with a great company of profeſſors, who being come together in the field, were praying and expounding the Scriptures. Here the Bible was given him, which he opened on the 5th of Matthew, where Chriſt expounded ſome parts of the law; from whence G. Fox took occaſion to open to them the inward and outward ſtate of man: and that which he held forth getting ſome ground, they fell into a fierce contention among themſelves, and ſo parted.

Then he heard of a great meeting to be at Leiceſter, for a diſpute, wherein thoſe of ſeveral perſuaſions, as Preſbyterians, Independents, Baptiſts, and Epiſcopalians, were ſaid to be all concerned. This meeting being appointed to be in the ſteeple-houſe, he went thither where abundance of people were met, ſome of thoſe that ſpoke being in pews, and the prieſt in the pulpit. At laſt, after ſeveral

reaſonings, a woman ſtarted a queſtion, and aſked, 'What that birth was the Apoſtle Peter ſpoke of, viz. "a being born again of incorruptible ſeed, by the word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever.' The prieſt, inſtead of anſwering this queſtion, ſaid to her, 'I permit not a woman to ſpeak in the church;' though he had before given liberty for any to ſpeak. This kindled G. Fox's zeal, ſo that he ſtept up, and aſked the prieſt, Doſt thou call this place (the ſteeple-houſe) a church? Or doſt thou call this mixt multitude a church? But the prieſt not anſwering to this, aſked, what a church was: and G. Fox told him, The church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living ſtones, living members, a ſpiritual houſhold, which Chriſt was the head of: but he was not the head of a mixt multitude, or of an old houſe, made up of lime-ſtones, and wood. This cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that the prieſt came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, whereby the diſpute was marred. But G. Fox went to a great inn, and there diſputed with the prieſts and profeſſors of all ſorts, maintaining what he had ſaid, till they all went away; yet ſeveral were convinced that day, and among theſe, the woman who aſked the queſtion aforeſaid.

After this, G. Fox returned again into Nottinghamſhire, and went into the vale of Beavor, where he preached repentance to the people: and he ſtaying ſome weeks there, and paſſing through ſeveral towns, many were convinced of the truth of his doctrine. About that time, as he was ſitting by the fire one morning, a cloud came over him, and a temptation beſet him, and he ſitting ſtill, it was ſuggeſted, All things come by nature; and he was in a manner quite clouded: but he continuing to ſit ſtill, the people of the houſe perceived nothing: at length a living hope aroſe in him, and alſo a voice, that ſaid, There is a living God, who made all things; and immediately the cloud and temptation vaniſhed away, whereby his heart was made glad, and he praiſed the Lord.

Not long after, he met with ſome people that had a miſchievous notion, that there was no God, but that all things came by nature. But he, reaſoning with them, ſo confounded them, that ſome were fain to confeſs, that there

was a living God. Then he ſaw that it was good for him to have been tried under ſuch a cloud. Now in thoſe parts he had great meetings, and, a divine power working in that country, and thereabouts, many were gathered. Then coming into Derbyſhire, there was a great meeting of his friends at Eaton, where many of them began to preach the doctrine of truth, who afterwards were moved to declare the truth in other places alſo.

George Fox coming about this time to Mansfield, heard, that in a town about eight miles off, there was to be a ſitting of juſtices, to deliberate about hiring of ſervants; and he, feeling a conſtraint upon his mind went thither, and exhorted them, not to oppreſs the ſervants in their wages, but to do that which was right and juſt to them; and the ſervants, many of which were come thither, he admoniſhed, to do their duty, and ſerve honeſtly; and they all received his exhortation kindly. He felt himſelf alſo moved, to go to ſeveral courts and ſteeple-houſes at Mansfield, and other places, warning them to leave off oppreſſion, deceit, and other evils. And having heard at Mansfield of one in the country, who was a common drunkard, and a noted whoremaſter, and a poet alſo, he went to him, and reproved him in an awful manner for his evil courſes; which ſo ſtruck him, that coming afterwards to G. Fox, he told him, that he was ſo ſmitten when he ſpoke to him, that he had ſcarce any ſtrength left in him. And this man was ſo thoroughly convinced, that he turned from his wickedneſs, and became an honeſt, ſober man, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that knew him before. Thus the work of G. Fox's miniſtry went forward, and many were thereby turned from darkneſs to light; and divers meetings of his friends, who were much increaſed in number ſince the year 1646, were now ſet up in ſeveral places.

George Fox was now come up to quite another ſtate than formerly he had lived in; for he knew not only a renewing of the heart, and a reſtoration of the mind, but the virtues of the creatures were alſo opened to him; ſo that he began to deliberate whether he ſhould practiſe phyſick for the good of mankind. But God had another

ſervice for him; and it was ſhewed him, that he was to enter into a ſpiritual labour; and alſo that thoſe who continued faithful to the Lord, might attain to a ſtate in which the ſinful inclination was ſubdued. Moreover, the three great profeſſions in the world, viz. phyſick, divinity, (ſo called) and law, were opened to him, whereby he ſaw that the phyſicians wanting the wiſdom of God, by which the creatures were made, knew not their virtues: that the lawyers generally were void of equity and juſtice, and ſo out of the law of God, which went over the firſt tranſgreſſion, and over all ſin, and anſwered the Spirit of God that was oppreſſed in man: and that the prieſts for the moſt part, were out of the true faith, which Chriſt is the author of, and which purifies the heart, and brings man to have acceſs to God. So that theſe phyſicians, lawyers, and prieſts, who pretended to cure the body, to eſtabliſh the property of the people, and to cure the ſoul, were all without the true knowledge and wiſdom they ought to poſſeſs. Yet he felt there was a divine power, by which all might be reformed, if they would receive, and bow unto it. And he ſaw alſo, that though the prieſts did err, yet they were not the greateſt deceivers ſpoken of in the Scriptures; but that theſe great deceivers were ſuch, who, as Cain, had heard the voice of God, and who, as Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, and their company, were come out of Egypt, and through the Red Sea, and had praiſed God on the banks of the ſea ſhore; and who being come as far as Balaam, could ſpeak the word of the Lord, as having heard his voice, and known his Spirit, ſo that they could ſee the ſtar of Jacob, and the goodlineſs of Iſrael's tents, which no enchantment could prevail againſt: theſe that could ſpeak ſo much of their divine experience, and yet turned from the Spirit of God, and went into the gainſaying, theſe he ſaw would be the great deceivers, far beyond the prieſts. He ſaw alſo that people generally did read the Scriptures, without having a true ſenſe of them; for ſome cried out much againſt Cain, Iſhmael, Eſau, Corah, Balaam, Judas, &c. not regarding that the nature of theſe was yet alive in themſelves; whereby they al-

ways applied to others that nature in which they themſelves lived.

The Lord had alſo opened to him now, that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Chriſt; and he ſaw that they that believed in it, came out of condemnation, and became the children of the light: but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profeſſion of Chriſt. All this he ſaw in the pure openings of the light. He alſo ſaw that God had afforded a meaſure of his Spirit to all men, and that thereby they could truly come to ſerve the Lord, and to worſhip him; and that his grace, which brings ſalvation, and had appeared to all men, was able to bring them into the favour of God.

And on a certain time, as he was walking in the fields, he underſtood that it was ſaid to him: Thy name is written in the Lamb's Book of Life, which was before the foundation of the world. This he took to be the voice of the Lord, and believed it to be true. Then he felt himſelf powerfully moved to go abroad into the world, which was like a briery thorny wilderneſs; and he found then that the world ſwelled againſt him, and made a noiſe like the great raging waves of the ſea: for when he came to proclaim the day of the Lord amongſt the prieſts, profeſſors, magiſtrates, and people, they were all like a diſturbed ſea. Now he was ſent to turn people from darkneſs to the light, that they might receive Chriſt Jeſus; for he ſaw, that to as many as ſhould receive him in his light, he would give power to become the ſons of God: and that therefore he was to turn people to the grace of God, and to the truth in the heart; and that by this grace they might be taught, and thereby obtain ſalvation; ſince Chriſt had died for all men, and was a propitiation for all, having enlightened all men with his divine ſaving light, and the manifeſtation of the Spirit of God being given to every man to profit withal. He now being ſent thus to preach the everlaſting goſpel, did it with gladneſs, and endeavoured to bring people off from their own ways, to Chriſt, the new and living way; and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God, the general aſſembly

written in heaven, which Chriſt is the head of; and from the world's teachers, made by men, to learn of Chriſt, who is the way, the truth, and the life; and of whom the Father ſaid, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him;" and off from the world's worſhip, to the Spirit of God in the inward parts, that in it they might worſhip the Father, who ſeeks ſuch to worſhip him.

Now he found alſo that the Lord forbade him to put off his hat to any man, high or low; and he was required to Thou and Thee every man and woman without diſtinction, and not to bid people Good Morrow or Good Evening; neither might he bow or ſcrape with his leg to any one. This was ſuch an unuſual thing with people, that it made many of all perſuaſions and profeſſions rage againſt him; but by the aſſiſtance of the Lord, he was carried over all, and many came to be his fellow-believers, and turned to God in a little time; although it is almoſt unſpeakable what rage and fury aroſe, what blows, pinchings, beatings, and impriſonments they underwent, beſides the danger they were ſometimes in of loſing their lives for theſe matters: ſo indiſcreet is man in his natural ſtate. For here it did not avail to ſay, That the hat-honour was an honour from below, which the Lord would lay in the duſt, and ſtain it; that it was an honour which the proud looked for, without ſeeking the honour which came from God alone; that it was an honour invented by men in the fall, who therefore were offended if it were not given them; though they would be looked upon as church members, and good Chriſtians; whereas Chriſt himſelf ſaid, "How can ye believe, who receive honour of one another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God only?" That it was an honour, which in relation to the outward ceremony, viz. the putting off the hat, was the ſame which was given to God; ſo that in the outward ſign of reverence, no diſtinction, or difference was made betwixt the Creator and the creature: nay, that the ſaying of you to a ſingle perſon, went yet a degree further; for not only kings and princes formerly among the Heathens and Jews, had not been offended at it when they were Thee'd and Thou'd, but experience ſhewed that this ſtill was the

language wherewith God was daily ſpoken to, both in religious aſſemblies, and without. But all theſe reaſons found little entrance with prieſts, magiſtrates, and others: bitter revilings, ill uſage, and ſhameful abuſes, were now become the lot and ſhare of thoſe who for conſcience-ſake, could no longer follow the ordinary cuſtom: for though it was pretended that the putting off of the hat was but a ſmall thing, which none ought to ſcruple; yet it was a wonderful thing, to ſee what great diſturbance this pretended ſmall matter cauſed among people of all ſorts; ſo that even ſuch that would be looked upon as thoſe that practiſed humility and meekneſs, ſoon ſhewed what ſpirit they were of, when this worldly honour was denied them. But all this ſerved to ſtrengthen the fellow-believers more and more in their plain carriage, and made them live up faithfully to the convincement of their conſcience, without reſpect of perſons.

In the mean-while the troubles of the land continued. We left the King in the foregoing year in the Iſle of Wight, in effect unkinged. Some time after the Duke of York, ſecond ſon to the King, being then paſt fourteen years of age, fled to Holland, diſguiſed in woman's apparel; and his eldeſt brother the Prince of Wales, who two years before fled to France, came now to Helvoet-Sluice in Holland, and went from thence with ſome Engliſh men of war, whoſe commanders were for the King, to the Downs in England, with intention to take the ſhips coming from London. He alſo publiſhed, by the ſpreading of a declaration, that he came to releaſe his father. Now there was alſo a negociation on foot between the King and the Parliament, and there ſeemed ſome hopes of an accommodation; had not the army, the chief inſtrument of breaking down the royal power, oppoſed it, by calling for juſtice againſt all thoſe who had wronged the country, none excepted. This broke off the treaty, ſeveral ſuſpected members were turned out of the Parliament, and the King was carried to Windſor about the time called Chriſtmas; and it was reſolved henceforth to ſend no more deputations to him, nor receive any from him, who now was no more named King, but only Charles Stuart: a very ſtrange turn

of mundane affairs, and a mighty evidence of the fluctuating inconſtancy thereof. But things made no ſtand here, for it was concluded to bring him to a trial; and the Parliament appointed General Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant General, with more than an hundred other perſons, to be his judges. Theſe being formed into a court of juſtice, the King was conducted from Windſor to St. James's, and from thence brought before them in Weſtminſter Hall, where he was arraigned as guilty of high treaſon, for having levied war againſt the Parliament and people of England. But he not owning that court to be lawful, nor acknowledging their authority, ſaid, 'I am not intruſted by the people, they are mine by inheritance:' and being unwilling to anſwer to the charge, he was on the 27th of the month, called January, ſentenced to death, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a publick enemy to the Commonwealth. But before this ſentence was pronounced, the King deſired that he might be permitted to make a propoſition to both Houſes of Parliament in the painted Chamber, deſigning as was ſince ſaid, to propoſe his own reſignation, and the admiſſion of his ſon, the Prince of Wales, to the throne. But this requeſt was denied by the Court. Now though the ſaid Prince of Wales, conſidering his father's danger, had applied himſelf to the States-General of the United Provinces at the Hague for aſſiſtance; and that theſe ſent two Ambaſſadors to the Parliament, who coming to London on the ſame day the fatal ſentence was pronounced, could not obtain admiſſion till next day to the Speakers of both Houſes, and were afterwards with Fairfax and Cromwell, and other commanders; and one of them had alſo his audience in the Parliament to intercede with them for the King's life; yet all proved in vain: for on the 30th of the aforeſaid month, the King was brought on a ſcaffold erected before the banqueting houſe, and his head ſevered from his body. The ſame day the Parliament ordered a declaration to be publiſhed, whereby it was declared treaſon to endeavour to promote the Prince of Wales, Charles Stuart, to be King of England, or any other ſingle perſon to be the chief governor thereof. And then, after having aboliſhed

the Houſe of Peers, they aſſumed to themſelves the chief government of the nation, with the title of, The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.

The news of the King's death was no ſooner come into Scotland, but Charles, Prince of Wales, was proclaimed, at Edinburgh, King of Great Britain, provided he ſhould, before aſſuming the royal authority, give ſatisfaction about ſome matters concerning religion. And though this diſpleaſed the Engliſh, yet the Scots aſſerted that they might as well do ſo, as the Engliſh, who had done the ſame at the death of the late King's father, in the year 1625.

Leaving ſtate affairs, let us return to G. Fox, who in the year 1649, was much exerciſed to declare openly againſt all ſorts of ſins: and therefore he went not only to the courts, crying for juſtice, and exhorting the judges and juſtices to do juſtice, but he warned alſo thoſe that kept publick houſes for entertainment, not to let people have more drink than what would do them good. He alſo teſtified againſt wakes, may-games, plays, and ſhews, by which people were led into vanity, and drawn off from the fear of God; the days that were ſet forth for holidays, being uſually the times wherein God was moſt diſhonoured. When he came into markets, he alſo declared againſt deceitful merchandizing, and warned all to deal juſtly, and to ſpeak the truth; and he teſtified againſt the mountebanks playing tricks on their ſtages: and when occaſion offered, he warned ſchoolmaſters and ſchoolmiſtreſſes to teach their children to mind the fear of the Lord; ſaying, that they themſelves ought to be examples and patterns of virtue to them. But very burdenſome it was to him, when he heard the bell ring to call people together to the ſteeple-houſe; for it ſeemed to him juſt like a market bell, to gather the people, that the prieſt might ſet forth his ware to ſale.

Going once on a Firſt-day of the week, in the morning, with ſome of his friends to Nottingham, to have a meeting there; and having ſeen from the top of a hill the great ſteeple-houſe of the town, he felt it required of him to cry againſt that idol temple, and the worſhippers therein: yet he ſaid nothing of this to thoſe that were with him,

but went on with them to the meeting, where after ſome ſtay he left them, and went away to the ſteeple-houſe, where the prieſt took for his text theſe words of the Apoſtle, 2 Pet. i. 19. "We have alſo a moſt ſure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts." And he told the people that this was the Scripture, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. G. Fox hearing this, felt ſuch mighty power, and godly zeal working in him, that he was made to cry out, 'O no, it is not the Scripture, but it is the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the Scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments are to be tried. That was it which led into all truth, and gave the knowledge thereof. For the Jews had the Scriptures, and yet reſiſted the holy Ghoſt, and rejected Chriſt, the bright morning ſtar, and perſecuted him and his Apoſtles; though they took upon them to try their doctrine by the Scriptures; but they erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, becauſe they did it without the Holy Ghoſt.' Thus ſpeaking, the officers came and took him away, and put him into a naſty ſtinking priſon. At night he was brought before the mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of the town; and they examining him, he told them, that the Lord had moved him to come there into the ſteeple-houſe: and though the mayor at firſt appeared peeviſh and fretful, yet he was allayed: however, after ſome diſcourſe, G. Fox was ſent back to priſon. But ſome time after, the head ſheriff John Reckleſs ſent for him to his houſe, and when G. Fox came in, the ſheriff's wife met him in the hall, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, 'Salvation is come to our houſe:' for his ſpeech in the ſteeple-houſe had ſo amazed many, that they could not get the ſound of it out of their ears; and not only this woman was wrought upon, but alſo her huſband, children, and ſervants were much changed by the power of the Lord.

George Fox thus coming to lodge at this ſheriff's houſe, had great meetings there, and ſome perſons of quality in the world came to them; and they were reached very

eminently in their minds by an inviſible power. Reckleſs being of this number, ſent for the other ſheriff, and for a woman they traded with; and he told her in the preſence of the other ſheriff, that they had wronged her in their dealings with her, and that therefore they ought to make her reſtitution; to which Reckleſs exhorted the other ſheriff, being himſelf made ſenſible, that this was an indiſpenſable duty: for a mighty change was now wrought in him, and his underſtanding came to be opened; ſo that on the next market day, as he was walking with G. Fox in the chamber, in his ſlippers, he ſaid, 'I muſt go into the market and preach repentance to the people:' and accordingly he went in his ſlippers into the market, and into ſeveral ſtreets, preaching repentance. Some others alſo in the town were moved to ſpeak to the mayor and magiſtrates, and to the people, exhorting them to repent. But this the magiſtrates could not endure; and to vent their paſſion on G. Fox, they ſent for him from the ſheriff's houſe, and committed him to the common priſon, where he was kept till the aſſizes came on, and then he was to have been brought before the judge, but that the ſheriff's man being ſomewhat long in fetching him, the judge was riſen before G. Fox came to the ſeſſion-houſe; however, the judge was a little diſpleaſed, having ſaid, 'He would have admoniſhed the youth (meaning G. Fox) if he had been brought before him. So he was carried back again to priſon. In the mean-while ſuch a wonderful power broke forth among his friends, that many were aſtoniſhed at it, ſo that even ſeveral of the prieſts were made tender, and ſome did confeſs to the power of the Lord. Now though the people began to be very rude, yet the governor of the caſtle was ſo moderate, that he ſent down ſoldiers to diſperſe them. G. Fox having been kept priſoner a pretty long time, was at length ſet at liberty, and then travelled as before in the work of the Lord.

Coming to Mansfield-Woodhouſe, he found there a diſtracted woman under a doctor's hand, being bound, and with her hair looſe; and the doctor being about to let her blood, could get no blood from her; which made G. Fox

deſire to unbind her; and after this was done, he ſpoke to her, and bade her in the name of the Lord, to be quiet and ſtill. This proved of ſuch effect, that ſhe became ſtill; and her mind coming to be ſettled, ſhe mended, and afterwards received the doctrine of truth, and continued in it to her death.

Whilſt G. Fox was in this place, he was moved to go to the ſteeple-houſe, and declare there the truth to the prieſt and the people; which doing, the people fell upon him, and ſtruck him down, almoſt ſmothering him, for he was cruelly beaten and bruiſed with their hands, bibles, and ſticks. Then they haled him out, though hardly able to ſtand, and put him into the ſtocks, where he ſat ſome hours: and they brought horſe-whips, threatening to whip him. After ſome time they had him before the magiſtrates, at a knight's houſe; who ſeeing how ill he had been uſed, ſet him at liberty, after much threatening. But the rude multitude ſtoned him out of the town; and though he was ſcarce able to go, yet with much ado he got about a mile from the town, where he met with ſome people that gave him ſomething to comfort him, becauſe he was inwardly bruiſed. But it pleaſed the Lord ſoon to heal him again; and ſome people were that day convinced of the truth, which had been declared by him in the ſteeple-houſe, at which he rejoiced.

Out of Nottinghamſhire he went into Leiceſterſhire, accompanied by ſeveral of his friends; and coming to Barrow, diſcourſed with ſome Baptiſts; and one of them ſaying, What was not of faith, was ſin; he aſked, What faith was, and how it was wrought in man: but they turning off from that, ſpoke of their water-baptiſm; which gave occaſion to G. Fox, and his friends, to aſk who baptiſed John the Baptiſt, and who baptiſed Peter, John, and the reſt of the Apoſtles. But they were ſilent at thoſe queſtions. After ſome other diſcourſe, they parted. On the next Firſt-day of the week, G. Fox, and thoſe that were with him, came to Bagworth, and went to a ſteeple-houſe; and after the prieſt had done, they had ſome ſervice there by ſpeaking to the people.

Paſſing from thence, he heard of a people that were in

priſon in Coventry for religion; and as he was walking towards the jail, the word of the Lord (as he relates) came to him, ſaying, 'My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' By this he was overcome with a ſenſe of the love of God, and much ſtrengthened in his inward man. But coming into the gaol, a great power of darkneſs ſtruck at him; for inſtead of meeting ſuch as were impriſoned for religion, he found them to be blaſphemers, who were come to that degree, that they ſaid they were gods; and this their wicked opinion they endeavoured to maintain by Scripture, miſapplying what was ſaid to the Apoſtle Peter, when the ſheet was let down to him, viz. 'What was ſanctified, he ſhould not call common or unclean:' and the words of the Apoſtle Paul, concerning 'God's reconciling all things to himſelf, things in heaven, and things on earth.' G. Fox was greatly grieved at this profaneneſs, told them that theſe Scriptures were nothing to their purpoſe; and ſeeing they ſaid they were gods, he aſked them, if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow; and they ſaying, they could not tell; he told them, God could tell. He aſked them alſo, if they thought they ſhould be always in that condition, or ſhould change: and they anſwering, that they could not tell; G. Fox told them, that God could tell it, and that he did not change. This confounded them, and brought them down for that time; ſo after having reproved them for their blaſphemous expreſſions, he went away. Not long after this, one of theſe ranters, whoſe name was Joſeph Salmon, gave forth a book of recantation, upon which they were ſet at liberty. From Coventry, G. Fox went to Atherſtone, where, going into the chapel, he declared to the prieſts and the people, that God was come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them off from all their man-made teachers, to hear his Son. And though ſome few raged, yet they were generally pretty quiet, and ſome were convinced.

After this ſervice, he went to Market-Boſworth, and coming into the publick place of worſhip, he found Nathaniel Stevens preaching, who, as hath been ſaid already, was prieſt of the town where G. Fox was born; here

G. Fox taking occaſion to ſpeak, Stevens told the people, he was mad, and that they ſhould not hear him; though he had ſaid before to one Colonel Purfoy concerning him, that there was never ſuch a plant bred in England. The people now being ſtirred up by this prieſt, fell upon G. Fox and his friends, and ſtoned them out of the town. Nevertheleſs this wrought on the minds of ſome others, ſo that they were made loving.

G. Fox now travelling on, came to Twy-Croſs, where he ſpoke to the exciſemen, and warned them to take heed of oppreſſing the poor. There being in that town a great man, that had long lain ſick, and was given over by the phyſicians, he went to viſit him in his chamber; and after having ſpoken ſome words to him, he was moved to pray by his bed-ſide; and the Lord was entreated, ſo that the ſick man was reſtored to health. But G. Fox being come down, and ſpeaking to ſome that were in a room there, a ſervant came with a naked rapier in his hand, and threatened to ſtab him; but he looking ſtedfaſtly on the man, ſaid, 'Alack for thee, poor creature! What wilt thou do with thy carnal weapon? It is no more to me than a ſtraw.' He being ſtopped thus, went away in a rage, and his maſter hearing of it turned him out of his ſervice, and was afterwards very loving to Friends; and when G. Fox came to that town again, both he and his wife came to ſee him.

After this he went into Derbyſhire, where his fellow-believers increaſed in godly ſtrength; and coming to Cheſterfield, he found one Britland to be prieſt there, who having been partly convinced of the doctrine of truth, had ſpoken much in behalf of it, and ſaw beyond the common ſort of prieſts. But when the prieſt of that town died, he got the parſonage. G. Fox now ſpeaking to him and the people, endeavoured to bring them off from man's teaching, unto God's teaching: and though the prieſt was not able to gainſay, yet they had him before the mayor, and threatened to ſend him to the houſe of correction: but when it was late in the night, the officers and the watchmen led him out of the town.

Concerning ſtate affairs it hath been ſaid already, that

Charles II. had been proclaimed king by the Scots; but he being ſtill in Holland, they ſent to him there, that he would ſubſcribe the Covenant, and ſo abrogate Epiſcopacy in Scotland: it was alſo deſired that he would put ſome lords from him. But thoſe that were ſent, received only an anſwer from the young King in general terms, which made them return home again, where we will leave them, to ſee in the mean-while how it went with G. Fox, who had been ſent away, as hath been ſaid, from Cheſterfield, came to Derby in the year 1650, and lay at a doctor's houſe, whoſe wife was convinced of the truth he preached. Now it happened, as he was walking there in his chamber, he heard the bell ring, and aſked the woman of the houſe what the bell rung for. She told him, there was to be a great lecture that day; ſo that many of the officers of the army, and prieſts and preachers were to be there, as alſo a colonel that was a preacher. Then he felt himſelf moved to go to that congregation; and when the ſervice was done, he ſpoke to them what he believed the Lord required of him; and they were pretty quiet. But there came an officer, who took him by the hand, and ſaid, that he, and the other two that were with him, muſt go before the magiſtrates. Coming then about the firſt hour in the afternoon before them, they aſked him, why he came thither; to which having anſwered, that God had moved him to it; he farther ſaid, that God did not dwell in temples made with hands; and that all their preaching, baptiſm, and ſacrifices, would never ſanctify them; but that they ought to look unto Chriſt in them, and not unto men; becauſe it is Chriſt that ſanctifies. They then running into many words, he told them, they were not to diſpute of God and Chriſt, but to obey him. But this doctrine did ſo diſpleaſe them, that they often put him in and out of the room, and ſometimes told him ſcoffingly, that he was taken up in raptures. At laſt they aſked him, whether he was ſanctified; and he anſwering, yes; they then aſked, if he had no ſin; to which he ſaid, 'Chriſt my Saviour has taken away my ſin, and in him there is no ſin.' Then he and his friends were aſked, how they knew that Chriſt did

abide in them; G. Fox ſaid, 'By his Spirit, that he has given us.' Then they temptingly aſked, if any of them was Chriſt; but he anſwered, 'Nay, we are nothing, Chriſt is all.' At length they alſo aſked, if a man ſteal, is it no ſin; to which he anſwered with the words of Scripture, 'All unrighteouſneſs is ſin.' So when they had wearied themſelves in examining him, they committed him and another man, to the houſe of correction in Derby, for ſix months, as blaſphemers, as appears by the following mittimus.

To the Maſter of the Houſe of Correction in Derby, Greeting.

We have ſent you herewithal the bodies of George Fox, late of Mansfield in the county of Nottingham; and John Fretwell, late of Staniesby in the county of Derby, huſbandman, brought before us this preſent day, and charged with the avowed uttering and broaching of divers blaſphemous opinions, contrary to a late Act of Parliament, which, upon their examination before us, they have confeſſed. Theſe are therefore to require you, forthwith upon ſight hereof, to receive them, the ſaid George Fox and John Fretwell into your cuſtody, and them therein ſafely to keep during the ſpace of ſix months, without bail or mainprize, or until they ſhall find ſufficient ſecurity to be of good behaviour, or be thence delivered by order from ourſelves. Hereof you are not to fail. Given under our hands and ſeals this 30th day of October, 1650.

Ger. Bennet,
Nath. Barton.

George Fox being thus, as hath been ſaid, locked up, the prieſts beſtirred themſelves in their pulpits to preach up ſin for term of life; and they endeavoured to perſuade people that it was an erroneous doctrine, to aſſert a poſſibility of being freed from ſin in this life, as was held forth by the Quakers; for this began now to be the name whereby G. Fox's fellow-believers were called, in a reviling way: and ſince that denomination hath continued

to them from that time downward, we cannot therefore paſs by the firſt riſe of it with ſilence. Until this time thoſe who profeſſed the light of Chriſt as ſhining in man's heart, and reproving for ſin, were not improperly called Profeſſors of the Light, or Children of the Light: but Gervas Bennet, one of the juſtices of the peace who ſigned the aforeſaid mittimus, and an Independent, hearing that G. Fox bade him, and thoſe about him, tremble at the word of the Lord! took hold of this weighty ſaying with ſuch an airy mind, that from thence he took occaſion to call him, and his friends, ſcornfully, QUAKERS. This new and unuſual denomination was taken up ſo eagerly, and ſpread ſo among the people, that not only the prieſts there from that time gave no other name to the Profeſſors of the Light, but ſounded it ſo gladly abroad, that it ſoon run over all England; and making no ſtand there, it quickly reached to the neighbouring countries, and adjacent kingdoms, inſomuch, that the ſaid Profeſſors of the Light, for diſtinction ſake from other religious ſocieties, have been called every where by that Engliſh name, which ſounding very odd in the ears of ſome foreign nations, hath alſo given occaſion to many ſilly ſtories.

Now becauſe in thoſe early times, among the many adherents of this perſuaſion, there were ſome that having been people of a rude and diſſolute life, came ſo to be pricked to the heart, that they grew true penitents, with real ſorrow for their former tranſgreſſions; it happened that they at meetings did not only burſt out into tears, but alſo were affected with ſuch a ſingular commotion of the mind, that ſome ſhakings of their bodies were perceived; ſome people naturally being more affected with the paſſions of the mind, than others; for even anger doth tranſport ſome men ſo violently, that it makes them tremble; whereas others will quake with fear: and what wonder then, if ſome being ſtruck with the terrors of God did tremble? But this being ſeen by envious men, they took occaſion from thence to tell, that theſe Profeſſors of the Light performed their worſhip with ſhaking; yet they themſelves never aſſerted that trembling of the body was

an eſſential part of their religion, but have occaſionally ſaid the contrary; though they did not deny themſelves to be ſuch as trembled before God; and they alſo did not ſtick to ſay, that all people ought to do ſo; however thereby not enjoining a bodily ſhaking.

We have ſeen juſt now, how one Fretwell was committed with G. Fox to the houſe of correction; but he not ſtanding faithful in his teſtimony, obtained, by interceſſion of the jailor, leave of the juſtice to go ſee his mother, and ſo got his liberty; and then a report was ſpread, that he had ſaid, that G. Fox had bewitched and deceived him.

G. Fox was now become the object of many peoples hatred; magiſtrates, prieſts, and profeſſors were all in a rage againſt him; and the gaoler, to find ſomething wherewith to enſnare him, would ſometimes aſk him ſuch ſilly queſtions, as, whether the door were latched or not; thinking thereby to draw ſome ſudden unadviſed anſwer from him, whereby he might charge ſin upon him: but he was kept ſo watchful and circumſpect, that they could get no advantage of him. Not long after his commitment, he was moved to write both to the prieſts and magiſtrates of Derby.

Now ſince G. Croeſe in the beginning of his hiſtory, repreſents G. Fox as one altogether unfit, not only to write legibly, but alſo to expreſs his mind clearly in writing, and that therefore he always was obliged to employ others that could ſet down his meaning intelligibly, it will not be beſide the purpoſe to ſay, that this is more than any will be able to prove. For though it cannot be denied that he was no elegant writer, nor good ſpeller, yet it is true, that his characters being tolerable, his writing was legible, and the matter he treated of was intelligible, though his ſtile was not like that of a ſkilful linguiſt. And albeit he employed others, becauſe himſelf was no quick writer, yet generally they were young lads, who as they durſt not have attempted to alter his words and phraſes, ſo they would not have been ſkilful enough to refine his ſtile. This I do not write from hearſay; but have ſeen it at ſundry times. And how true it is what the ſame author

ſays, that moſtly all that G. Fox did write, was ſcarce any thing beſides a rough collection of ſeveral Scripture places, may be ſeen by the ſequel of this hiſtory, wherein will be found many of his writings. The firſt of his letters I meet with is the following, which he writ to the prieſts of Derby, from the houſe of correction, where certainly he had not the convenience of a writing clerk.

'O Friends I was ſent unto you to tell you, that if you had received the goſpel freely, you would miniſter it freely without money or price: but you make a trade and ſale of what the prophets and apoſtles have ſpoken; and ſo you corrupt the truth. And you are the men, that lead ſilly women captive, who are ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth: you have a form of godlineſs; but you deny the power. Now as Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo do you reſiſt the truth; being men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But you ſhall proceed no farther; for your folly ſhall be made manifeſt to all men, as theirs was. Moreover the Lord ſent me to tell you, that he doth look for fruits. You aſked me, if the Scripture was my rule; but it is not your rule, to rule your lives by; but to talk of in words. You are the men that live in pleaſures, pride, and wantonneſs, in fulneſs of bread and abundance of idleneſs: ſee if this be not the ſin of Sodom. Lot received the angels: but Sodom was envious. You ſhew forth the vain nature: you ſtand in the ſteps of them that crucified my Saviour, and mocked him: you are their children; you ſhew forth their fruit. They had the chief place in the aſſemblies; and ſo have you: they loved to be called Rabbi; and ſo do you.' G. F.

That which he writ to the Magiſtrates, who committed him to priſon, was to this effect:

'Friends,

'I am forced, in tender love unto your ſouls, to write unto you, and to beſeech you to conſider what you do, and what the commands of God call for. He doth require

juſtice and mercy, to break every yoke, and to let the oppreſſed go free. But who calleth for juſtice, or loveth mercy, or contendeth for the truth? Is not judgment turned backward, and doth not juſtice ſtand afar off? Is not truth ſilenced in the ſtreets, or can equity enter? And do not they that depart from evil, make themſelves a prey? Oh! conſider what ye do in time, and take heed whom you do impriſon: for the magiſtrate is ſet for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. Now, I intreat you in time take heed what you do; for ſurely the Lord will come, and will make manifeſt both the builders and the work: and if it be of man, it will fail; but if it be of God, nothing will overthrow it. Therefore I deſire and pray, that you would take heed, and beware what you do, leſt ye be found fighters againſt God. G. F.'

GeorgeFox having thus cleared his conſcience, continued waiting in patience, leaving the event to God. And after ſome time he felt himſelf conſtrained to write to the juſtices that had committed him to priſon, to lay their doings before them, that ſo they might come to a due conſideration thereof: one of them (already mentioned) was juſtice Bennet, the other Nathaniel Barton, both a juſtice and a colonel, as alſo a preacher: to theſe he wrote as follows.

'Friends,

'You did ſpeak of the good old way, which the prophet ſpake of; but the prophet cried againſt the abominations which you hold up. Had you the power of God, ye would not perſecute the good way. He that ſpake of the good way was ſet in the ſtocks: the people cried, Away with him to the ſtocks, for ſpeaking the truth. Ah! fooliſh people, which have eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not, without underſtanding! Fear ye not me, ſaith the Lord, and will ye not tremble at my preſence! O your pride and abominations are odious in the eyes of God! you (that are preachers) have the chiefeſt place in the aſſemblies, and are called of men Maſter; and ſuch were and are againſt my Saviour and Maker: and they

ſhut up the kingdom of heaven from men, neither go in themſelves, nor ſuffer others. Therefore ye ſhall receive the greater damnation, who have their places, and walk in their ſteps. You may ſay, if you had been in the days of the prophets, or Chriſt, ye would not have perſecuted them; wherefore be ye witneſſes againſt yourſelves, that ye are the children of them, ſeeing, ye now perſecute the way of truth. O conſider, there is a true Judge, that will give every one of you a reward according to your works. O mind where you are, you that hold up the abominations, which the true prophet cried againſt! O come down, and ſit in the duſt! The Lord is coming with power; and he will throw down every one that is exalted, that he alone may be exalted.'

Having thus written to them jointly, he, after ſome time, wrote to each of them apart. That to juſtice Bennet was thus.

'Friend,

'Thou that doſt profeſs God and Chriſt in words, ſee how thou doſt follow him. To take off burdens, and to viſit them that be in priſon, and ſhew mercy, and clothe thy own fleſh, and deal thy bread to the hungry; theſe are God's commandments: to relieve the fatherleſs, and to viſit the widows in their afflictions, and to keep thyſelf unſpotted of the world; this is pure religion before God. But if thou doſt profeſs Chriſt, and followeſt covetouſneſs, and greedineſs, and earthly-mindedneſs, thou denieſt him in life, and deceiveſt thyſelf and others, and takeſt him for a cloke. Wo be to you greedy men, and rich men, weep and howl for your miſery that ſhall come. Take heed of covetouſneſs and extortion, God doth forbid that. Wo be to the man that coveteth an evil covetouſneſs, that he may ſet his neſt on high, and cover himſelf with thick clay. O do not love that which God forbids: his ſervant thou art whom thou doſt obey, whether it be of ſin unto death, or of obedience unto righteouſneſs. Think upon Lazarus and Dives: the one fared ſumptuouſly every day; the other was a beggar. See, if thou be not Dives.

Be not deceived; God is not mocked with vain words: evil communication corrupteth good manners. Awake to righteouſneſs and ſin not. G. F.'

And that to juſtice Barton was thus worded:

'Friend,

'Thou that preacheſt Chriſt, and the Scriptures in words, when any come to follow that, which thou haſt ſpoken of, and to live the life of the Scriptures, than they that ſpeak the Scriptures, but do not lead their lives according thereunto, perſecute them that do. Mind the prophets, and Jeſus Chriſt, and his apoſtles, and all the holy men of God; what they ſpake, was from the life: but they that had not the life, but the words, perſecuted and impriſoned them that lived in the life, which they had backſlidden from. G. F.'

Now, though the Mayor of Derby did not ſign the mittimus, yet having had a hand with the reſt in ſending G. Fox to priſon, he alſo writ to him after this manner:

'Friend,

'Thou art ſet in place to do juſtice; but in impriſoning my body, thou haſt done contrary to juſtice, according to your own law. O take heed of pleaſing men more than God, for that is the way of the Scribes and Phariſees: they ſought the praiſe of men more than God. Remember who ſaid, 'I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in; I was in priſon, and ye viſited me not.' O friend, thy envy is not againſt me, but againſt the power of truth. I had no envy to you, but love. O take heed of oppreſſion, for the day of the Lord is coming, that ſhall burn as an oven; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, ſhall be as ſtubble; and the day that cometh, ſhall burn them up, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts: it ſhall leave them neither root nor branch. O friend, if the love of God were in thee, thou wouldſt love the truth, and hear the truth ſpoken, and not impriſon unjuſtly: the love of God beareth, and ſuffereth, and envieth no man. If the love of God had broken your hearts, you would ſhew mercy; but you do ſhew forth what ruleth you. Every tree doth

ſhew forth its fruit: you do ſhew forth your fruits openly. For drunkenneſs, ſwearing, pride, and vanity, rule among you, from the teacher to the people. O friend! mercy and true judgment, and juſtice, are cried for in your ſtreets. Oppreſſion, unmercifulneſs, cruelty, hatred, pride, pleaſures, wantonneſs, and fullneſs, is in your ſtreets; but the poor is not regarded. O take heed of the wo: wo be to the crown of pride! wo be to them that drink wine in bowls, and the poor is ready to periſh. O remember Lazarus and Dives: one fared deliciouſly every day; and the other was a beggar. O friend, mind theſe things, for they are near, and ſee, whether thou be not the man, that is in Dives's ſtate.'

To thoſe of the Court at Derby, he alſo writ the following exhortation.

'I am moved to write unto you, to take heed of oppreſſing the poor in your courts, or laying burdens upon poor people, which they cannot bear: and of falſe oaths, or making them to take oaths, which they cannot perform. The Lord ſaith, I will come near to judgment, and I will be a ſwift witneſs againſt the ſorcerers, againſt the falſe ſwearers, and againſt the idolaters, and againſt thoſe that do oppreſs widows and fatherleſs. Therefore take heed of all theſe things betimes. The Lord's judgments are all true and righteous, and he delighteth in mercy: ſo love mercy, dear people, and conſider in time.'

And becauſe the ringing of bells for joy, is a thing generally tending to ſtir up vanity and immorality, he alſo writ a few lines to the bell-ringers of the ſteeple-houſe, called St. Peter's, in Derby.

'Friends,

'Take heed of pleaſures, and prize your time now, while you have it; and do not ſpend it in pleaſures, nor earthlineſs. The time may come, that you will ſay, you had time, when it is paſt: therefore look at the love of God now, while you have time; for it bringeth to loathe all vanities, and worldly pleaſures. O conſider! time is

precious: fear God and rejoice in him, who hath made heaven and earth.'

Whilſt G. Fox was in priſon there, ſeveral of the profeſſors came to diſcourſe with him, and he perceiving that they came to plead for ſin and imperfection, aſked them, Whether they were believers, and had faith: and they ſaying Yes, he farther aſked them, In whom? to which they anſwering, In Chriſt; he replied, If ye are true believers in Chriſt, you are paſſed from death to life; and if paſſed from death, then from ſin that bringeth death. And if your faith be true, it will give you victory over ſin and the devil, and purify your hearts and conſciences, (for the true faith is held in a pure conſcience) it will bring you to pleaſe God, and give you acceſs to him again. But ſuch language as this they could not endure; for they ſaid, they could not believe that any could be free from ſin on this ſide the grave. To which he anſwered, That then they might give over their talking concerning the Scriptures, which were the words of holy men; whilſt they themſelves pleaded for unholineſs. At another time, another company of ſuch profeſſors came, and they alſo pleading for ſin, he aſked them, Whether they had hope: To which they anſwered, Yes, God forbid but we ſhould have hope. Then he aſked, What hope is it you have? Is Chriſt in you, the hope of your glory? Doth it purify you, as he is pure? But they could not abide to hear of being made pure here, and therefore he bade them forbear talking of the Scriptures, which were the holy men's words; for the holy men that writ the Scriptures (ſaid he) pleaded for holineſs in heart, life, and converſation here; but ſince you plead for impurity and ſin, which is of the devil, what have you to do with the holy men's words?

Now the keeper of the priſon, who was alſo an high profeſſor, was much enraged againſt G. Fox, and ſpoke wickedly of him. But it pleaſed the Lord one day to ſtrike him ſo, that he was under great anguiſh of mind: and G. Fox walking in his chamber, heard a doleful noiſe, and ſtanding ſtill to hearken, he heard him ſay to his wife,

wife, I have ſeen the day of judgment, and I ſaw George there, and was afraid of him, becauſe I had done him ſo much wrong, and ſpoken ſo much againſt him to the miniſters, and profeſſors, and to the juſtices, and in taverns and alehouſes. After this, towards the evening, the keeper came up into his chamber, and ſaid to him, I have been as a lion againſt you; but now I come like a lamb, and like the gaoler that came to Paul and Silas trembling. And he deſired that he might lie with him; to which G. Fox anſwered, That he was in his power, he might do what he would. But ſaid the other, Nay, I will have your leave; and I could deſire to be always with you, but not to have you as a priſoner. G. Fox, unwilling to deny his deſire, complied with it, and ſuffered him to lie with him. Then the keeper told him all his heart, and ſaid, he believed what he had ſaid of the true faith and hope, to be true: and he wondered that the other man that was put into priſon with him, did not ſtand to it; for, ſaid he, That man was not right, but you are an honeſt man. He alſo confeſſed, that at thoſe times when G. Fox had aſked him to let him go and ſpeak the word of the Lord to the people, and at his refuſal had laid the weight thereof upon him, that then he uſed to be under great trouble, amazed, and almoſt diſtracted for ſome time. The next morning the keeper went to the juſtices, and told them, that he and his houſe had been plagued for G. Fox's ſake. To which one of the juſtices, viz. Bennet, ſaid, That the plagues were on them too, for keeping him. The juſtices now to be rid of him, gave leave that he ſhould have liberty to walk a mile. But he perceiving their end, told the gaoler, if they would ſet down to him how far a mile was, he might take the liberty of walking it ſometimes: for he believed they thought he would go away; and the gaoler alſo told him afterwards, that this was their intent. But he ſignified to him, that he had no mind to get his liberty that way. And ſo he remained priſoner, and was viſited by the gaoler's ſiſter, who was ſo affected with what he ſpoke to her, that ſhe coming down, told her brother, they were an innocent people, that did no

hurt to any, but good to all; and ſhe deſired that he might be treated civilly.

Now, ſince by reaſon of his reſtraint, he had not the opportunity of travelling about to declare the doctrine of truth, he, to diſcharge himſelf, wrote the following paper, and ſent it forth for the opening of people's underſtandings in the way of truth, and directing them to the true teacher in themſelves.

'The Lord doth ſhew unto man his thoughts, and diſcovereth all the ſecret workings in man. A man may be brought to ſee his evil thoughts, and running mind, and vain imaginations, and may ſtrive to keep them down, and to keep his mind in; but cannot overcome them, nor keep his mind within to the Lord. Now, in this ſtate and condition, ſubmit to the Spirit of the Lord, that ſhews them, and that will bring to wait upon the Lord; and he that hath diſcovered them, will deſtroy them. Therefore ſtand in the faith of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt (who is the author of the true faith) and mind him; for he will diſcover the root of luſts, and evil thoughts, and vain imaginations, and how they are begotten, conceived and bred; and then how they are brought forth, and how every evil member doth work. He will diſcover every principle from its own nature and root.

'So mind the faith of Chriſt, and the anointing which is in you, to be taught by it, which will diſcover all workings in you: and as he teacheth you, ſo obey and forſake; elſe you will not grow up in the faith, nor in the life of Chriſt, where the love of God is received. Now love begetteth love, its own nature and image: and when mercy and truth do meet, what joy there is! and mercy doth triumph in judgment, and love and mercy doth bear the judgment of the world in patience. That which cannot bear the world's judgment, is not the love of God; for love beareth all things, and is above the world's judgment; for the world's judgment is but fooliſhneſs. And though it be the world's judgment and practice, to caſt all the world's filthineſs, that is among themſelves, upon the ſaints; yet their judgment is falſe. Now the chaſte vir-

gins follow Chriſt the Lamb, that takes away the ſins of the world: but they that are of that ſpirit, which is not chaſte, will not follow Chriſt the Lamb in his ſteps; but are diſobedient to him in his commands. So the fleſhly mind doth mind the fleſh, and talketh fleſhly, and its knowledge is fleſhly, and not ſpiritual; but ſavours of death, and not of the ſpirit of life. Now ſome men have the nature of ſwine, wallowing in the mire: and ſome men have the nature of dogs, to bite both the ſheep and one another: and ſome men have the nature of lions, to tear, devour, and deſtroy: and ſome men have the nature of wolves, to tear and devour the lambs and ſheep of Chriſt: and ſome men have the nature of the ſerpent (that old adverſary) to ſting, envenom and poiſon. He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear, and learn theſe things within himſelf. And ſome men have the natures of other beaſts and creatures, minding nothing, but earthly and viſible things, and feeding without the fear of God. Some men have the nature of an horſe, to prance and vapour in their ſtrength, and to be ſwift in doing evil. And ſome men have the nature of tall ſturdy oaks, to flouriſh and ſpread in wiſdom and ſtrength, who are ſtrong in evil, which muſt periſh, and come to the fire. Thus the evil is but one in all, but worketh many ways; and whatſoever a man's or woman's nature is addicted to, that is outward, the evil one will fit him with that, and will pleaſe his nature and appetite, to keep his mind in his inventions, and in the creatures from the Creator. O therefore let not the mind go forth from God; for if it do, it will be ſtained, and venomed and corrupted: and if the mind go forth from the Lord, it is hard to bring it in again. Therefore take heed of the enemy, and keep in the faith of Chriſt. O! therefore mind that which is eternal and inviſible, and him who is the Creator and Mover of all things; for the things that are made, are not made of things that do appear; for the viſible covereth the inviſible ſight in you. But as the Lord, who is inviſible, doth open you, by his inviſible Power and Spirit, and brings down the carnal mind in you; ſo the inviſible and immortal things are brought to light in you. O therefore you that

know the light, walk in the light! for there are children of darkneſs, that will talk of the light, and of the truth, and not walk in it; but the children of the light love the light, and walk in the light. But the children of darkneſs walk in darkneſs, and hate the light; and in them the earthly luſts, and the carnal mind choak the ſeed of faith, and that bringeth oppreſſion on the ſeed, and death over them. O therefore mind the pure Spirit of the everlaſting God, which will teach you to uſe the creatures in their right place; and which judgeth the evil. To thee, O God, be all glory and honour, who art Lord of all viſibles and inviſibles! to thee be all praiſe, who bringeſt out of the deep to thyſelf; O powerful God, who art worthy of all glory! for the Lord who created all, and gives life and ſtrength to all, is over all, and merciful to all. So thou, who haſt made all, and art over all, to thee be all glory; in thee is my ſtrength, refreſhments, and life, my joy and my gladneſs, my rejoicing and glorying for evermore! So to live and walk in the Spirit of God, is joy, and peace, and life; but the mind going forth into the creatures, or into any viſible things from the Lord, this bringeth death. Now when the mind is got into the fleſh, and into death, then the accuſer gets within, and the law of ſin and death, that gets into the fleſh; and then the life ſuffers under the law of ſin and death; and then there is ſtraitneſs and failings. For then the good is ſhut up, and then the ſelf-righteouſneſs is ſet a-top; and then man doth work in the outward law, and he cannot juſtify himſelf by the law; but is condemned by the light; for he cannot get out of that ſtate, but by abiding in the light, and reſting in the mercy of God, and believing in him, from whom all mercy doth flow: for there is peace in reſting in the Lord Jeſus. This is the narrow way that leads to him, the life; but few will abide in it: therefore keep in the innocency, and be obedient to the faith in him. And take heed of conforming to the world, and of reaſoning with fleſh and blood, for that bringeth diſobedience; and then imaginations and queſtionings do ariſe, to draw from obedience to the truth of Chriſt. But the obedience of faith deſtroyeth imaginations, and queſtionings, and reaſonings, and all the

temptations in the fleſh, and buffetings, and lookings forth and fetching up things that are paſt. But not keeping in the life and light, and not croſſing the corrupt will by the power of God, the evil nature grows up in man; and then burdens will come, and man will be ſtained with that nature. But Eſau's mountain ſhall be laid waſte, and become a wilderneſs, where the dragons lie: but Jacob, the ſecond birth ſhall be fruitful, and ſhall ariſe; for Eſau is hated, and muſt not be lord; but Jacob, the ſecond birth, which is perfect and plain, ſhall be lord: for he is beloved of God. G. F.'

About the ſame time he writ to his friends the following paper:

'The Lord is King over all the earth! therefore all people, praiſe and glorify your King in the true obedience, in the uprightneſs, and in the beauty of holineſs. O conſider, in the true obedience the Lord is known, and an underſtanding from him is received. Mark and conſider in ſilence, in the lowlineſs of mind, and thou wilt hear the Lord ſpeak unto thee in thy mind: his voice is ſweet and pleaſant; his ſheep hear his voice, and they will not hearken to another: and when they hear his voice, they rejoice and are obedient; they alſo ſing for joy. Oh, their hearts are filled with everlaſting triumph! they ſing, and praiſe the eternal God in Sion: their joy ſhall never man take from them. Glory be to the Lord God for evermore!'

And ſince many, that had been convinced of the truth, turned aſide, becauſe of the perſecution that aroſe, he writ for the encouragement of the faithful, theſe lines:

'Come ye bleſſed of the Lord, and rejoice together; keep in unity and oneneſs of ſpirit; triumph above the world; be joyful in the Lord; reigning above the world, and above all things that draw from the Lord; that in clearneſs, righteouſneſs, pureneſs, and joy, you may be preſerved to the Lord. O hear, O hearken to the call of the Lord, and come out of the world, and keep out of it for evermore! and come, ſing together, ye righteous ones,

the ſong of the Lord, the ſong of the Lamb; which none can learn, but they who are redeemed from the earth, and from the world.

Now while G. Fox was at Derby in the houſe of correction, his relations came to ſee him, and being ſorry for his impriſonment, they went to the juſtices, by whoſe order he was put there, and deſired that he might be releaſed, offering to be bound in one hundred pounds, and others in Derby in fifty pounds a piece with them, that he ſhould no more come thither to declare againſt the prieſts. But he being brought before the juſtices, would not conſent that any ſhould be bound for him, becauſe he believed himſelf to be innocent from any ill behaviour. Then juſtice Bennet roſe up in a rage, and as G. Fox was kneeling down to pray to the Lord to forgive him, Bennet ran upon him, and ſtruck him with both his hands, crying, Away with him, gaoler; take him away, gaoler. Whereupon he was carried back again to priſon, and there kept, until the time of his commitment for ſix months was expired. But now he had liberty of walking a mile; which he had made uſe of, in his own freedom: and ſometimes he went into the market and ſtreets, and warned the people to repentance. And on the Firſt-days he now and then viſited the priſoners in their religious meetings. But the juſtices having required ſureties for his good behaviour, it came upon him to write to them again, as followeth.

'Friends,

'See what it is in you that doth impriſon; and ſee, who is head in you; and ſee, if ſomething do not accuſe you? Conſider, you muſt be brought to judgment. Think upon Lazarus and Dives; the one fared ſumptuouſly every day; the other a beggar; and now you have time, prize it, while you have it. Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour? I am bound to my good behaviour, and do cry for good behaviour of all people, to turn from the vanities, pleaſures, and oppreſſion, and from the deceits of this world: and there will come a time, that you ſhall know it. Therefore take heed of pleaſures, and deceits,

and pride; and look not at man, but at the Lord; for look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye ſaved, ſaith the Lord.'

Not long after he wrote to them again, thus:

'Friends,

'Would you have me to be bound to my good behaviour from drunkenneſs, or ſwearing, or fighting, or adultery, and the like? The Lord hath redeemed me from all theſe things; and the love of God hath brought me to loathe all wantonneſs, bleſſed be his name. They who are drunkards, and fighters, and ſwearers, have their liberty without bonds: and you lay your law upon me, whom neither you, nor any other can juſtly accuſe of theſe things, praiſed be the Lord! I can look at no man for my liberty, but at the Lord alone; who hath all mens hearts in his hand.'

And after ſome time, not finding his ſpirit clear of them, he writ again as followeth.

'Friends,

'Had you known who ſent me to you, ye would have received me; for the Lord ſent me to you, to warn you of the woes that are coming upon you; and to bid you, look at the Lord, and not at man. But when I had told you my experience, what the Lord had done for me, then your hearts were hardened, and you ſent me to priſon; where you have kept me many weeks. If the love of God had broke your hearts, then would ye ſee what ye have done. Ye would not have impriſoned me, had not my Father ſuffered you; and by his power I ſhall be looſed; for he openeth and ſhutteth, to him be all glory! In what have I miſbehaved myſelf, that any ſhould be bound for me? All mens words will do me no good, nor their bonds neither, to keep my heart, if I have not a guide within, to keep me in the upright life to God. But I believe in the Lord, that through his ſtrength and power, I ſhall be preſerved from ungodlineſs and worldly luſts. The Scripture ſaith, Receive ſtrangers; but you impriſon ſuch. As you are in authority, take heed of oppreſſion

and oaths, and injuſtice and gifts, or rewards, for God doth loathe all ſuch: but love mercy, and true judgment, and juſtice, for that the Lord delights in. I do not write with hatred to you, but to keep my conſcience clear: take heed how you ſpend your time.

To the prieſts of Derby he alſo writ again in this manner.

'Friends,

'You do profeſs to be the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt in words, but you ſhew forth by your fruits, what your miniſtry is. Every tree doth ſhew forth its fruit: the miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt is in mercy and love, to unlooſe them that be bound, and to bring out of bondage, and to let them that are captivated, go free. Now friends, where is your example (if the Scriptures be your rule) to impriſon for religion? Have you any command for it from Chriſt? If that were in you, which you do profeſs, you would walk in their ſteps, who ſpake forth thoſe words, the Scriptures, which you do profeſs. But he is not a Jew, who is one outward, whoſe praiſe is of men; but he is a Jew, who is one inward, whoſe praiſe is of God. But if you do build upon the prophets and apoſtles in words, and pervert their life, remember the woes which Jeſus Chriſt ſpake againſt ſuch. They that ſpake the prophets words, but denied Chriſt, they profeſſed a Chriſt to come; but had they known him, they would not have crucified him. The ſaints, whom the love of God did change, were brought thereby to walk in love and mercy; for he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God. But where envy, pride, and hatred doth rule, the nature of the world doth rule, and not the nature of Jeſus Chriſt. I write with no hatred to you, but that you may weigh yourſelves, and ſee how you paſs on your time.'

Having thus cleared his conſcience to the prieſts, it was not long before a concern came upon him to write again to the juſtices, which he did as followeth.

'I am moved to warn you to take heed of giving way to your own wills. Love the croſs, and ſatisfy not your minds in the fleſh; but prize your time while you have it;

and walk up to that you know, in obedience to God; and then you ſhall not be condemned for that you know not, but for that you do know, and do not obey. Conſider betimes, and weigh yourſelves, and ſee where you are, and whom you ſerve. For if you blaſpheme God, and take his name in vain; if ye ſwear and lie; if ye give way to envy, hatred, covetouſneſs, and greedineſs, pleaſures, and wantonneſs, or any other vices, be aſſured then, that ye do ſerve the devil; but if ye fear the Lord, and ſerve him, ye will loathe all theſe things. He that loveth God, will not blaſpheme his name; but where there is oppoſing of God, and ſerving the devil, that profeſſion is ſad and miſerable. O prize your time, and do not love that which God doth forbid; lying, wrath, malice, envy, hatred, greedineſs, covetouſneſs, oppreſſion, gluttony, drunkenneſs, whoredom, and all unrighteouſneſs, God doth forbid. So conſider, and be not deceived, evil communication corrupts good manners. Be not deceived, God will not be mocked with vain words: the wrath of God is revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs. Therefore obey that which doth convince you of all evil, and telleth you, that you ſhould do no evil. It will lead to repentance, and keep you in the fear of the Lord! O look at the mercies of God, and prize them, and do not turn them into wantonneſs. O eye the Lord, and not earthly things!'

Beſides this, he writ the following to Nathaniel Barton, who, as was hinted before, was both a juſtice, and a preacher.

'Friend,

'Do not cloak and cover thyſelf: there is a God who knoweth thy heart, and will uncover thee; he ſeeth thy way. Wo be to him that covereth, and not with my Spirit, ſaith the Lord. Doſt thou do contrary to the law, and then put it from thee? Mercy, and true judgment thou neglecteſt; look what was ſpoken againſt ſuch. My Saviour ſaid to ſuch, "I was ſick, and in priſon, and ye viſited me not; I was hungry and ye fed me not; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in." And when they ſaid,

When ſaw we thee in priſon, and did not come to thee, &c. He replied, "Inaſmuch as ye did it not to one of theſe little ones, ye did it not to me." Friend, thou haſt impriſoned me for bearing witneſs to the life and power of truth; and yet profeſſeſt to be a miniſter of Chriſt: but if Chriſt had ſent thee, thou wouldſt bring out of priſon, and out of bondage, and wouldſt receive ſtrangers. Thou haſt been wanton upon earth; thou haſt lived plenteouſly, and nouriſhed thy heart, as in a day of ſlaughter: thou haſt killed the juſt. O look where thou art, and how thou haſt ſpent thy time! O remember thyſelf, and now, while thou haſt time, prize it, and do not ſlight the free mercy of God, and deſpiſe the long-ſuffering of God, which is great ſalvation; but mind that in thee, which doth convince thee, and would not let thee ſwear, nor lie, nor take God's name in vain. Thou knoweſt thou ſhouldſt do none of theſe things: thou haſt learned that which will condemn thee; therefore obey the light, which doth convince thee, and forſake thy ſins, and look at the mercies of God, and prize his love in ſparing thee till now. The Lord ſaith, "Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be ye ſaved:" and, "Ceaſe from man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils." And friend, prize thy time, and ſee whom thou ſerveſt; for his ſervant thou art, whom thou doſt obey, "Whether of ſin unto death, or obedience unto righteouſneſs." If thou ſerveſt God, and fearеſt him, thou wilt not blaſpheme his name, nor curſe, nor ſwear, nor take his name in vain; nor follow pleaſures and wantonneſs, whoredom and drunkenneſs, or wrath, or malice, or revenge, or raſhneſs, or headineſs, pride or gluttony, greedineſs, oppreſſion, or covetouſneſs, or fooliſh jeſting, or vain ſongs; God doth forbid theſe things, and all unrighteouſneſs. If thou profeſſeſt God, and acteſt any of theſe things, thou takeſt him for a cloak, and ſerveſt the devil: conſider with thyſelf, and do not love that which God doth hate. He that loveth God, keepeth his commandments. The devil will tell thee, it is an hard thing to keep God's commandments; but it is an eaſy thing to keep the devil's commandments, and to live in all unrighteouſneſs and ungodlineſs, turning the grace of God

into wantonneſs. "But let the unrighteous man forſake his ways, and turn unto me," ſaith the Lord, "and I will have mercy. Turn ye, why will ye die?" ſaith the Lord.

'Howl ye great ones, for the plagues are pouring out upon you! Howl ye oppreſſors, for recompence and vengeance is coming upon you! Wo unto them that covetouſly join one houſe to another, and bring one field ſo nigh unto another, that the poor can get no more ground, and that ye may dwell upon the earth alone: theſe things are in the ears of the Lord of Hoſts. Wo unto him that covetouſly getteth ill-gotten goods into his houſe, that he may ſet his neſt on high, to eſcape from the power of evil.'

It has been ſaid already, that ſome of G. Fox's friends were moved, as well as he, to preach the doctrine of truth; and in this year it alſo happened, that Elizabeth Hooton, of whom mention hath been made before, from a true experience of the Lord's work in man, alſo felt herſelf moved publickly to preach the way of ſalvation to others, being the firſt woman-preacher, by what I am informed, among thoſe that began now generally to be called by the name of Quakers. Yet I have found in a Dutch book, printed at Dordt, in the year 1647, and called, Hiſtory of the Troubles in England, concerning the various Sects riſen there, that among other perſuaſions at London, there were alſo women that did preach in large meetings, and were heard by many with great ſatisfaction; ſo that the preaching of a woman was not ſuch a novelty as otherwiſe it might have been.

In the foregoing year it hath been ſaid, that ſome Scotch Commiſſioners having been with Charles II. in Holland, were returned to Scotland; and though the King at firſt ſeemed backward to conſent to the Preſbyterian Covenant, yet ſeeing no other way open to the Scottiſh throne, he came to other thoughts, and ſo went over to Scotland, and made his entry into Edinburgh, through the gate on which were placed the quarters of the Earl of Montroſe, who having endeavoured not long before to ſubdue the Scots, had been beaten with his forces, and, being taken priſoner, was executed. The young King being now come into Scotland, ſeemed willing to comply as much as he could, thereby to ingratiate himſelf, not only with the Scots, but

alſo with the Engliſh, if poſſible; and in order thereunto, he gave forth a declaration at his Court at Dumfermling, dated the 16th day of Auguſt, 1650, and in the ſecond year of his reign, as it is there ſaid, in which declaration, I meet with the following words:—

'Though his Majeſty, as a dutiful ſon, be obliged to honour the memory of his royal father, and have in eſtimation the perſon of his mother, yet doth he deſire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit before God, becauſe of his father's hearkening to evil counſels, and his oppoſition to the work of Reformation, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, (by which ſo much of the blood of the Lord's people hath been ſhed in theſe kingdoms), and for the idolatry of his mother.'

Here the King confeſſed openly, that his father's houſe was guilty of great crimes, and plainly ſignified, that the nation indeed had been wronged by his father's behaviour; and he ſeemed to promiſe amendment, if he came to be reſtored. In the mean-while, they began to ſee in England, that the Scots were like to make head againſt them; and therefore they ordered to ſend General Fairfax with an army thither; but he ſhewed himſelf unwilling to go, chiefly, as it was believed, by the advice of his wife, who hearkened to the counſel of the Preſbyterian preachers; and theſe thought it would contribute to their own ſettlement, if thoſe of their own perſuaſion in Scotland were not reſiſted. But the Parliament, many of whoſe members were Independents, did not matter that; but reſolved, ſince Fairfax reſigned voluntarily, to create Oliver Cromwell general of the national forces, in the room of Fairfax. Which being done, Cromwell was ſent with an army to Scotland, and beat the Scots not far from Edinburgh, whereby that city not long after yielded to him.

In this year was born in Holland, on the 14th of the month called November, N. S. William the Third, Prince of Orange, whoſe mother was daughter of the late King Charles the Firſt. And this Prince, by a ſtrange revolution of human affairs, has ſince been advanced to the Engliſh throne; and is at preſent, whilſt I write this, King of Great Britain, &c.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE,

CALLED

QUAKERS.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE year 1651 had ſcarce begun, when the Scots reſolved, notwithſtanding their overthrow, to crown their new King, which, after he had ſworn to maintain the Covenant, they did in the beginning of the month called January. But leaving this,

We return again to George Fox, whom we left at Derby, in the houſe of correction; where about this time a trooper came to him, who ſaid, that having been in the ſteeple-houſe, hearing the prieſt, exceeding great trouble came upon him, and that a voice (which he took to be that of the Lord) ſaid to him, 'Doſt thou not know that my ſervant is in priſon? Go to him for direction.' G. Fox ſpeaking to his condition, told him, 'That which ſhewed him his ſins, and troubled him for them, would alſo ſhew him his ſalvation; becauſe He that ſhews a man his ſin, is the ſame that takes it away.' Whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, the trooper's underſtanding began to be opened concerning the truth, and he was ſenſible of God's mercies, which made him ſpeak boldly in his quarters among the ſoldiers, and others, alledging the Scriptures

for what he believed to be truth. He alſo ſaid, his colonel (which I take to be Barton) was as blind as Nebuchadnezzar, to caſt the ſervant of the Lord into priſon. This ſo incenſed his colonel, that, when at Worceſter fight, the two armies lying near one another, two from the King's army challenged any two of the Parliament's army to fight with them, the ſaid colonel made choice of him and another to anſwer the challenge: and when in the encounter his companion was ſlain, he drove both his enemies within a muſket-ſhot of the town, without firing a piſtol at them. Thus he returned victorious; but then he ſaw the deceit of the officers, and how wonderfully the Lord had preſerved him; and in proceſs of time becoming ſenſible that fighting was unlawful for a true Chriſtian, he laid down his arms, henceforth to fight under the banner of the Prince of Peace, by entering into the ſpiritual warfare.

Now the time of G. Fox's commitment to the houſe of correction being very near out, and there being many new ſoldiers raiſed, the commiſſioners would have made him captain over them, and the ſoldiers cried, 'They would have none but him.' So the keeper of the houſe of correction was commanded to bring him up before the commiſſioners and ſoldiers in the market-place; and there they proffered him that preferment (as they called it), aſking him if he would not take up arms for the Commonwealth, againſt Charles Stuart. G. Fox, never having been a fighter, though it has appeared he was bold and valiant, told them, 'That he could not do ſo, as well knowing from whence all wars do ariſe (viz. from the luſts, according to the doctrine of the apoſtle James) and that he lived in the virtue of that life and power, that took away the occaſion of all wars.' The commiſſioners, to fawn upon him, ſaid, 'They offered him the office in love and kindneſs, becauſe of his virtue.' But he not mattering thoſe flattering words, replied, 'If this be your love and kindneſs, I trample it under my feet.' This bold anſwer preſently ſhewed how ſhallow their pretended kindneſs was; for it ſo enraged them, that they ſaid, 'Take him away gaoler, and put him into the dungeon amongſt the

rogues and felons. Thus G. Fox was put into a louſy ſtinking place amongſt thirty felons, where he had no bed, and was kept almoſt half a year, unleſs that at times he was ſuffered to walk in the garden, for they believed of him that he would not run away. Being in this naſty priſon, it was ſaid among the people, that he never ſhould come out: but he, truſting in God, believed the contrary, it being ſhewed him from the Lord (according to what he relates) that he was not yet to be removed from that place, there being a ſervice for him to do.

In the mean-while it was noiſed abroad, that he was in Derby dungeon, and his relations came again to ſee him, they being much troubled about it; for they thought it a great ſhame to them, that he ſhould lie thus in gaol: beſides, it was a ſtrange thing then to be impriſoned for religion. But ſome judged him to be mad, becauſe he maintained the doctrine of purity, righteouſneſs, and perfection. Among others that came to ſee him, there was alſo a ſoldier from Nottingham, who ſaid to him, 'Your faith ſtands in a man that died at Jeruſalem; and there was never any ſuch thing.' This ſo grieved G. Fox, that he ſaid to him, 'How! did not Chriſt ſuffer without the gates of Jeruſalem, by the profeſſing Jews, the chief prieſts, and Pilate? 'No,' ſaid the other, 'he did not ſuffer there outwardly.' Then G. Fox aſked him, 'Whether there were not Jews, chief prieſts, and Pilate outwardly?' This puzzled the ſoldier a little, ſo that he could not deny it. Then he told him: 'As certainly as there was a chief prieſt, and Jews, and Pilate, ſo certainly Chriſt did ſuffer there outwardly under them.' Yet this inconſiderate perſon ſaid alſo, 'That never any of the prophets or apoſtles, or holy men of God, ſuffered any thing outwardly; but that all their ſufferings were inward.' Then G. Fox inſtanced to him many of the prophets and apoſtles, how they ſuffered, and by whom they ſuffered, thereby to confound his ſilly imaginations. Yet ſuch was the malice of ſome, that a ſlander was raiſed among the people, that the Quakers denied Chriſt that ſuffered and died at Jeruſalem. This, indeed, is a ſingular evidence of the credulity of people, taking upon truſt any ſtory,

how falſe ſoever, when it relates to thoſe that are become the object of vulgar odium. Now as G. Fox was often viſited by thoſe that came out of curioſity, it is not to be wondered, that ſometimes he was contradicted by preſumptuous and ſelf-conceited perſons. Once there came to him ſome that pretended they were triers of ſpirits; and theſe he aſked, 'What was the firſt ſtep to peace: and what it was by which a man might ſee his ſalvation.' But they being of an airy mind, took this to be ſuch a ſtrange queſtion, that they did not ſtick to ſay he was mad. Thus it appeared, that theſe who pretended to try ſpirits, did not know what ſpirit they themſelves were of, and that they had not ſufficient knowledge to make a good judgment of the corporal conſtitution, ſaying he was mad, who was in no wiſe out of his ſenſes.

In the time of his impriſonment, he was much exerciſed in mind about the proceedings of the magiſtrates, becauſe men were put to death for ſtealing of cattle, money, &c. and he was the more troubled about it, becauſe this practice was contrary to the law of God in old time. Wherefore he writ the following two letters to the judges.

'I am moved to write unto you to take heed of putting men to death for ſtealing cattle, or money, &c. for the thieves in the old time were to make reſtitution; and if they had not wherewithal, they were to be ſold for their theft. Mind the laws of God in the Scriptures, and the Spirit that gave them forth; and let them be your rule in executing judgment: and ſhew mercy, that you may receive mercy from God, the Judge of all. And take heed of gifts and rewards, and of pride; for God doth forbid them, and they do blind the eyes of the wiſe. I do not write to give liberty to ſin; God hath forbidden it: but that you ſhould judge according to his laws, and ſhew mercy: for he delighteth in true judgment, and in mercy. I beſeech you to mind theſe things, and prize your time, now you have it; and fear God, and ſerve him; for he is a conſuming fire.'

The other letter was thus.

'I am moved to write unto you, that ye do true juſtice to every man, and ſee that none be oppreſſed, nor wronged; nor no oaths impoſed; for the land mourneth becauſe of oaths, and adulteries, and ſorceries, and drunkenneſs, and profaneneſs. O conſider, ye that be men ſet in authority: be moderate, and in lowlineſs conſider theſe things. Shew mercy to the fatherleſs, and to the widows, and to the poor: and take heed of rewards or gifts, for they do blind the eyes of the wiſe: the Lord doth loathe all ſuch. Love mercy and true judgment, juſtice, and righteouſneſs, for the Lord delighteth in ſuch. Conſider theſe things in time, and take heed how ye do ſpend your time: now ye have time, prize it, and ſhew mercy, that ye may receive mercy from the Lord: for he is coming to try all things and will plead with all fleſh, as by fire.'

Whilſt G. Fox was in priſon among the felons, it grieved him to hear their foul language; and he often reproved them for their wicked words, and evil carriage towards each other: and people did admire that he was ſo preſerved among this bad company, without being defiled by their converſation: but the fear of God ſo prevailed in his heart, that he could not be charged with any evil word or action all the time he was there: yet he perceived that it was dangerous to converſe with ſuch a naughty crew, and therefore he laid before the judges what an hurtful thing it was, that priſoners ſhould lie long in a gaol, becauſe they learned wickedneſs one of another, in talking of their bad deeds; and that therefore ſpeedy juſtice ought to be done.

Now whilſt he was confined here, there was a young woman in the gaol for robbing her maſter of ſome money; and ſhe being to be tried for her life, he wrote concerning her to the judge and jury, ſhewing them, how contrary it was to the law of God of old, to put people to death for ſtealing; and that it was an incumbent duty to ſhew mercy. But notwithſtanding his writing ſo, ſhe was condemned to die, and a grave was made for her. G. Fox having

heard this, writ a few words, containing 'A warning for all people to beware of covetouſneſs, and to fear the Lord, and prize their time, while they have it; that ſo they might avoid wickedneſs;' and when the woman, at the time appointed, was carried forth to execution, he gave this writing to be read at the gallows; but when ſhe was upon the ladder, with a cloth over her face, and ready to be turned off, ſhe was reprieved, and was brought back again to priſon, where afterwards ſhe came to be convinced of the truth, as held forth by G. Fox and his friends.

In the gaol there was alſo detained a wicked man, who was ſaid to be a conjuror; this man threatened G. Fox, and alſo the gaoler, that he would raiſe the devil, and break the houſe down; ſo that he made the gaoler afraid. But G. Fox went to him, and ſaid, 'Come, let us ſee what thou canſt do, and do thy worſt: the devil is raiſed high enough in thee already; but the power of God chains him down.' At this undaunted ſpeech the fellow ſlunk away.

Now the juſtices to get rid of G. Fox, reſolved to preſs him for a ſoldier, ſeeing he would not voluntarily accept of a command; and Bennet ſent conſtables to give him preſs-money: but he told him, 'That he was brought off from outward war, and was dead to it.' And though the commiſſioners over and again proffered him money, yet he would not take it; at which they grew ſo angry, that he was committed cloſe priſoner. Hereupon G. Fox wrote to the juſtices, and thoſe that were concerned in his commitment, the following lines.

'You, who are without Chriſt, and yet uſe the words which he and his ſaints have ſpoken, conſider, neither he nor his apoſtles did ever impriſon any; but my Saviour is merciful even to the unmerciful and rebellious. He doth bring out of priſon and bondage: but men, while the carnal mind doth rule, do oppreſs and impriſon. My Saviour ſaith, "Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you:" for the love of God doth not perſe-

cute any; but loveth all, where it dwelleth: "he that hateth his brother," is a murderer. You profeſs to be Chriſtians, and one of you a miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, yet you have impriſoned me who am a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt. The apoſtles never impriſoned any; but were impriſoned themſelves: take heed of ſpeaking of Chriſt in words, and denying him in life and power. O friends, the impriſoning my body is to ſatisfy your wills; but take heed of giving way to your wills, for that will hurt you. If the love of God had broken your hearts, ye would not have impriſoned me; but my love is to you, as to all my fellow-creatures: and that you may weigh yourſelves, and ſee how you ſtand, is this written.'

About this time he gave forth a paper to thoſe that were convinced of the truth, to ſhew them the deceit of the world, and how the prieſts had deceived the people, viz.

'Chriſt was ever hated; and the righteous, for his ſake. Mind, who they were, that did ever hate them. He that was born after the fleſh, did perſecute him that was born after the Spirit; and ſo it is now. And mind, who were the chiefeſt againſt Chriſt; even the great learned men, the heads of the people, rulers and teachers, that did profeſs the law and the prophets, and looked for Chriſt; they looked for an outwardly glorious Chriſt, to hold up their outward glory: but Chriſt ſpake againſt the works of the world; and againſt the prieſts, and ſcribes, and Phariſees, and their hypocritical profeſſion. He that is a ſtranger to Chriſt, is an hireling: but the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt are freemen. The falſe teachers always laid burdens upon the people: and the true ſervants of the Lord did ſpeak againſt them. Jeremiah did ſpeak againſt hirelings, and ſaid, "It was an horrible thing;" and ſaid, "What will ye do in the end?" for the people and prieſts were given to covetouſneſs. Paul did ſpeak againſt ſuch as did make gain upon the people; and exhorted the ſaints to turn away from ſuch as were covetous men and proud men, ſuch as did love pleaſures more than God; ſuch as had a form of godlineſs, but denied the power thereof. "For of this ſort (ſaid he)

are they that creep into houſes, and lead captive ſilly women, who are ever learning, but never able to come to the knowledge of the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith; and as Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes, ſo (ſaith he) do theſe reſiſt the truth; but they ſhall proceed no further, for their folly ſhall be made manifeſt unto all men." Moſes forſook honours and pleaſures, which he might have enjoyed. The apoſtle in his time ſaw this corruption entering, which now is ſpread over the world, of having a form of godlineſs, but denying the power. Aſk any of your teachers, whether you may ever overcome your corruptions and ſins. None of them doth believe that; but as long as man is here, he muſt (they ſay) carry about with him the body of ſin. Thus pride is kept up, and that honour and maſterſhip, which Chriſt denied; and all unrighteouſneſs; yet multitudes of teachers; heaps of teachers; the golden cup full of abominations! Paul did not preach for wages; but laboured with his hands, that he might be an example to all them that follow him. O people, ſee who follow Paul! The prophet Jeremiah ſaid, "The prophets propheſy falſely, and the prieſts bear rule by their means;" but now the "prieſts bear rule by the means they get from the people:" take away their means, and they will bear rule over you no longer. They are ſuch as, the apoſtle ſaid, intruded into thoſe things, which they never ſaw, being vainly puffed up with a fleſhly mind; and, as the Scriptures declare of ſome of old, "They go in the way of Cain (who was a murderer) and in the way of Balaam, who coveted the wages of unrighteouſneſs." The prophet Micah alſo cried againſt the judges, that judged for reward; and the prieſts, that taught for hire; and the prophets that propheſied for money; and yet leaned on the Lord, ſaying, "Is not the Lord amongſt us?" Gifts do blind the eyes of the wiſe: and the gift of God was never purchaſed with money. All the holy ſervants of God did ever cry againſt deceit: and where the Lord hath manifeſted his love, they do loathe it, and that nature which holdeth it up.'

He alſo wrote a ſerious exhortation to the magiſtrates of Derby, to conſider whom they impriſoned.

'Friends,

'I deſire you to conſider in time, whom ye do impriſon: for the magiſtrate is ſet for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. But when the Lord doth ſend his meſſengers unto you, to warn you of the woes, that will come upon you, except you repent; then you perſecute them, and put them into priſon, and ſay, 'We have a law, and by our law we may do it.' For you indeed juſtify yourſelves before men; but God knoweth your hearts; he will not be worſhipped with your forms and profeſſions, and ſhews of religion. Therefore conſider, ye that talk of God, how ye are ſubject to him; for they are his children, that do his will. What doth the Lord require of you, but to do juſtice, to love and ſhew mercy, to walk humbly with him, and to help the widows and fatherleſs to their right? but inſtead thereof ye oppreſs the poor. Do not your judges judge for reward, and your prieſts teach for hire? The time is coming, that he who ſeeth all things, will diſcover all your ſecrets. And know this aſſuredly, the Lord will deliver his ſervants out of your hands, and he will recompence all your unjuſt dealings towards his people. I deſire you to conſider of theſe things, and ſearch the Scriptures, and ſee whether any of the people of God did ever impriſon any for religion; but were themſelves impriſoned. I deſire you conſider, how it is written, that when the church is met together, they may all propheſy, one by one: that all may hear, and all may learn, and all may be comforted: and then, "If any thing be revealed to him that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace." Thus it was in the true church; and thus it ought to be. But it is not ſo in your aſſemblies; but he that teaches for hire, may ſpeak, and none may contradict him. Again, conſider the liberty that was given to the apoſtles, even among the unbelieving Jews; when after the reading the law and the prophets, the rulers of the ſynagogue ſaid unto them, "Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, ſay on." I deſire you to conſider in ſtillneſs, and

ſtrive not againſt the Lord; for he is ſtronger than you. Though he hold his people faſt for a time; yet when he cometh he will make known who are his: for his coming is like the refiner's fire, and like fuller's ſoap. Then the ſtone that is ſet at nought of you builders, ſhall be the head-ſtone of the corner. O friends, lay theſe things to heart, and let them not ſeem light things to you. I wrote unto you in love, to mind the laws of God, and your own ſouls, and do as the holy men of God did.'

During his impriſonment there, he was under a great exerciſe and travail in ſpirit, becauſe of the wickedneſs of that town; for though ſome were convinced there of the doctrine of truth, yet generally they were a hardened people: and he ſeeing the viſitation of God's love paſs away from them, he mourned, and wrote the following lamentation.

'O Derby! as the waters run away, when the flood gates are up; ſo doth the viſitation of God's love paſs away from thee, O Derby! therefore look where thou art, and how thou art grounded; and conſider, before thou art utterly forſaken. The Lord moved me twice, before I came to cry againſt the deceits and vanities that are in thee; and to warn all to look at the Lord, and not at man. The wo is againſt the crown of pride, and the wo is againſt drunkenneſs and vain pleaſures, and againſt them that make a profeſſion of religion in words, and are high and lofty in mind, and live in oppreſſion and envy. O Derby! thy profeſſion and preaching, ſtinks before the Lord. Ye do profeſs a Sabbath in words, and meet together, dreſſing yourſelves in fine apparel; and you uphold pride. Thy women go with ſtretched forth necks, and wanton eyes, &c. which the true prophet of old cried againſt. Your aſſemblies are odious, and an abomination to the Lord: pride is ſet up, and bowed down to; covetouſneſs abounds: and he that doth wickedly, is honoured: ſo deceit doth bear with deceit; and yet they profeſs Chriſt in words. O the deceit, that is within thee! it doth even break my heart to ſee how God is diſhonoured in thee, O Derby!'

After he had written this, he perceived that his impriſonment there would not continue long; for the magiſtrates grew uneaſy about him, and could not agree what to do with him: one while they would have ſent him up to the Parliament, and another while they would have baniſhed him to Ireland. At firſt they called him a deceiver, and a blaſphemer; and afterwards, when the judgments of God befel them, they ſaid he was an honeſt virtuous man. But their well or ill ſpeaking was nothing to him; for the one did not lift him up, nor did the other caſt him down. At length they turned him out of gaol, about the beginning of the winter, in the year 1651, after he had been priſoner in Derby about a year: ſix months whereof in the houſe of correction, and the reſt of the time in the common gaol and dungeon.

Being ſet at liberty, he went into Leiceſterſhire, and had meetings where he came, preaching ſo effectually, that ſeveral were convinced. He went after to Nottinghamſhire again, and from thence into Derbyſhire, where having viſited his friends, he paſſed into Yorkſhire, and coming into Doncaſter, and other places, he preached repentance. Afterwards he came to Balby, where Richard Farnſworth and ſeveral others were convinced by his preaching. And coming afterwards into the parts about Wakefield, James Naylor came to him, and alſo acknowledged the truth of that doctrine he held forth; likewiſe William Dewſbury, with many more; and theſe three named, became in time alſo miniſters of the goſpel. But by the way, I muſt ſay that William Dewſbury was one of thoſe that had already been immediately convinced, as G. Fox himſelf was, who coming to him, found himſelf in unity with him; and of theſe was alſo G. Fox the younger, of whom more hereafter.

But I return to the other G. Fox, who coming about Selby, paſſed from thence to Beverly, where he went into the ſteeple-houſe, and after he that preached there had done, George Fox ſpoke to the congregation, and ſaid, that 'they ought to turn to Chriſt Jeſus as their teacher.' This ſtruck a dread amongſt the people, and the mayor ſpoke to him; but none meddled with him. In the after-

noon he went to another ſteeple-houſe, about two miles off, where, after the prieſt had done, he ſpoke to him, and the people, ſhewing them the way of life and truth, and the ground of election and reprobation. The prieſt ſaying he could not diſpute, G. Fox told him he did not come to diſpute, but to hold forth the word of truth, that they might all know the one ſeed, to which the promiſe was, both in the male, and in the female. Here his ſpeaking did ſo pleaſe the auditory, that he was deſired to come again on another day, and to preach there. But he directed them to their teacher Chriſt Jeſus, and ſo went away.

The next day he came to Crantſick, to Captain Purſloe's, who accompanied him to Juſtice Hotham's, and entering into diſcourſe with G. Fox, told him, he had known that principle above ten years, and was glad that the Lord did publiſh it abroad among the people. While G. Fox was there, a great woman of Beverly came to ſpeak with the ſaid juſtice about ſome buſineſs, who in diſcourſe ſaid, that the laſt ſabbath-day (as ſhe called it) there was an angel or ſpirit came into the church at Beverly, and ſpoke the wonderful things of God, to the aſtoniſhment of all that were there: and that when it had done, it paſſed away, they not knowing whence it came, nor whither it went; but it aſtoniſhed all, both prieſt and profeſſors, and the magiſtrates of the town. This relation juſtice Hotham gave himſelf afterwards; and then G. Fox told him, that it was he who had been that day at Beverly ſteeple-houſe, and had declared truth there. The next Firſt-day of the week captain Purſloe came to G. Fox, and they both went to the ſteeple-houſe, where G. Fox, when the prieſt had done, ſpoke to both prieſt and people, and directed them where they might find their teacher, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, viz. inwardly, in their hearts; which was of ſuch effect, that ſome received that doctrine of truth, and continued in it. In the afternoon he went to another ſteeple-houſe, about three miles off, where one preached that bore the title of doctor: he took his text from Iſaiah lv. "Every one that thirſteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk, without money, and without price."

G. Fox ſtayed till the prieſt had done, and well knowing what kind of teacher he was, he was kindled with ſuch a zeal, that he ſaid, come down, thou deceiver: doſt thou bid people come freely, and to take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takeſt three hundred pounds a year of them! mayeſt not thou bluſh with ſhame! did the prophet Iſaiah and Chriſt do ſo, who ſpake the words, and gave them forth freely? did not Chriſt ſay to his miniſters, whom he ſent to preach, Freely ye have received, freely give? the prieſt being amazed, haſtened away, and ſo gave G. Fox as much time as he could deſire, to ſpeak to the people; who then directed them to the light, and the grace of God, and to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, to be taught and inſtructed thereby. Having thus cleared himſelf among the people, he returned to juſtice Hotham's houſe that night, who embracing him, ſaid, 'My houſe is your houſe;' and alſo ſignified, that he was exceeding glad at the work of the Lord, and that his power was revealed.

From thence G. Fox went through the country, and came at night to an inn, where he bid the woman of the houſe, if ſhe had any meat, to bring him ſome. But becauſe he ſaid thee and thou to her, ſhe looked ſtrangely on him. Then he aſked her if ſhe had any milk; and ſhe ſaid, no. He believing ſhe ſpoke falſely, and ſeeing a churn ſtand in the room, would try her farther, and aſked her, if ſhe had any cream; but ſhe denied that ſhe had any. Then a little boy playing about the churn, put his hands into it, and pulling it down, threw all the cream on the floor. Thus the woman appeared to be a liar, and ſhe being amazed, took up the child and whipt it ſorely: but he reproved her for her lying, and going out of the houſe, went away, and that night lay in a ſtack of hay, in rain and ſnow. The next day he came to York, and the firſt day of the week being come, he went to the cathedral: when the prieſt had done, he ſaid, he had ſomething from the Lord God to ſpeak to the prieſt and people. Then (ſaid a profeſſor) ſay on quickly; for it was very cold weather. G. Fox then told them, 'this was the word of the Lord God unto them, that they lived in words; but God Almighty looked for fruits among them.' As ſoon

as theſe words were out of his mouth, he was hurried out, and thrown down the ſteps. But he got up again without hurt, and went to his lodging. Yet ſeveral of the people were ſo reached, that they became convinced of the truth.

He having now done his ſervice in York, went from thence, and came the next day to Burraby, and going into a certain meeting, where there was a prieſt alſo, he had occaſion to declare the truth, and many were convinced; and the prieſt himſelf confeſſed to the truth, though he came not to live up to it. The following day G. Fox paſſed to Cleaveland, where having a meeting, ſome were convinced. The firſt day of the next week he went to the ſteeple-houſe, and when the prieſt had done, he directed the people to their teacher within, Chriſt Jeſus, who had bought them. The prieſt then coming to him, he had little diſcourſe with him, and put him ſoon to ſilence.

From thence he went to Stath, where he had great meetings, and many received the truth he preached, among whom was Philip Scarth, a prieſt, that afterwards came to be a miniſter of the goſpel among thoſe called Quakers, who now began thereabout to increaſe in number, and had great meetings. It happened here, that a certain Scotch prieſt, walking with G. Fox, aſked him many queſtions concerning the light, and the ſoul: to all which he anſwered fully. But after they parted, this Scotch prieſt met Philip Scarth, and breaking his cane againſt the ground, ſaid in anger, 'If ever he met with G. Fox again, he would have his life, or Fox ſhould have his;' adding, 'That he would give his head, if G. Fox was not knocked down within a month.' Yet what is marvellous, this ſame Scotch prieſt, after ſome years, came to be one of the people called Quakers, and afterwards G. Fox viſited him at his houſe. Not much unlike to this, was, that a woman of note, among the Independents, being ſwayed by prejudice againſt G. Fox, ſaid, ſhe would willingly have gone to have ſeen him hanged; but, when ſhe heard him preach, was ſo reached, that, being convinced of the truth he declared, ſhe came to be one of his friends. Oftentimes he had opportunity to ſpeak with the prieſts, who, when they

heard of his coming, would hide themſelves; for it was a dreadful thing to them, when it was told them, the man in leather breeches is come; for this was indeed his dreſs in thoſe days, not out of any ſuperſtition, but becauſe leather clothes being ſtrong, it was not unſuitable for one that travelled ſo much as he did.

Coming to Malton he had great meetings; but it was thought ſuch a ſtrange thing to preach in houſes, that many durſt not come there, for fear of their relations; and therefore he was much deſired to come and preach in the churches, as the ſteeple-houſes are commonly called: nay, one of the prieſts himſelf, called Boyes (who was ſo taken with him, that he called him brother) did invite him to preach in his ſteeple-houſe: but G. Fox had little inclination to that, becauſe both prieſts and people, called that place of worſhip, 'The houſe of God;' whereas the apoſtle ſaid to the Athenians, "God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." And therefore he endeavoured to draw people off from them, and to make them ſenſible, that God and Chriſt ought to dwell in their hearts, that ſo their bodies might be made the temples of God. Yet for that time he went into the ſteeple-houſe at Malton, where there were not above eleven hearers, to whom the prieſt was preaching; but after it was known in the town that G. Fox was there, it was ſoon filled with people. And when the prieſt had done, he ſent the other that had invited him thither, to bring him up into the pulpit. But G. Fox ſent him word, that he needed not go into the pulpit. The prieſt not ſatisfied with this refuſal, ſent again, deſiring him to go up unto it, for, ſaid he, it is a better place to be ſeen of the people. But G. Fox anſwered, that he could be ſeen and heard well enough where he was; and that he came not there to hold up ſuch places, nor their maintenance and trade. This created ſome diſpleaſure, and it was ſaid, that falſe prophets were to come in the laſt times. But this ſaying grieved many of the people, and ſome began to murmur at it: whereupon G. Fox ſtood up, and deſiring all to be quiet, he ſtept upon an high ſeat; and ſince ſomewhat had been ſpoken of falſe prophets, he declared to the au-

ditory, the mark of thoſe prophets; and he ſhewed, that they were already come, and were out of the ſteps of the true prophets, and of Chriſt and his apoſtles. He alſo directed the people to their inward teacher, Chriſt Jeſus, who would turn them from darkneſs to light. And having opened divers Scriptures to them, he directed them to the Spirit of God in themſelves, by which they might come to God, and alſo to know who the falſe prophets were. And having thus had a large time to preach to the people, he went away without any diſturbance.

After ſome time, he came to Pickering, where the juſtices held their ſeſſions in the ſteeple-houſe, juſtice Robinſon being chairman. At the ſame time G. Fox had a meeting in the ſchool-houſe, where many prieſts and profeſſors came, and aſked ſeveral queſtions, which were anſwered to their ſatisfaction: ſo that many perſons, and amongſt theſe, four chief conſtables, were convinced that day; and word was carried to juſtice Robinſon, that his prieſt, whom he loved more than all the others, was overthrown and convinced. After the meeting was done, they went to an inn, and the ſaid prieſt was very loving, and would have paid for G. Fox's dinner; but this he would not ſuffer by any means. Then he offered that he ſhould have his ſteeple-houſe to preach in; but he refuſed, and told him and the people, that he came to bring them off from ſuch things to Chriſt. The next morning he went with the four chief conſtables to viſit juſtice Robinſon, who meeting him at his chamber door, G. Fox told him, he could not honour him with man's honour: to which the juſtice ſaid, he did not look for it. Then he went into his chamber, and ſpoke to him concerning the ſtate of the falſe prophets, and of the true; and alſo concerning election and reprobation, ſhewing that reprobation ſtood in the firſt birth, and election in the ſecond; and what it was that the promiſe of God was to, and what the judgment of God was againſt. All this ſo pleaſed the ſaid Robinſon, that he not only confeſſed it to be truth, but when another juſtice that was preſent made ſome little oppoſition, he informed him; and at their parting, he ſaid to G. Fox, it was very well that he did exerciſe that gift

which God had given him. And he took the chief conſtables aſide, and would have given them ſome money for G. Fox, ſaying, he would not have him to be at any charge in their country. But they told him, that they themſelves could not get him to take any money. G. Fox paſſing from thence, prieſt Boyes went along with him: but the year being now come to an end, let us take a ſhort view how it ſtood with ſtate affairs.

It hath been ſaid already, that Charles II. had been crowned king by the Scots, but having been beaten, with his forces, by Cromwell, he marched afterwards with a new army into England, and took Worceſter without oppoſition: yet, in the month of September, his forces were ſo entirely routed by Cromwell, that king Charles, to prevent being taken priſoner after the battle, hid himſelf a whole day in a hollow oak, and afterwards, being clothed like a ſervant, and called by the name of William, paſſed the country, and through many hazards eſcaped out of England, and arrived on the coaſt of Normandy in France: where we will leave him, to return again to

G. Fox, who coming with prieſt Boyes into a town to bait, and hearing the bells ring, aſked what that was for. They told him, that it was for him to preach in the ſteeple-houſe. Walking thither, he ſaw the people were gathered together in the ſteeple-houſe yard. The prieſt who accompanied him, would have had him to go into the ſteeple-houſe: but he ſaid, it was no matter. This ſeemed ſtrange to the people, that he would not go into that which they called the houſe of God. But he ſtood up in the ſteeple-houſe yard, and declared to them, that he came not to hold up their idol temples, nor their prieſts, nor their tithes, nor their Jewiſh and heatheniſh ceremonies; that the ground on which their temples ſtood, was no more holy than any other piece of ground; that the apoſtles going into the Jews ſynagogues, and temples, was to bring people off from that temple, &c. and from the offerings and tithes, and covetous prieſts of that time; that ſuch who came to be converted, and believed in Chriſt, afterwards met together in dwelling-houſes; and that all who preach Chriſt, the word of life, ought to preach freely,

as the apoſtles did, and as Chriſt had commanded; and that the Lord God of heaven and earth had ſent him to preach freely, and to bring people off from the outward temples made with hands, in which God dwelleth not; that ſo they might know their bodies were to become the temples of God and Chriſt. Moreover, that they ought to leave all their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, traditions, and doctrines of men; and not regard ſuch teachers of the world, that took tithes, and great wages, preaching for hire, and divining for money; whom God and Chriſt never ſent, according to their own confeſſion, when they ſay, they never heard God's voice. That therefore people ought to come to the Spirit and grace of God in themſelves, and to the light of Jeſus in their own hearts; that ſo they might come to know Chriſt their free teacher, to bring them ſalvation, and to open the Scriptures to them. This ſpeech had ſuch effect, that many of them declared they were convinced of the truth.

From this place he went to another town, and prieſt Boyes went along with him. Thither came ſeveral profeſſors, but he ſat ſilent for ſome hours; which made them often aſk the prieſt, 'When will he begin? When will he ſpeak?' To which the prieſt ſaid, 'Wait:' and told them that the people waited upon Chriſt a long while before he ſpake: now, though G. Fox by ſilence was to famiſh people from words, yet at length he felt himſelf moved to ſpeak, which be did ſo effectually, that many were reached, and there was a general convincement amongſt them.

From hence he paſſed on, the prieſt continuing to go with him, as did ſeveral others; and as they went along, ſome people called to the prieſt, and ſaid, 'Mr. Boyes, we owe you ſome money for tithes, pray come and take it.' But he throwing up his hands, ſaid, he had enough, and would have none of it; they might keep it; and he praiſed the Lord he had enough. At length they came into this prieſt's ſteeple-houſe in the moors; and the prieſt going before, held open the pulpit door: but G. Fox told him, he would not go into it. And this ſteeple-houſe being very much painted, he told him and the people,

that the painted beaſt had a painted houſe. Then he ſpoke to them concerning the riſe of all thoſe houſes, and their ſuperſtitious ways; and he told them that, as the end of the apoſtles going into the temples and ſynagogues, was not to hold them up, but to bring people to Chriſt, the ſubſtance; ſo the end of his coming there, was not to hold up theſe temples, prieſts, and tithes, but to bring them off from all theſe things, to Chriſt, the ſubſtance. Moreover, he declared to them what the true worſhip was, which Chriſt had ſet up; and he diſtinguiſhed Chriſt, the true way, from all the falſe ways; opening the parables to them, and turning them from darkneſs to the true light, that by it they might ſee themſelves and their ſins, and Chriſt their Saviour, that ſo believing in him, they might be ſaved from their ſins.

After this, he went to the houſe of one Birdet, where he had a great meeting, and the prieſt Boyes accompanied him ſtill, leaving his ſteeple-houſe. Then he returned towards Cranſwick, to captain Purſlo's, and juſtice Hotham's, who received him kindly, being glad that Truth was ſpread, and ſo many had received it. And juſtice Hotham ſaid, 'If God had not raiſed up this principle of light and life, which G. Fox preached, the nation had been overrun with Ranteriſm, and all the juſtices in the nation could not have ſtopped it with all their laws: becauſe (ſaid he) they would have ſaid as we ſaid, and done as we commanded, and yet have kept their old principle ſtill: but this principle of Truth overthrows their principle, and the root and ground thereof.'

Now, though G. Fox found good entertainment, yet he did not ſettle there, but kept in continual motion, going from one place to another, to beget ſouls unto God. I do not intend to relate all his occurrences, but will give a ſhort hint only of ſome of the chief.

Coming then towards night into Patrington, he walked through the town, and meeting the prieſt in the ſtreet, he warned both him and the people to repent, and turn to the Lord. And people gathering about him, he declared to them the word of life, directing them to the inward word, viz. the light wherewith they are enlightened.

Going afterwards to an inn, for it was dark, he deſired lodging, but it was denied him: then he aſked for a little meat, or milk, offering to pay for it; but this alſo was refuſed him. Being thus put off, he walked out of the town, and ſome rude fellows following, aſked him, 'What news?' To which his anſwer was, 'Repent, and fear the Lord.' After he was gone a pretty way out of the town, he came to another houſe, where he deſired to have ſome meat, drink, and lodging, for his money, but they would not ſuffer him to ſtay there: then he went to another houſe, but met with the like refuſal. By this time it was grown ſo dark, that he could not ſee the highway, but perceiving a ditch, he found a little water, and ſo refreſhed himſelf. Then he got over the ditch, and being weary, ſat down amongſt the furze buſhes, till it grew day; and then he aroſe, and paſſing on through the fields, a man came after him with a pike ſtaff, and went along with him to a town, where he raiſed the people, with the conſtable and chief conſtable, before the ſun was up. G. Fox ſeeing the multitude, warned them of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all ſin and wickedneſs, and exhorted them to repent. But they laying hold on him, carried him back to Patrington, and guarded him with halberts, pikes, ſtaves, &c. Being come to the ſaid town, all was in an uproar; and the prieſt and conſtable conſulting together what to do with him, he took that opportunity to exhort the people to repentance, and to preach the word of life to them. At laſt a diſcreet man called him into his houſe, where he got ſome milk and bread, not having eaten for ſome days before. Then he was carried about nine miles to a juſtice; and when he was come near his houſe, there came a man riding after, and aſked him whether he was the man that was apprehended. G. Fox aſking him, why, the other ſaid, 'For no hurt.' Then he told him, he was; and ſo the man rode away to the juſtice.

Now the men that guarded G. Fox, ſaid, it would be well, if the juſtice was not drunk when they came to him, becauſe he uſed to be drunk early. G. Fox being brought in before him, and not putting off his hat, and ſaying thou to him, the juſtice aſked the man that rode thither

before, whether he was not mazed or fond? But the man ſaid, 'No: it is his principle ſo to behave himſelf.' G. Fox, who was unwilling to let any opportunity ſlip, without admoniſhing people to virtue, warned the juſtice to repent, and bid him come to the light which Chriſt had enlightened him with, that by it he might ſee all his evil words and actions, and ſo return to Chriſt Jeſus, whilſt he had time, and that he ought to prize that time. 'Aye, aye,' ſaid he, 'the light that is ſpoken of in the third of John.' G. Fox deſired him that he would mind it, and obey it; and laying his hand upon him, he was ſo brought down by the Lord's power, that all the watchmen ſtood amazed. Then he took G. Fox with him into a parlour with the other men, and deſired to ſee what he had in his pockets, of letters, or intelligence; for it ſeems they ſuſpected him to be an enemy to the Commonwealth. Then he pulled out his linen, and ſhewed that he had no letters; which made the juſtice ſay, 'He is not a vagrant, by his linen,' and ſet him at liberty. Then G. Fox went back to Patrington again, with that man who had rid before to the juſtice, and who lived in that town. Coming to his houſe, he deſired G. Fox to go to bed, or to lie down upon it: which he did, that they might ſay, they had ſeen him in a bed, or upon a bed; for there was a report, that he would not lie on any bed, raiſed doubtleſs, becauſe about that time he had lain often without doors.

When the Firſt-day of the week was come, he went to the ſteeple-houſe, and declared the doctrine of Truth to the prieſt and people, without being moleſted. Then preſently after he had a great meeting at that man's houſe where he lay, and many were convinced that day of the truth he preached; and they were exceeding ſorry that they had not given him lodging when he was there before. From thence he travelled through the country, warning people, both in towns and in country villages, to repent, and turn to Chriſt Jeſus their teacher.

On a Firſt-day of the week he came to one colonel Overton's houſe, and had a great meeting of the chief of the people of that country; where he opened many things out of the Scriptures, which they never heard before.

Coming afterwards again to Patrington, he underſtood that a taylor and ſome wild blades in that town, had occaſioned his being carried before the juſtice. This taylor came to aſk him forgiveneſs, fearing he would complain of him; the conſtables alſo were afraid leſt he ſhould trouble them; but he forgave them all, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord, and to amend their lives. Now that which made them the more afraid, was, that he having been not long before in the ſteeple-houſe at Oram, there came a profeſſor that gave him a puſh on the breaſt, and bid him get out of the church. To which G. Fox ſaid, 'Doſt thou call the ſteeple-houſe the church? The church is the people, whom God hath purchaſed with his blood, and not the houſe.' But juſtice Hotham having heard of this man's thus abuſing G. Fox, ſent a warrant, and bound the ſaid man over to the ſeſſions. So zealous was this juſtice to keep the peace, that he had aſked G. Fox before, whether any people had abuſed him: but he eſteeming it his duty to forgive all, told him nothing of that kind.

From Patrington he went to ſeveral great men's houſes, warning them to repent. Some received him lovingly, and ſome ſlighted him. Paſſing thus through the country, at night he came to another town, where he deſired lodging and meat, offering to pay for it; but they would not lodge him, unleſs he went to a conſtable to aſk leave, which they ſaid was the cuſtom of ſtrangers. But he told them, that cuſtom was for ſuſpected perſons, and not for ſuch as he, who was an innocent man. So after he had warned them to repent, and to mind the day of their viſitation, and directed them to the light of Chriſt, and Spirit of God, he paſſed away. As it grew dark, he ſpied a hay-ſtack, and went and ſat under it till morning. The next day he came to Hull, where he admoniſhed the people to turn to Chriſt Jeſus, that they might receive ſalvation. And being very weary with travelling on foot ſo far, he got that night a lodging there.

From thence he went to Nottinghamſhire, viſiting his friends there; and ſo paſſed into Lincolnſhire, where he did the like. And coming to Gainſborough, where one of his friends had been preaching in the market, he found

the town and people all in an uproar; the more, becauſe a certain man had raiſed a falſe accuſation, reporting, that G. Fox had ſaid he was Chriſt. Here going into the houſe of a friendly man, the people ruſhed in after him, ſo that the houſe ſoon was filled; and amongſt the reſt was alſo this falſe accuſer, who ſaid openly before all the people, that G. Fox ſaid he was Chriſt; and that he had got witneſſes to prove the ſame. G. Fox kindled with zeal, ſtepped upon the table, and ſaid to the people, that Chriſt was in them, except they were reprobates; and that it was Chriſt, the eternal power of God, that ſpoke in him at that time unto them; not that he was Chriſt. This gave general ſatisfaction, except to the falſe accuſer himſelf, to whom G. Fox ſaid, that he was a Judas, and that Judas's end ſhould be his; and that that was the word of the Lord through him (Fox) to him. The minds of the people coming thus to be quieted, they departed peaceably. But very remarkable it was: this Judas ſhortly after hanged himſelf, and a ſtake was driven into his grave. Now, though this was a well known thing in this country, yet ſome prieſts ſpread a report, that a Quaker had hanged himſelf in Lincolnſhire, and had a ſtake driven through him. And though this was taken upon truſt by hearſay, yet, out of mere malice, a certain prieſt gave out this falſehood in print, as a true matter. But this wicked ſlander prevailed ſo little, that many people in Lincolnſhire were convinced of the truth preached by G. Fox.

After this he paſſed into Yorkſhire, and coming to Warnſworth, went to the ſteeple-houſe in the forenoon, but found no acceptance; and being thruſt out, he was ſorely beaten with ſtaves, and clods and ſtones were thrown at him; yet he exhorted to repent, and turn to Chriſt. In the afternoon he went to another ſteeple-houſe; but the ſermon was finiſhed before he got thither; ſo he preached repentance to the people that were not departed, and directed them to their inward teacher, Chriſt Jeſus. From hence he came to Doncaſter, where he had formerly preached in the market; but now on the Firſt-day of the week he went into the ſteeple-houſe; and after the prieſt had done, he began to ſpeak, but was hurried out, and

haled before the magiſtrates, who threatened him with death, if ever he came thither again. But notwithſtanding all this, G. Fox bid them mind the light of Chriſt in them, ſaying, that God was come to teach his people himſelf, whether they would hear or not. After a while being put out with ſome of his friends that were with him, they were ſtoned by the rude multitude. A certain innkeeper, that was a bailiff, ſeeing this, came and took them into his houſe, but one of the ſtones that were thrown hit his head, ſo that the blood ran down his face. The next Firſt-day G. Fox went to Tickhill; where he went into the ſteeple-houſe, and there found the prieſt and the chief of the pariſh in the chancel, to whom he began to ſpeak; but they immediately fell upon him, and the clerk ſtruck him with his bible ſo violently on the face, that the blood guſhed out, and he bled exceedingly. Then the people thruſt him out of the ſteeple-houſe, beat and threw him down, and dragged him along the ſtreet, ſo that he was beſmeared with blood and dirt, and his hat taken away. When he was got up again, he ſpoke to the people, and ſhewed them how they diſhonoured Chriſtianity. Some time after, the prieſt coming by, ſcoffingly called G. Fox and his friends, Quakers. But he was ſpoken to, in ſuch an authority and dread, that he fell a trembling; which made one of the people ſay, 'Look how the prieſt trembles and ſhakes, he is turned a Quaker alſo.' Some moderate juſtices now, hearing how G. Fox and his friends had been abuſed, came to examine the buſineſs; and the clerk was afraid of having his hand cut off, for ſtriking him in the church: but G. Fox, as a true Chriſtian, forgave him, and would not appear againſt him.

Thus far G. Fox only hath been mentioned as a preacher of repentance; but now ſome others of his perſuaſion began alſo to preach publickly, viz. Thomas Aldam, Richard Farnſworth, and, not long after, William Dewſbury. This made ſuch a ſtir, that the prieſt of Warnſworth procured a warrant from the juſtices againſt G. Fox and Thomas Aldam. The conſtable who came with this order, which was to be executed in any part of the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, took Thomas Aldam, and carried him to York,

and G. Fox went with him twenty miles; but though the conſtable had a warrant for him alſo, yet he meddled not with G. Fox, ſaying, he was loth to trouble men that were ſtrangers; but Thomas Aldam was his neighbour. About this time Richard Farnſworth went into an eminent ſteeple-houſe, in or about Wakefield; where he ſpoke ſo powerfully, that the people were amazed. The prieſt of that place whoſe name was Marſhal, ſpread a ſlanderous report, that G. Fox carried bottles about with him, and made people drink thereof, which made them follow him. And that he rid upon a great black horſe, and was ſeen in one country upon that horſe, and in the ſame hour in another country three ſcore miles off. But theſe horrid lies were ſo far from turning to the prieſt's advantage, that he preached many of his hearers away from him; for it was well known, that G. Fox had no horſe at that time, but travelled on foot. He coming now into a ſteeple-houſe not far from Bradford; the prieſt took his text from Jer. v. 31. "My people love to have it ſo;" leaving out the foregoing words, "The prophets propheſy falſely, and the prieſts bear rule by their means." G. Fox unwilling to let this paſs unregarded, ſhewed the people the prieſt's unfair dealing; and, directing them to Chriſt, the true inward teacher, declared, that God was come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them off from all the world's teachers and hirelings, that they might come to receive freely from him; concluding his ſpeech with a warning of the day of the Lord that was coming upon all fleſh. He paſſed from thence without much oppoſition, and travelled now for ſome time with Richard Farnſworth: with whom he once paſſed a night in the open field, on a bed they made of fern.

Then parting from him, he came to Wenſleydale, where he went into the ſteeple-houſe; and after the lecture, he ſpoke to the people much in the ſame terms as he uſed to do on the like occaſions; and had not much oppoſition there. Thus he went from place to place, and often met with ſtrange occurrences, ſome of which were more jocoſe than ſerious; others very rude, and even dangerous to his life. But he truſted in God, really believing that he

had ſent him to preach repentance, and to exhort people to a true converſion.

Thus travelling on, he came near Sedbergh; there he went to a meeting at Juſtice Benſon's, where a people met that were ſeparated from the publick worſhip; and, by his preaching, he gave ſuch general ſatisfaction, that moſt of the hearers were convinced of the Truth declared by him. Thus the number of his fellow-believers increaſed ſo, that now they had meetings by themſelves, in many places of the country.

About this time there being a fair at Sedbergh, G. Fox declared the day of the Lord through the fair; and afterwards went into the ſteeple-houſe yard, where abundance of people came to him: here he preached for ſeveral hours, ſhewing, that the Lord was come to teach his people himſelf, and to bring them off from all the world's ways and teachers, to Chriſt, the true teacher, and the true way to God. Moreover, he ſhewed the declining ſtate of the modern doctors and teachers; and exhorted the people to come off from the temples made with hands, and wait to receive the Spirit of the Lord, that they might know themſelves to be the temples of God. None of the prieſts, ſeveral of whom were there, ſpoke againſt what he had declared; but a captain ſaid, 'Why will ye not go into the church; for this is not a fit place to preach in?' G. Fox told him, 'That he did not approve of their church.' Then ſtood up one Francis Howgill, who was a preacher, and though he never had ſeen G. Fox before, yet he was ſo affected with him, that he anſwered the captain, and ſoon put him to ſilence: for, ſaid Howgill, 'This man ſpeaks with authority, and not as the ſcribes.' After this, G. Fox opened to the people, 'That that ground and houſe was not more holy than another place; and that the houſe was not the church, but the people, whom Chriſt was the head of.' Then the prieſts coming to him, he warned them to repent; upon which one of them ſaid, he was mad; but notwithſtanding his ſaying ſo, many were convinced there that day; and amongſt theſe, one Captain Ward.

The next Firſt-day G. Fox came to Firbank chapel in

Weſtmoreland, where the ſaid Francis Howgill, and one John Audland, had been preaching in the morning. The chapel at that time was ſo full of people, that many could not get in: and Howgill ſaid afterwards, he thought G. Fox looked into the chapel, and his ſpirit was ready to fail. But G. Fox did not look into it; however, Howgill had been ſo reached when he heard him preach in the ſteeple-houſe yard at Sedbergh, that he was, as it were, checked, and ſo quickly made an end of his ſermon; thinking as well as others, that G. Fox would preach there that day, as indeed he did. For having refreſhed himſelf at noon, with a little water out of a brook, he went and ſat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel, intending to have a meeting there. At this people wondered, becauſe they looked upon the church (ſo called) as an holy place, requiſite for worſhip. But G. Fox told them afterwards, that the ground whereon he ſtood, was as good as that of the ſteeple-houſe; beſides, we find, that Chriſt himſelf did preach on a mountain, and alſo at the ſea-ſide. Now in the afternoon, the people gathered about him, with ſeveral of their preachers, and amongſt theſe, F. Howgill, and J. Audland. To this auditory, which was judged to conſiſt of more than a thouſand people, G. Fox began to preach, and ſpoke about the ſpace of three hours, directing all to the Spirit of God in themſelves, that ſo they might be turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan, which they had been under, unto God; by which they ſhould become children of the light, and, by the Spirit of Truth, be let into all truth; and ſo ſenſibly underſtand the words of the prophets of Chriſt, and of the apoſtles, and come to know Chriſt to be their teacher to inſtruct them, their counſellor to direct them, their ſhepherd to feed them, their biſhop to overſee them, and their prophet to open divine myſteries to them; that ſo their bodies might be prepared, ſanctified, and made fit temples for God and Chriſt to dwell in. Moreover he explained the prophets, and the figures, and ſhadows, and directed his hearers to Chriſt the ſubſtance. He alſo opened the parables and ſayings of Chriſt, and ſhewed the intent and ſcope of the apoſtles writings, and epiſtles to the elect.

Then he ſpoke alſo concerning the ſtate of apoſtacy, that hath been ſince the apoſtles days; how the prieſts had gotten the Scripture, without being in that ſpirit which gave them forth; and how they were found in the ſteps of the falſe prophets, ſcribes, and Phariſees of old, and were ſuch as the true prophets, Chriſt, and his apoſtles cried againſt; inſomuch, that none that were guided by the Spirit of God now could own them.

While G. Fox was thus preaching, many old people went into the chapel, and looked out at the windows, thinking it a ſtrange thing to ſee a man preach on a hill, and not in the church (as they called it.) He perceiving this, ſaid, 'That the ſteeple-houſe, and the ground whereon it ſtood, was no more holy than that hill; and that thoſe temples, which they called the dreadful houſes of God, were not ſet up by the command of God and Chriſt; nor their prieſts inſtituted as Aaron's prieſthood was; nor their tithes appointed by God, as thoſe amongſt the Jews were; but that Chriſt was come, who ended both the temple, and its worſhip, and their prieſts and their tithes; and that therefore all ought to hearken unto him; for he ſaid, "Learn of me;" and God ſaid of him, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him." In concluſion, he ſaid, 'That the Lord God had ſent him to preach the everlaſting goſpel, and word of life amongſt them; and to bring them off from all theſe temples, tithes, prieſts, and rudiments of the world, which were gotten up ſince the apoſtles days, and had been ſet up by ſuch as had erred from the ſpirit and power the apoſtles were in.' Thus preached G. Fox, and his miniſtry was at that time accompanied with ſuch a convincing power, and ſo reached the hearts of the people, that many, and even all the teachers of that congregation, who were many, were convinced of that Truth which was declared to them.

After this meeting was over, G. Fox went to John Audland's, who, as well as Francis Howgill, and others, had been quite brought over by his effectual preaching. And as theſe had been zealous preachers amongſt thoſe of their former perſuaſion, ſo it was not long before they became publiſhers of that doctrine, which now, by the

miniſtry of G. Fox they had embraced; and were ſo far from approving their former ſervice, that they gave back the money they received for their preaching to the pariſh of Colton in Lancaſhire; being now reſolved to give freely what they had received freely. And here I ſhall make ſome ſmall digreſſion, in ſaying ſomething concerning theſe two excellent men.

John Audland was a young man, and of a comely countenance, and very lovely qualities. When he was but ſeventeen or eighteen years old, he was very religious, and a zealous ſearcher of the Holy Scriptures; and having a good underſtanding, and ſtrong memory, he thereby gathered a large treaſure of Scripture learning, became an eminent teacher among the Independents, and had a very numerous auditory. But when he heard G. Fox preach, he was thereby ſo reached to the heart, that he began in proceſs of time to ſee the emptineſs of his great literal knowledge, and that all his righteouſneſs was but as filthy rags. This brought him to a ſtate of mourning, for now he ſaw that all his profeſſion and wiſdom could not bring him to true happineſs. But the Lord, who doth not break the bruiſed reed, nor quench the ſmoking flax, did pity him in this ſtate of deep humiliation, and bore him up again by his ſupporting power; whereby in time he came to be prepared to that ſervice he was appointed to by God.

Concerning Francis Howgill; he was alſo a religious man, who, having ſeen the ſuperſtitions of the Epiſcopal church, had left it, and applied himſelf to the Independents. But although he, who had been trained up in the univerſity to be a miniſter, became a teacher amongſt the Independents, and was zealous in virtue; yet he remained diſſatisfied in himſelf, finding that notwithſtanding all his faſting, praying, and good works, the root of ſin ſtill remained in him; and although the common doctrine was, that Chriſt had taken the guilt of ſin upon himſelf, yet this could not ſatisfy him; becauſe his conſcience told him, "His ſervant thou art, whom thou obeyeſt." Thus increaſing in underſtanding, it was revealed to him, that the Lord according to what the prophets had foretold,

would teach his people himſelf; and it ſeemed alſo to him, that this time was near at hand. Some while after it happened, as hath been ſaid already, that he was preſent when G. Fox preached, and when he heard him ſay, that the light of Chriſt in man, was the way to Chriſt, he believed this to be the word of truth; and he ſaw how he had been ignorant of the principle of true religion. Submitting then to the reproofs of this inward light, he ſaw the unfruitfulneſs of all his labour, and anguiſh and ſorrow ſeized on him, and judgment went over all his former actions. But he being given up, and reſigned in that ſtate, ſaying within himſelf, 'Thou, O God, art juſt in all thy judgments,' it pleaſed the Lord in due time to fill his heart with joy, and to make him a miniſter of his everlaſting word. But no ſooner did he enter into that ſervice, but both prieſts and magiſtrates, of whom he formerly had been beloved, became his enemies; and envy was ſo kindled againſt him, that he was locked up in a naſty place, at Appleby in Weſtmoreland, and was kept there priſoner for ſome time.

But let me now return to G. Fox, who coming to Kendal, had a meeting there in the town-hall; where declaring the word of life, he ſhewed the people how they might come to the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt, and to have a right underſtanding of the Holy Scripture; opening to them what it was that would lead them into the way of reconciliation with God. This was of ſuch effect, that ſeveral became convinced of the truth publiſhed by him; and others were ſo well affected to him, that when he went to Under-Barrow, ſeveral people accompanied him, and he had great reaſonings with them, but eſpecially with one Edward Burrough, who, though of extraordinary parts, and acquired knowledge, was not able to withſtand the efficacious ſayings of G. Fox. And becauſe this Burrough became an eminent man among the Quakers, ſo called; being endued with courage and underſtanding, fit to overcome his oppoſers, and to break even ſtony hearts; I will mention here a little of his deſcent and quality.

He was born in the barony of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, of parents who for their honeſt and virtuous life, were in

good repute; he was well educated, and trained up in ſuch learning as that country did afford. His knowledge and underſtanding ſoon paſſed his years; for being but a boy he had the ſpirit of a man, and in his youth was endued with wiſdom above his equals in years. Moreover, he was very religious, converſing frequently with thoſe that were in eſteem for piety and godly life. Neither was he inclined to the ordinary pleaſures of youth; but it was his delight to be exerciſed in reading of Holy Scripture, wherein he was well verſed. By his parents he was trained up in the Epiſcopal worſhip; yet when but twelve years of age, he often went to the meetings of the Preſbyterians, becauſe their doctrine in many things ſeemed to him to approach nearer to truth, than that of the publick church; wherefore he became a follower of the Preſbyterians, although he was reviled for it by his acquaintance. But being come to the age of about ſeventeen years, and growing more and more ſenſible of his own condition, he was often ſtruck with terror; and when he had been praying, he heard, as it were, a voice, 'Thou art ignorant of God; thou knoweſt not where he is, nor what he is; to what purpoſe is thy prayer?' This brought him under ſuch a concern, that he began to take diligent heed to his life, ſo that he abſtained not only from all vanities, but, when occaſion offered, he reproved others for their vain converſation and wickedneſs; but for this he was derided, and looked upon ſcornfully by many, yet continued to live religiouſly, and felt ſometimes ſweet refreſhments to his ſoul. But though he had the Truth in his comprehenſion, yet he wanted the real and experimental knowledge of it, and ſo became darkened again, loſing what he once poſſeſſed: and being too ready to flatter himſelf, would ſay, 'Whom God loves once, he loves for ever.' Now he grew weary of hearing any of the prieſts; for he ſaw they did not poſſeſs what they ſpoke of to others; and ſometimes he began to queſtion his own experiences. Being thus many times put to a ſtand, he ſeemed almoſt to be at a loſs. In this condition he heard G. Fox preach, and afterwards reaſoned with him; and it pleaſed the Lord ſo to open his underſtanding, that he perceived (as he relates himſelf) that he

was in the prodigal ſtate, above the croſs of Chriſt, and not in the pure fear of the Lord. Being thus convinced, he entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers, though he was now rejected by his relations, and, by a blind zeal, turned out of his father's houſe. This he bore patiently, and continued faithful in the doctrine he had embraced. And in proceſs of time he ſo advanced in true knowledge, that he became a very eminent miniſter of the goſpel. But what adverſities did he not undergo? Reviling, ſlandering, buffeting, and caning were often his lot; watching and faſting were many times his portion; and impriſonments, great jeopardies, and danger of life, he was not unacquainted with. But nothing could make this hero ſhrink: he always was laborious, and ſeldom had any hours of reſt. In his preaching he was very acceptable, and eloquent in his ſpeech, and had the tongue, (according to what an eminent author relates, that knew him from his youth) of a learned orator, to declare himſelf to the underſtandings and conſciences of all men he met with. He was alſo a great writer, and often would engage in diſputes with thoſe of other perſuaſions, ſparing no pains, where he thought he could ſerve the Lord and the church. Thus much, for this time, of E. Burrough.

Let us return now to G. Fox, whom we left at Under-Barrow, where, with the conſent of the inhabitants, he had a great meeting in the chapel, and many were convinced, and received the truth preached by him. From thence he went to Lancaſhire, and having in ſome places ſpoken in the ſteeple-houſes, he came to Ulverſtone, and ſo to Swarthmore, to the houſe of Thomas Fell, a Judge in Wales, where many prieſts frequently came. The judge was at that time abroad, employed in the exerciſe of his office, and his wife Margaret was alſo gone abroad that day. G. Fox in the mean-while coming thither, met the prieſt William Lampitt, who was a high notioniſt, and rich in words. But G. Fox ſoon perceiving that he was without the poſſeſſion of what he profeſſed, oppoſed him boldly. Before it was night, Margaret Fell returned home, and her children told her, that Lampitt and Fox had diſagreed, which did ſomewhat trouble her, for ſhe, making

much of the prieſts, eſpecially admired Lampitt. That ſame night G. Fox had much reaſoning there, and declared the Truth to her and her family. The next day Lampitt came again, and G. Fox diſcourſed with him in the preſence of Margaret Fell, who then began clearly to diſcern the prieſt.

The following day being appointed for an humiliation, Margaret went with her children to the ſteeple-houſe at Ulverſtone, having aſked G. Fox before to go with her: but he replying, That he muſt do as he was ordered by the Lord, left her, and walked into the fields; and there he felt a ſtrong motion to go alſo to the ſteeple-houſe. When he came there, the people were ſinging, but what they ſung was, according to his opinion, altogether unſuitable to their ſtates. After they had done, he ſtept up on a form, and aſked leave to ſpeak: the prieſt conſenting, G. Fox began thus: 'He is not a Jew that is one outwardly; neither is that circumciſion which is outward: but he is a Jew that is one inwardly; and that is circumciſion, which is of the heart.' And ſo he went on, and ſaid, 'That Chriſt was the light of the world, and enlightened every man that cometh into the world, and that by this light they might be gathered to God,' &c. Margaret Fell ſtanding up in her pew, wondered at this doctrine, having never heard any ſuch before. In the mean-while G. Fox went on, and opening the Scriptures, ſaid, 'That they were the prophet's words, and Chriſt's, and the apoſtles words; and that what they ſpoke, they enjoyed and poſſeſſed, and had it from the Lord. What have any to do, ſaid he, with the Scriptures, if they come not to the Spirit that gave them forth? You will ſay, Chriſt ſaith this, and the apoſtles ſay this; but what canſt thou, O man, ſay thyſelf concerning this? Art thou a child of the light; doſt thou walk in the light; and what thou ſpeakeſt, is it inwardly from God?' He ſhewed alſo, 'That God was come to teach his people himſelf by his Spirit, and to bring them off from their churches, and religions, and their ways of worſhip,' &c. Theſe his words did ſo effectually reach the aforeſaid Margaret, that ſhe ſat down in her pew again, and weeping bitterly, cried in her Spirit

to the Lord, 'We are all thieves! We are all thieves! We have taken the Scriptures in words, and know nothing of them in ourſelves.' G. Fox ſtill going on, declared againſt the falſe prophets, and ſaid, that their way of worſhip was but talking of other mens' words, and that they themſelves were out of the life and ſpirit, which thoſe were in who gave them forth. Then cried out a juſtice of peace, called John Sawrey, 'Take him away.' But Margaret Fell ſaid to the officers, 'Let him alone. Why may not he ſpeak as well as any other?' Prieſt Lampitt, it is like to pleaſe her, ſaid alſo, 'Let him ſpeak.' G. Fox then ſpeaking yet awhile, was at length led out by the conſtable, according to the order of the ſaid juſtice Sawrey; and then he ſpoke to the people in the grave-yard.

In the evening he came again into the houſe of judge Fell, where he took occaſion to ſpeak to the ſervants, and thoſe of the family, who moſt of them came ſo effectually to be convinced by him, that they embraced the Truth which he preached. Among theſe, was alſo William Caton, of whom more hereafter. Margaret Fell in the mean-while being come home, was ſo reached, that ſhe ſcarce knew what to do, her huſband being from home; for ſhe clearly perceived what ſhe had heard G. Fox preach, was truth.

The Firſt-day after, he went to Aldenham ſteeple-houſe, where, when the prieſt had done, he ſpoke to the people, and admoniſhed them to return to the Lord. From thence he went to Ramſide, where was a chapel, in which one Thomas Lawſon, who was an eminent prieſt, uſed to preach; who having ſome notice of G. Fox's coming, preached in the morning, and told his people that G. Fox was to come there in the afternoon; by which means very many people were gathered together. When he came, he ſaw there was no place ſo convenient to ſpeak to the people as the chapel, and therefore he went into it. The prieſt Lawſon, willing to give a full opportunity to G. Fox, went not up into the pulpit, but left all the time to him. And G. Fox ſo powerfully declared the doctrine of Truth, that many received it, and among theſe, the prieſt himſelf, who left off his preaching for hire, and in proceſs of time, came to preach the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his glorious goſpel

freely; which however did not hinder him to exerciſe himſelf in the knowledge of herbs, wherein he came to be ſo experienced, that he was, as I have been told, one of the moſt ſkilful herbaliſts in England; which gave occaſion to an eminent botaniſt, who at firſt ſeemed a little ſhy of him, when he perceived his great ſkill, to love him as a ſingular friend. But this tranſiently.

Now I return again to G. Fox, who having performed his ſervice about Ramſide, went ſomewhere elſe, and came alſo to Brerecliff, where he found ſome people that told him, they could not diſpute. But he bid them to fear the Lord, and not to ſpeak the words of God in an airy manner, but do the things required. Moreover, that they ought to mind the light of Chriſt, and take heed to his Spirit in their hearts, whereby they would come to ſee their evil thoughts, words, and actions; for this light (he ſaid) would ſhew them their ſins, and by following this light, they ſhould alſo ſee that their Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, ſaved them from ſin: and he ſaid the firſt ſtep to peace was to ſtand ſtill in the light, which ſhewed them their ſins and tranſgreſſions; by which they ſhould ſee they were in the fall of the old Adam, in darkneſs and death, alienated from the covenant of the promiſe, and without God in the world; and that Chriſt who died for them, was their Saviour and Redeemer, and their way to God. After G. Fox had ſpoken thus, he went to a new built chapel near Gleaſton, wherein none had yet preached: hither came a great many people, unto whom he preached, and many were convinced.

From thence he returned to Swarthmore again: for Margaret Fell being full of fear, and expecting her huſband's return home, had deſired G. Fox to come, ſince ſome of the great ones of the country, being gone to meet her huſband, had informed him, that a great diſaſter had befallen the family; and that the Quakers were witches, and had turned them from their religion; and that he muſt ſend them away, or all the country would be undone. Without all queſtion, this was a very ſad meſſage to judge Fell, for he came home greatly offended: and one may eaſily think what a condition his wife was in, being in

fear that ſhe ſhould either diſpleaſe her huſband, or offend God.

At that time Richard Farnſworth and James Nayler were at her houſe, and ſhe deſired them to ſpeak to her huſband; which they did very moderately and wiſely: and though at firſt he was diſpleaſed, yet after he had heard them ſpeak, he was better ſatisfied. And they making as if they would go away, ſhe deſired them to ſtay, becauſe ſhe expected G. Fox that evening; and ſhe wiſhed for an opportunity, that both he and they might ſpeak to her huſband, whereby he might ſatisfy himſelf farther about them. Dinner in the mean-time being ready, judge Fell, and his wife Margaret, ſat down at table, and whilſt they were ſitting, an extraordinary power ſeizing on her, made ſuch an operation on her mind, that he was ſtruck with amazement, and knew not what to think of it; but he was quiet and ſtill; and the children alſo were become ſo grave and modeſt, that they could not play on their muſick they were learning. At night G. Fox came, and judge Fell ſitting in the parlour, Margaret aſked him if G. Fox might come in; and he ſaid, 'Yes.' George then coming in without any compliment, began to ſpeak preſently; at which the family, as well as J. Nayler and R. Farnſworth, entered. He now ſpeaking, declared what the practice of Chriſt and the apoſtles was in their day; and ſhewed how the apoſtacy came in ſince; and what was the practice of the modern prieſts in the apoſtacy. He alſo anſwered all the objections of judge Fell, and ſo thoroughly ſatisfied him by the Scriptures, that he was convinced in his judgment, and aſked if he was that George Fox whom juſtice Robinſon had ſpoken ſo much in commendation of amongſt many of the parliament men? To this G. Fox anſwered him, that he had been with the juſtices Robinſon and Hotham in Yorkſhire; that they had been very civil and loving to him, and that they were convinced in their judgments by the Spirit of God, that the principle he bore teſtimony to was the Truth; and that they ſaw beyond the prieſts of the nation. All this ſo ſatisfied judge Fell, that he was very quiet that night, and went to bed. The next morning came Lampitt, the prieſt of Ulverſtone, and

walking with the judge into the garden, ſpoke much to him there, to render the doctrine of the Quakers odious to him, having alſo ſaid to others, that G. Fox held ſtrange notions. But judge Fell had ſeen the night before ſo much, that the prieſt got little entrance upon him. And when Lampitt came into the houſe again, G. Fox ſpoke ſharply to him, and aſked him, when God ſpake to him, and called him to preach to the people. The prieſt not liking ſuch queſtions, it was not long before he went away. And whilſt ſome were ſpeaking how ſeveral in thoſe parts were convinced of the Truth now declared, and that they knew not where to get a meeting place, judge Fell hearing them, ſaid of his own accord, 'You may meet in my hall, if you will.' So on the next Firſt-day there was at his houſe a meeting, and a large one indeed, being the firſt meeting of the people called Quakers, that was at Swarthmore; and ſo it continued to be kept there until the year 1690, when a new meeting-houſe was built there. Judge Fell not being willing to appear in that meeting, went that day to the ſteeple-houſe, and none with him but his clerk and his groom. Yet in proceſs of time he came to be ſo well affected to the doctrine of the Quakers, ſo called, that though he did not enter publickly into their ſociety, yet he loved them, and ſeveral years before his death, did not frequent the ſteeple-houſe any more.

After G. Fox had ſtayed ſome days at the houſe of judge Fell, he went to Lancaſter, and there preached in the market; and on the next Firſt-day, had a great meeting in the ſtreet, amongſt the ſoldiers, to whom he declared the Truth; and in the afternoon went to the ſteeple-houſe: but ſpeaking there, and directing people to the Spirit of God, he was haled out, and ſtoned along the ſtreet.

Then having travelled about ſome time, and preached in ſome places, ſometimes with rude oppoſition, he returned to Swarthmore, where diſcourſing with ſeveral prieſts at judge Fell's houſe, he aſked them, whether any of them ever heard the voice of God or Chriſt, commanding them to go to any people, and declare the word of the Lord to them. But none of them anſwered this with Yea: yet

one ſaying, 'I can ſpeak of my experience as much as you;' G. Fox told him, experience was one thing, but to go with a meſſage, and to have the word of the Lord, as the prophets and apoſtles had, was quite another. An ancient prieſt, whoſe name was Thomas Taylor, did ingenuouſly confeſs before judge Fell, that he had never heard the voice of God, nor of Chriſt, but that he ſpoke his experiences, and the experiences of the ſaints in former ages. This very much confirmed judge Fell in the perſuaſion he had already, that the prieſts were not what they pretended to be: for he had thought, as the generality of the people did then, that they were ſent from God. At this time, the ſaying of G. Fox wrought ſo cloſe on the mind of the ſaid T. Taylor, that he was convinced, and travelled with him into Weſtmoreland; and coming into Croſland ſteeple-houſe, T. Taylor's mouth was opened, ſo that he declared amongſt the people, how he had been before he was convinced; and like the good ſcribe, brought forth things new and old from his treaſury, to the people; and ſhewed them how the prieſts were out of the way.

Now great rage aroſe among the prieſts, and they began as much as they could, to ſtir up to perſecution; for not only T. Taylor after ſome time preached the goſpel freely, but ſeveral others, viz. John Audland, Francis Howgil, John Camm, Edward Burrough, Richard Hubberthorn, Miles Halhead, and others, appeared zealous preachers among thoſe called Quakers; and often declared the doctrine they profeſſed in ſteeple-houſes, and markets; whereby the number of their friends began greatly to increaſe.

In the mean-while G. Fox returned into Lancaſhire, and went to Ulverſtone, where Lampitt before mentioned was prieſt. He now ſeeing how the people called Quakers did ſet up meetings, and met in private houſes, ſaid, they forſook the temple, and went to Jeroboam's calves houſes; whereas formerly he had preached of a people, that would own the teachings of God, and that men and women ſhould come to declare the goſpel. Now it was told him, that the old maſs-houſes, which were called churches, were more like Jeroboam's calves houſes; though men ſtrove to perſuade people that ſuch a building was the houſe of

God: whereas Chriſt was the head of the church, and never was called the head of an old houſe; and that the apoſtle ſpeaking of Chriſt, ſaid, "Whoſe houſe we are," Heb. iii. 6. This paſſage puts me in mind, how ſome of the parliament ſoldiers, obſerving, over ſome of the ſteeple-houſe doors, theſe words of the patriarch Jacob, when God had appeared to him in a dream, 'This is none other but the houſe of God, and this is the gate of heaven,' could not endure to ſee this groſs conceit concerning thoſe buildings, but raſed out the words, 'of God, and 'of heaven;' ſo that nothing was left, but 'This is none other but the houſe, and this is the gate:' and certainly their zeal was more reaſonable than the conceit of thoſe, who think that in the goſpel days a building of lime and ſtone, may be called the houſe of God. It ſeems alſo a ſilly conceit, to call a meeting-houſe, furniſhed with a ſteeple, a church; and to deny that name to the congregation-houſes of diſſenters, calling them, and them only, meeting-houſes. But this notion hath kept up the eſteem of thoſe maſs-houſes; and the prieſts, that they might not loſe their gain of burials, have endeavoured to keep people in the belief, that the ground of theſe buildings was holy; and this gave occaſion to the people called Quakers, to call thoſe buildings, ſteeple-houſes. Now ſince a fantaſtical man I very well knew in Holland, converſing there among the people of that perſuaſion, undertook to tranſlate that denomination into Dutch, *Geſpitſte huyzen*, it gave occaſion to ſome Latin writers in Germany, to complain, that the Quakers ſcornfully called their temples *Domus acuminatas*.* And though Croeſe ſays alſo in *Hiſtoria Quakeriana* concerning them, *Templa cuncti Quakeri contumeliosè vocabant ædes pyramidatas*,† yet he knew better. But this digreſſion has led me off from G. Fox, whom I left at Ulverſtone, where he went to the ſteeple-houſe, whilſt prieſt Lampitt was preaching. And when G. Fox began to ſpeak, John Sawrey the juſtice came to him, and ſaid, if he would ſpeak according to the criptures, he ſhould ſpeak. G. Fox told him, he ſhould

* Steeple-houſe.

† All the Quakers contemptuouſly called churches, ſteeple-houſes.

ſpeak according to the Scriptures, and bring the Scriptures to prove what he had to ſay. But then Sawrey, contradicting himſelf, ſaid he ſhould not ſpeak; and incenſing the people againſt him, they fell upon G. Fox, knocked him down, kicked him, and trampled upon him. At laſt Sawrey came, took him from the people, and led him out of the ſteeple-houſe, bidding the conſtables to whip him. Then he was dragged out of the town, and given up to the rage of the rude multitude, who did ſo terribly beat him with ſwitches and ſtaves, that at length fainting, he fell down upon the wet common; but recovering again, and being ſtrengthened by an immediate power, he ſtood up, and ſtretching out his arms, ſaid with a loud voice, 'Strike again, here are my arms, my head, and my cheeks.' Then a maſon gave him ſuch a heavy blow over the back of his hand with his rule, that it was much bruiſed, and his arm ſo benumbned, that he could not draw it to him again, ſo that ſome of the people cried out, 'He has ſpoiled his hand for ever.' But he being preſerved through the love of God, ſtood ſtill, and after a while, felt ſuch an extraordinary ſtrengthening power, that he inſtantly recovered ſtrength in his hand and arm.

This made the people fall out among themſelves; and ſome ſaid, if he would give them money, they would ſecure him from the reſt. But he, inſtead of doing ſo, ſhewed them their falſe Chriſtianity, and told them, they were more like Jews and heathens, than true Chriſtians; and that their fruits were an evidence of the unprofitable miniſtry of their prieſts. Then he felt himſelf moved to return to Ulverſtone, and went into the market there: and as he went, a ſoldier meeting him, ſaid, 'Sir, I ſee you are a man, and I am aſhamed and grieved that you ſhould be thus abuſed.' But G. Fox told him, the Lord's power was over all. And this he experienced, when he walked through the people in the market; for none of them had power to touch him then, though ſome of his friends were abuſed. And he ſeeing the ſoldier among them, with his naked rapier, bid him put up his ſword again, if he would go along with him; for he was willing to draw him out of the company, leſt ſome miſchief ſhould

be done: and yet a few days after ſeven men fell upon this ſoldier, and beat him cruelly, becauſe he had taken part with G. Fox, and his friends.

G. Fox having performed his ſervice at Ulverſtone, came again to Swarthmore, where he found ſeveral of his friends dreſſing their wounds and bruiſes received by the hearers of prieſt Lampitt. And now the prieſts began to propheſy again, that within half a year, the Quakers ſhould all be put down and gone. But they reckoned wrong; for it fared with thoſe people as with trees, which grow beſt when moſt lopped. *Duris ut ilex tonſa bipennibus, per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo, ducit opes animumque ferro.**

G. Fox keeping in continual motion, went with James Nayler to Walney Iſland, having firſt had a meeting at a little town called Cockan, after which a man came to him with a piſtol, and held it at him, but it would not go off. G. Fox then zealouſly ſpeaking to him, he was ſo ſtruck, that he trembled with fear, and went away. The next morning G. Fox went over in a boat to James Lancaſter's, and as ſoon as he came to land, about forty men with ſtaves, clubs, and fiſhing-poles, fell upon him, beating and punching him, and endeavoured to thruſt him backward into the ſea: but he preſſing on, was knocked down and ſtunned. When he came to himſelf again, he ſaw James Lancaſter's wife, throwing ſtones at his face, and her huſband James was lying over him, to keep the blows and the ſtones from off him: for the people had perſuaded this woman, that G. Fox had bewitched her huſband, and promiſed her to kill him when he came thither. But the Lord, by his inviſible power, preſerved him wonderfully, ſo that they could not take away his life. At length he got up, but was ſoon beat down again into the boat; which James Lancaſter obſerving, came to him, and ſet him over the water. Being come to the other ſide, they ſaw how the wicked crew was fallen upon James Nayler,

* IMITATED.

As by the lopping axe, the ſturdy oak
Improves her ſhade, and thrives beneath the ſtroke;
Tho' preſent loſs, and wounds ſevere ſhe feel,
She draws freſh vigour from th' invading ſteel.

with an horrible cry, 'Kill him; Kill him.' For whilſt they had been beating G. Fox, they had not minded Nayler, who was walking up into a field.

G. Fox being now come again to Cockan, met with no better entertainment, for the people came on with pitch-forks, flails, and ſtaves, to keep him out of the town, crying, 'Kill him; Knock him on the head.' But he was preſerved alive; and after having been much abuſed, they drove him a pretty way out of the town, and left him. Then James Lancaſter went back to look after James Nayler. In the mean-while G. Fox went to a ditch of water, and waſhed himſelf from the blood and dirt. After which he walked about three miles, to the houſe of one Thomas Hutton, but was ſo bruiſed that he could hardly ſpeak; only he told where he left James Nayler. Whereupon the ſaid Hutton, and Thomas Lawſon, the prieſt mentioned before (who lodged then at Hutton's houſe), took each of them a horſe, to ſee if they could find James Nayler; and they lighting on him, brought him thither that night.

Margaret Fell the next day hearing what was befallen G. Fox, ſent an horſe for him; but he was ſo ſore bruiſed, that he was not able to bear the ſhaking of the horſe, without much pain. When he was come to Swarthmore, the juſtices Sawrey and Thomſon gave forth a warrant againſt him; but judge Fell coming home, made it ineffectual, and ſent out warrants into the iſle of Walney, to apprehend all thoſe riotous perſons: whereupon ſome of them fled the country. But what is remarkable, James Lancaſter's wife, who ſo wickedly behaved herſelf, repented ſo of her evil, that ſhe became afterwards one of G. Fox's friends.

Judge Fell now deſired of G. Fox a relation of what had befallen him: but he was backward, and ſaid, that thoſe people could not do otherwiſe in the ſpirit they were; and that they manifeſted the fruits of their prieſts' miniſtry. Which made the judge afterward ſay to his wife, 'G. Fox ſpoke of the things as a man that had not been concerned.'

The occaſion upon which a warrant was iſſued out againſt

him, was a deſign the prieſts had laid to touch his life; in order to which a report was ſpread, that in a certain meeting he had ſpoken blaſphemy; and they, to maintain this forgery, had ſuborned falſe witneſſes. The time of the ſeſſions at Lancaſter being come, G. Fox went thither with judge Fell, who on the way told him, that ſuch a matter had never been brought before him, and that he did not know what to do in the caſe. But G. Fox ſaid, 'When Paul was brought before the rulers, and the Jews and prieſts accuſed him of many falſe things, he ſtood ſtill all that while, till they had done; and when they had done, Felix, the governor, beckoned to him to ſpeak for himſelf. And ſo (ſaid G. Fox), thou mayeſt do by me.'

Being come to Lancaſter, at the ſeſſions, there appeared about forty prieſts againſt him; and theſe had choſen one Marſhal, prieſt of Lancaſter, to be their ſpeaker; and the witneſſes they had provided, were a young prieſt, and two prieſts' ſons. When the juſtices were ſet, and had heard all the charges of the prieſts and witneſſes; which were, that G. Fox had ſaid, that God taught deceit, and that the Scripture contained but a parcel of lies; the witneſſeſs were examined upon oath; but they were ſo confounded, and at ſuch a loſs, that one of them, not being able to anſwer directly to what was aſked him, ſaid, the other could ſay it; which made the juſtices ſay, 'Have you ſworn it, and do you now ſay, the other can ſay it? It ſeems you did not hear thoſe words ſpoken yourſelf, though you have given it in upon your oath.' There were ſeveral perſons in the court, who declared that they had heard one of the two prieſts' ſons ſay, if he had power, he would make George deny his profeſſion; and that he would take away his life. The young prieſt, who alſo was a witneſs, confeſſed, that he ſhould not have meddled with the thing, had not another prieſt ſent for him, and ſet him on work. After all the accuſations had been heard, ſeveral men of reputation in the country affirmed in court, that no ſuch words, as had been ſworn againſt G. Fox, were ſpoken by him at the meeting; for moſt of the ſerious men on that ſide of the county, that were then at the ſeſſions, had been at that meeting, wherein

the witneſſes ſwore he ſpake the aforeſaid blaſphemous words. Colonel Weſt, being a juſtice of the peace, and then upon the bench, was ſo well pleaſed with theſe evidences, that he (having long been weak in body) ſaid, he bleſſed the Lord that had healed him that day; adding, that he never ſaw ſo many ſober people, and good faces together in all his life. And then turning himſelf to G. Fox, ſaid, 'George, if thou haſt any thing to ſay to the people, thou mayeſt freely declare it.' Then he began to ſpeak; but prieſt Marſhal, the orator for the other prieſts, went away preſently. Now that which G. Fox declared, was, that 'the holy Scriptures were given forth by the Spirit of God; and that all people muſt firſt come to the Spirit of God in themſelves, by which they might know God and Chriſt, of whom the prophets and apoſtles learnt, and alſo know the holy Scriptures. For as the Spirit of God was in them that gave forth the Scripture; ſo the ſame Spirit of God muſt alſo be in thoſe that come to know and underſtand the Scriptures: by which Spirit they might have fellowſhip with the Father, and with the Son, and with one another: and that without that Spirit, they could know neither God nor Chriſt, nor the Scriptures, nor have right fellowſhip with one another.' No ſooner had he ſpoken theſe words, but about half a dozen prieſts burſt out into a paſſion, and one of them, whoſe name was Jackus, ſaid, that the Spirit and the letter were inſeparable: which made G. Fox anſwer, 'Then every one that hath the letter, hath the Spirit; and they might buy the Spirit with the letter of the Scripture.' To which judge Fell, and colonel Weſt added, that according to that poſition, they might carry the Spirit in their pockets, as they did the Scriptures. The juſtices alſo bid Jackus prove what he had ſaid. But he finding himſelf caught, would have denied it; and the other prieſts endeavoured to diſguiſe his words with a pretended meaning. But the juſtices would admit no other meaning, than the plain ſenſe of the words. And ſeeing the witneſſes did not agree, and perceiving that they were ſet on by the envy of the prieſts, they diſcharged him, and after judge Fell had ſpoken to the juſtices Sawrey and Thompſon, con-

cerning the warrant they had given forth againſt G. Fox, ſhewing that this tended to encourage ſuch riots as thoſe in the Iſle of Walney, he and colonel Weſt granted a *ſuperſedeas*, to ſtop the execution of the ſaid warrant.

G. Fox being thus cleared in open ſeſſions, many people rejoiced, and were that day convinced of the Truth declared by him in the court; and among theſe, one juſtice Benſon, and the mayor of Lancaſter, whoſe name was Ripan; alſo one Thomas Briggs, who had been very averſe to, and an oppoſer of, the Quakers ſo called; and this ſame Briggs became afterwards a faithful miniſter of the goſpel amongſt them, and remained ſo to the end of his days.

G. Fox ſtayed yet ſome days at Lancaſter. But to relate all that he and his friends met with, is not my intention; for to ſet down at large all ſuch occurrences, would be a work requiring more leiſure and ſtrength than can be expected from me. And therefore I intend only to deſcribe what I find moſt remarkable; though many notable things have happened, of which I could not fully be informed in every circumſtance, as name, place, time, &c. But it is probable that this may give occaſion in England, to ſome other author after me, to make ſuch diſcoveries, that poſterity will wonder at it. For ſuch abuſes as G. Fox met with, was the ſhare alſo of many others of his friends, eſpecially the preachers, who this year were no leſs than twenty-five in number; and almoſt in every place where they came, they met with oppoſition, and became as it were the prey of the rude multitude. But neither the beating, buffeting, nor ſtoning of the mad rabble, nor the gaols or whippings that befel them from the magiſtrates, were able to ſtop the progreſs of the doctrine they preached to the people in markets, ſtreets, and alſo in ſteeple-houſes. And many and even of thoſe that had been enraged like wolves, became afterwards like lambs; and ſuffered patiently from others, what formerly they themſelves, in a blind zeal, had committed.

Thus the Quakers ſo called, by a firm and laſting patience, have ſurmounted the greateſt difficulties, and are at length become a numerous people, many not valuing their own lives, when they met with any opportunity for

the ſervice of God. And though their enemies on this account, have charged them with ſtubborneſs and obſtinacy, yet they meekly reſigned to what befel them, well knowing that thus to be accuſed hath been always the lot of thoſe who ſuffered for the teſtimony of Truth. Neither could they be charged with reſiſtance, or making head againſt their perſecutors; for one man did ſometimes lead a great many of them to priſon, who never forſook their religious aſſemblies, how hot ſoever perſecution was. That this was alſo the practice of the primitive Chriſtians, appears by what Cyprian (who died a martyr) wrote to Demetrian, viz. *Nemo noſtrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam veſtram, quamvis nimius et copioſus ſit noſter populus, ulciſcitur.** But let not my reader think, that theſe I have deſcribed have been the greateſt ſufferings of this harmleſs people; for I believe them to have been an hundred times more than my pen will be able to mention. Now I take up again the thread of my relation.

G. Fox being acquitted by the court, as hath been ſaid, it made the prieſts fret to hear it cried about, that the prieſts had loſt the day, and that the Quakers had kept the field. To revenge this, they got ſome envious juſtices to join with them, who at the following aſſizes at Lancaſter, informed judge Windham againſt G. Fox; which ſo prevailed upon him, that he commanded colonel Weſt, who was clerk of the aſſizes, to iſſue forth a warrant for apprehending him, but the ſaid colonel telling the judge of his innoceny, ſpoke boldly in his defence. The judge offended at this, commanded him again, either to write a warrant, or to go off from his ſeat. Then the colonel told him in plain terms, that he would not do it, but that he would offer up all his eſtate, and his body alſo for G. Fox. Thus the judge was ſtopped; and G. Fox coming that night to Lancaſter, heard of a warrant to be given out againſt him, and therefore judged it better to ſhew himſelf openly, than to make his adverſaries ſeek him. So he went to the chambers of judge Fell and colonel Weſt; and as ſoon as

* No one of us makes reſiſtance when he is taken up; nor takes any revenge on your unrighteous violence, although our numbers are greater than yours.

he came in, they ſmiled, and the cloonel ſaid, 'What! are you come into the dragon's mouth?' But G. Fox was always undaunted, and did not uſe to flinch in danger. So he ſtayed ſome days in town, and walked up and down there, without being meddled with, or queſtioned by any.

Yet his friends in the mean-while did not ſuffer the leſs; for all the villainy or inſolence that could be thought of, was not judged by ſome to be too bad to vex them. It was about this time that Richard Hubberthorn and ſeveral others were haled out of a meeting by ſome wicked men, and carried ſome diſtance off into the fields, where they bound them, and left them ſo in the winter ſeaſon.

G. Fox being now come again to Swarthmore, wrote ſeveral letters to the magiſtrates and prieſts who had raiſed perſecution thereabouts. That to juſtice John Sawrey, was very ſharp, and after this manner:

'Friend,

'Thou was the firſt beginner of all the perſecution in the North. Thou waſt the firſt ſtirrer of them up againſt the righteous ſeed, and againſt the truth of God; and waſt the firſt ſtrengthener of the hands of evil-doers againſt the innocent and harmleſs: and thou ſhalt not proſper. Thou waſt the firſt ſtirrer up of ſtrikers, ſtoners, perſecutors, ſtockers, mockers, and impriſoners in the North; and of revilers, ſlanderers, railers, and falſe accuſers, and ſcandal-raiſers. This was thy work, and this thou ſtirredſt up! So thy fruits declare thy ſpirit. Inſtead of ſtirring up the pure mind in people, thou haſt ſtirred up the wicked, malicious and envious; and taken hand with the wicked. Thou haſt made the people's minds envious up and down the country: this was thy work. But God hath ſhortened thy days, and limited thee, and ſet thy bounds, and broken thy jaws, and diſcovered thy religion to the ſimple and babes, and brought thy deeds to light. How is thy habitation fallen, and become the habitation of devils! How is thy beauty loſt, and thy glory withered! How haſt thou ſhewed thy end, that thou haſt ſerved God but with thy lips, and thy heart far from him, and thou in the hypocriſy! How hath the form of thy teaching declared itſelf

to be the mark of the falſe prophets, whoſe fruit declares itſelf! for by their fruits they are known. How are the wiſe men turned backward! View thy ways, and take notice, with whom thou haſt taken part. That of God in thy conſcience will tell thee. The Ancient of days will reprove thee. How hath thy zeal appeared to be the blind zeal; a perſecutor, which Chriſt and his apoſtles forbad Chriſtians to follow! How haſt thou ſtrengthened the hands of evil-doers, and been a praiſe to them, and not to them that do well! How like a mad man, and a blind man, didſt thou turn thy ſword backward againſt the ſaints, againſt whom there is no law! How wilt thou be gnawed and burned one day, when thou ſhalt feel the flame and have the plagues of God poured upon thee, and thou begin to gnaw thy tongue for pain, becauſe of the plagues! Thou ſhalt have thy reward according to thy works. Thou canſt not eſcape; the Lord's righteous judgment will find thee out, and the witneſs of God in thy conſcience ſhall anſwer it. How haſt thou cauſed the heathen to blaſpheme, and gone on with the multitude to do evil, and joined hand in hand with the wicked! How is thy latter end worſe than thy beginning, who art come with the dog to bite, and art turned as a wolf to devour the lambs! How haſt thou diſcovered thyſelf to be a man more fit to be kept in a place to be nurtured, than to be ſet in a place to nurture! How waſt thou exalted and puffed up with pride! And how art thou fallen down with ſhame, that thou comeſt to be covered with that, which thou ſtirredſt up, and broughteſt forth. Let not John Sawrey take the words of God into his mouth, till he be reformed. Let him not take his name into his mouth, till he depart from iniquity. Let not him and his teacher make a profeſſion of the ſaints' words, except they intend to proclaim themſelves hypocrites, whoſe lives are ſo contrary to the lives of the ſaints; whoſe church hath made itſelf manifeſt to be a cage of unclean birds. You having a form of godlineſs, but not the power, have made them that be in the power, your deriſion, your bye-word, and your talk at your feaſts. Thy ill ſavour, John Sawrey, the country about have ſmelled, and of thy unchriſtian carriage

all that fear God have been aſhamed; and to them thou haſt been a grief. In the day of account thou ſhalt know it, even in the day of thy condemnation. Thou waſt mounted up, and hadſt ſet thy neſt on high; but never gotteſt higher than the fowls of the air. But now thou art run amongſt the beaſts of prey, and art fallen into the earth; ſo that earthlineſs and covetouſneſs have ſwallowed thee up; and thy conceitedneſs would not carry thee through, in whom was found the ſelfiſh principle, which hath blinded thy eye. Thy back muſt be bowed down always; for thy table is already become thy ſnare.

'G. F.'

Sharp indeed was this letter; but G. Fox thought himſelf moved thereto by the Lord: and it is remarkable that this juſtice Sawrey, who was the firſt perſecutor in thoſe parts, afterwards was drowned, and ſo died not a natural death. To the prieſt William Lampitt he writ alſo, and another letter to others, to reprove them for their wickedneſs.

Some time after he went to Weſtmoreland, where miſchief was intended againſt him, but prevented by juſtice Benſon, and ſome conſiderable men beſides. Coming to Grayrigg, he had a meeting there; where a prieſt came to oppoſe, but was confounded; and there being many people, ſome of the milk-pails that ſtood upon the ſide of the houſe, tumbled down, by reaſon of the crowd; from which the prieſt afterwards raiſed a ſlander, that the devil frighted him, and took away one ſide of the houſe. And though this was a known falſehood, yet it was given out as true in publick print.

Another time this prieſt came to another meeting, and fell to jangling; ſaying firſt, that the Scriptures were the word of God. To which G. Fox ſaid, that they were the words of God, but not Chriſt, who is the Word. And when he urged the prieſt for proof of what he had ſaid, the prieſt, being at a loſs, was not long before he went away. Some time after coming again into a meeting, and hearing that G. Fox directed the people to Chriſt Jeſus, the prieſt taking out his bible, ſaid, it was the

word of God. Then G. Fox told him, it was the words of God; but not God, the Word. The prieſt however perſiſted in what he had ſaid; and offered to prove before all the people, the Scriptures to be the word of God. But this quarrel tending to vain logomachies, or conteſt about words, ended in confuſion; and many of the prieſt's followers came to ſee the vanity of his aſſertions.

The year being now come to an end, and a war kindled between England and Holland, King Charles II. then in exile, aſked the Dutch to be received in their navy as a volunteer, without any command: but this was courteouſly refuſed by the States General. Oliver Cromwell in the mean-while, ſtrove for the ſupreme authority in England, the more, becauſe he perceived how ſome of the parliament, jealous of his increaſing greatneſs, endeavoured to croſs him in his deſign. This made him labour to get the parliament diſſolved: but they not going on ſo quickly as he would have them, to put a period to their ſitting, he reſolved arbitrarily to make an end of them. And entering the houſe in the month called April, 1653, after having rudely inveighed againſt them, that they had made a bad uſe of their authority, and that without their diſſolution the realm would not be ſafe, &c. he at length cried out, 'You are no parliament:' and then ordering ſome muſqueteers to enter, he made the members depart the houſe, and ordered the doors to be ſhut; thus putting an end to this aſſembly, that had been ſitting nigh thirteen years.

But what is remarkable, G. Fox not long before being come to Swarthmore, and hearing judge Fell and juſtice Benſon diſcourſing together concerning the parliament, he told them, 'That before that day two weeks the parliament ſhould be broken up, and the ſpeaker plucked out of his chair.' And thus it really happened: for at the breaking up of the parliament the ſpeaker being unwilling to come out of his chair, ſaid, that he would not come down unleſs he were forced: which made general Harriſon ſay to him, Sir, I will lend you my hand; and thereupon taking him by the hand, the ſpeaker came down. This agreed with what G. Fox had predicted. And a fortnight after juſtice Benſon told judge Fell, that

now he ſaw George was a true prophet; ſince Oliver had by that time diſſolved the parliament.

Now in Cumberland great threatenings were ſpread, that if ever G. Fox came there again, they would take away his life. He hearing this, went thither; but nobody did him any harm. Returning then to Swarthmore, where juſtice Anthony Pearſon was at that time; he ſo effectually declared truth, that this juſtice was convinced, and not long after entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers.

G. Fox then, going again into Cumberland, went to Bootle, and there found preaching in the ſteeple-houſe, a prieſt from London, who gathered up all the Scriptures he could think of, that ſpeak of falſe prophets, antichriſts, and deceivers, and made application of them to the Quakers. But when he had done, George began to ſpeak, and returned all thoſe Scripture places on the prieſt; who being diſpleaſed at this, ſaid that he muſt not ſpeak there. But G. Fox told him, that the hour-glaſs being run, and he having done, the time was free for him, as well as for the prieſt, who was himſelf but a ſtranger there. He having ſaid this, went on, and ſhewed who were the falſe prophets, and what marks the Scriptures gave them; directing people to Chriſt their teacher. When he had done, the prieſt of the place made a ſpeech to the people in the ſteeple-houſe yard, and ſaid, 'This man hath gotten all the honeſt men and women in Lancaſhire to him; and now he comes here to do the ſame.' To which G. Fox returned, 'What wilt thou have left? and what have the prieſts left them, but ſuch as themſelves? for if it be the honeſt that receive the Truth and are turned to Chriſt, then it muſt be the diſhoneſt that follow thee, and ſuch as thou art.' Some words were alſo exchanged about tithes; and G. Fox told them, that Chriſt had ended the tithing prieſthood, and had ſent forth his miniſters to give freely, as they had received freely.

From thence he went to Cockermouth, near which place he had appointed a meeting; and coming thither he found James Lancaſter ſpeaking under a tree, which was ſo full of people, that it was in danger of breaking. G. Fox

now looked about for a place to ſtand upon, for the people lay ſpread up and down. But at length a perſon came to him, and aſked if he would not go into church. He ſeeing no place more convenient to ſpeak to the people, told him, yes. Whereupon the people ruſhed in on a ſudden, ſo that the houſe was ſo full of people, he had much ado to get in. When they were ſettled he ſtood up on a ſeat, and preached about three hours; and ſeveral hundreds were that day convinced of the truth of this doctrine.

From thence he went to other places, and particularly to Brigham, where he preached in the ſteeple-houſe with no leſs ſucceſs. Afterwards coming into a certain place, and caſting his eye upon a woman unknown to him, he told her that ſhe had lived a lewd life; to which ſhe anſwered, that many could tell her of her outward ſins, but of her inward, none could. Then he told her, her heart was not right before the Lord: and ſhe was ſo reached, that afterwards ſhe came to be convinced of God's truth.

Then he came near Coldbeck, to a market-town, where he had a meeting at the croſs, and ſome received the truth preached by him.

From thence he went to Carliſle, where the teacher of the Baptiſts, with moſt of his hearers, came to the abbey, in which G. Fox had a meeting. After the meeting the Baptiſt teacher, who was a notioniſt, and an airy man, came to him, and aſked what muſt be damned? and he told him, that which ſpake in him was to be damned. And this ſtopt his mouth. Then he opened to him the ſtates of election and reprobation, ſo that he ſaid, he never heard the like in his life, and came afterwards alſo to be convinced of the Truth. Then he went up to the caſtle among the ſoldiers, who by beating of the drum called the garriſon together. Among theſe he preached; directing them to the meaſure of the Spirit of Chriſt in themſelves, by which they might be turned from darkneſs to light, and from the power of Satan to God: he warned them alſo to do no violence to any man, &c. G. Fox having thus diſcharged himſelf, none oppoſed him, except the ſerjeants, who afterwards came to be convinced. On the market-day he went into the market, though he had been threat-

ened, that if he came there, he would meet with rude treatment. But he, willing to obey God more than man, ſhewed himſelf undaunted, and going upon the croſs, he declared, that the day of the Lord was coming upon all deceitful ways and doings, and deceitful merchandize; and that they ſhould put away all cozening and cheating, and keep to yea, and nay, and ſpeak the truth to one another.

On the Firſt-day following, he went into the ſteeple-houſe, and after the prieſt had done, he began to preach. Now the prieſt going away, and the magiſtrate deſiring G. Fox to depart, he ſtill went on, and told them, he came to ſpeak the word of life and ſalvation from the Lord amongſt them. And he ſpoke ſo powerfully, that the people trembled and ſhook, and they thought the ſteeple-houſe ſhook alſo: nay, ſome of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. Some women in the mean-while making a great buſtle, at length the rude people of the city roſe, and came with ſtaves and ſtones into the ſteeple-houſe: whereupon the governor ſent ſome muſqueteers to appeaſe the tumult; and theſe, taking G. Fox by the hand in a friendly manner, led him out. Then he came to the houſe of a lieutenant, where he had a very quiet meeting. The next day the juſtices and magiſtrates ſent for him to come before them in the town-hall. So he went thither, and had a long diſcourſe with them concerning religion, and ſhewed them that though they were great profeſſors (viz. Preſbyterians and Independents), yet they were without the poſſeſſion of what they profeſſed. But after a long examination they committed him to priſon as a blaſphemer, an heretick, and a ſeducer. There he lay till the aſſizes came on, and then all the talk was, that he was to be hanged: and the high ſheriff Wilfrey Lawſon, was ſo eager to have his life taken away, that he ſaid, he himſelf would guard G. Fox to execution. This made ſuch a noiſe, that even great ladies came to ſee him, as one that was to die. But though both judge and magiſtrates were contriving how they might put him to death, yet the judge's clerk ſtarted a queſtion, which puzzled them, and confounded their counſels, ſo that he was not brought to a trial, as was expected; which however was contrary to law. But

ſuch was their envy againſt him, that the gaoler was ordered to put him among thieves and murderers, and ſome naughty women; which wicked crew was ſo louſy, that one woman was almoſt eaten to death with lice: but what made the priſon the worſe, there was no houſe of office to it, and in this naſty place, men and women were put together, againſt all decency. Yet theſe priſoners, how naught ſoever, were very loving to G. Fox, and ſo hearkened to his wholeſome counſel, that ſome of them became converts. But the under gaoler did him all the miſchief he could. Once when he had been at the grate, to take in the meat his friends brought him, the gaoler fell a beating of him with a great cudgel, crying, 'Come out of the window,' though he was then far enough from it. But whilſt the gaoler was thus beating him, he was ſo filled with joy, that he began to ſing, which made the other rage the more, ſo that he went and fetched a fidler, thinking thereby to vex him. But when this fellow played, he ſang a hymn ſo loud, that with his voice he drowned the ſound of the fiddle, and thereby ſo confounded the player, that he was fain to give over and go his ways.

Not long after, Juſtice Benſon's wife felt herſelf moved to eat no meat but what ſhe ſhould eat with G. Fox, at the bars of the dungeon-window. Afterwards ſhe herſelf was impriſoned at York, when ſhe was big with child, for having ſpoken, it is like, zealouſly to a prieſt. And when the time of her travail came, ſhe was not ſuffered to go out, but was delivered of her child in the priſon.

Whilſt G. Fox was in the dungeon at Carliſle, there came to ſee him one James Parnel, a little lad of about 16 years of age; and he was ſo effectually reached by the ſpeaking of G. Fox, that he became convinced of the truth of his ſayings; and notwithſtanding his youth, was by the Lord quickly made a powerful miniſter of the goſpel, ſhewing himſelf both with his pen, and his tongue, a zealous promoter of religion, although he underwent hard ſufferings on that account, as will be mentioned hereafter.

There were alſo many others, who not ſticking at any adverſities, came to be zealous preachers of repentance; among theſe was Thomas Briggs, already mentioned, who

went through many cities, towns, and villages, with this meſſage: 'Repent, repent, for the mighty terrible day of the Lord God of power is appearing, wherein no worker of iniquity ſhall ſtand before him, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity: for he wills not the death of a ſinner; and if ye repent, and turn to him, he will abundantly pardon.' Sometimes he went into markets and ſteeple-houſes, and was often cruelly abuſed. Once being in a ſteeple-houſe at Warrington in Lancaſhire, and ſpeaking a few words after the prieſt had done, he was very violently knocked on his head: after which, a man taking hold of his hair, ſmote him againſt a ſtone, and pulled off an handful of it, which Thomas taking up from the ground, mildly ſaid, 'Not one hair of my head ſhall fall without my Father's permiſſion.' At another time he ſpeaking to a prieſt in Cheſhire, as he was going in his journey, the prieſt was much offended at him; and one of his hearers, as it were in revenge of this pretended affront, ſtruck him on the head, and knocked him down; but Thomas getting up again, and turning his face to the ſmiter, he ſmote him on his teeth, ſo that the blood guſhed out exceedingly; which ſome of the ſtanders by could not but cry out againſt. But not long after, the man that ſtruck him thus, fell ſick, and died, crying upon his death-bed, 'Oh, that I had not ſmitten the Quaker!' This Thomas once going through Saliſbury, and calling the inhabitants to repentance, was apprehended, and brought before ſeveral juſtices, who proffered him the oath, under pretence of his being a Jeſuit: but he ſaying, he could not ſwear, becauſe Chriſt had commanded, not to ſwear at all, was ſent to priſon, where he was kept a month. He alſo went up and down the ſtreets of Yarmouth, proclaiming the terrible day of the Lord, that all might repent, and fear Him that made heaven and earth, and the ſea. And being followed by a great multitude of rude people, and turning about, he ſpoke ſo powerfully to them, and with ſuch piercing words, that they ran away for fear. At length an officer came and took hold of him, but leading him gently, he had opportunity to continue preaching to the people, and to clear himſelf. Being brought before the magiſtrates, they or-

dered him to be led out of the town; which being done, Thomas came in again by another way, and having performed his ſervice there to his ſatisfaction, he departed the town.

When he came to Lynn, and warned people to repent, a great maſtiff dog was ſet upon him, but the dog coming near him, fawned upon him. Thus he went through many places, paſſing ſometimes five or ſix towns in one day; and though ſwords were drawn againſt him, or axes taken up to hew him down, yet he went on, and ſpoke ſo awfully, that even ſome, who did not ſee his face, were ſo reached by the power that accompanied him, that they became converts. Coming to Clanzous in Wales, and many hearing him attentively, the conſtable ſtirred up the rude people, and cried, 'Kill him; Kill him;' as if he had been a mad dog; and they threw ſuch great ſtones upon him, that he admired they did not kill him; but he was preſerved by ſuch a mighty power, that according to his relation, they were to him as a nut, or a bean. Many other rude encounters he met with, but was preſerved wonderfully in the greateſt dangers; which ſtrengthened him not a little in the belief, that God, who ſo miraculouſly ſaved him, did require this ſervice from him. He was alſo in America, and died in a good old age, after having laboured above thirty years in the ſervice of the goſpel.

Miles Halhead was alſo one of the firſt zealous preachers among the Quakers ſo called. He was the firſt of thoſe of his perſuaſion, that was impriſoned at Kendal. Once he went to Swarthmore to viſit his friends, and to aſſiſt at their meeting: by the way, he met the wife of the juſtice Thomas Preſton, and becauſe he paſſed by her quietly, without the ordinary way of greeting, ſhe grew ſo offended, that ſhe commanded her man to go back and beat him; which he did. At which Miles being kindled with zeal, ſaid to her, 'O thou Jezebel! Thou proud Jezebel! Canſt thou not permit and ſuffer the ſervant of the Lord to paſs by thee quietly?' She then held forth her hands, as if ſhe would have ſtruck him, and ſpit in his face, ſaying, 'I ſcorn to fall down at thy words.' This made Miles ſay again, 'Thou proud Jezebel, thou that hardeneſt thy heart, and brazeneſt thy face againſt the Lord and his ſervant, the Lord will plead

with thee in his own time, and ſet in order before thee, the things that thou haſt done this day to his ſervant.' And ſo he parted with her, and went to Swarthmore. About three months after this, he felt himſelf moved to go and ſpeak to her; and when he came to Houlker Hall, he aſked for Thomas Preſton's wife: ſhe then coming to the door, and Miles not knowing her, aſked her, if ſhe was the woman of the houſe; to which ſhe ſaid, 'No: but if you would ſpeak with Mrs. Preſton, I will intreat her to come to you.' Then ſhe went in, and coming back with another woman, ſaid, 'Here is miſtreſs Preſton:' but then it was manifeſted to him, that ſhe herſelf was the woman. It is true, as hath been ſaid, ſome time before he had ſeen her on the way, and ſpoken to her; but it may be, ſhe was then in ſo different a dreſs, that by reaſon thereof he did not know her; yet firmly believing that it was ſhe, he ſaid, 'Woman, how dareſt thou lie before the Lord and his ſervant? Thou art the woman I came to ſpeak to.' And ſhe being ſilent, not ſpeaking a word, he proceeded, 'Woman, hear what the Lord's ſervant hath to ſay unto thee: O woman, harden not thy heart againſt the Lord; for if thou doſt, he will cut thee off in his ſore diſpleaſure; therefore take warning in time, and fear the Lord God of heaven and earth, that thou mayeſt end thy days in peace.' Having ſaid this, he went away, ſhe, how proud ſoever, not doing him any harm, being withheld, without knowing by what. But, notwithſtanding that, ſhe continued the ſame: for ſeveral years after, when G. Fox was priſoner at Lancaſter, ſhe came to him, and belched out many railing words, ſaying amongſt the reſt, that his tongue ſhould be cut off, and he be hanged. But ſome time after, the Lord cut her off, and ſhe died, as it was reported, in a miſerable condition.

But before I leave this woman, I muſt alſo ſay, that about three years after ſhe had made her man beat Miles, it happened that as he was riding from Swarthmore, near to Houlker Hall, he met with a perſon who ſaid to him, 'Friend, I have ſomething to ſay unto you, which hath lain upon me this long time. I am the man that, about three years ago, at the command of my miſtreſs, did beat

you very ſore; for which I have been very much troubled, more than for any thing that I ever did in all my life: for truly, night and day it hath been often in my heart, that I did not well in beating an innocent man, that never did me any hurt or harm. I pray you forgive me, and deſire the Lord to forgive me, that I may be at peace and quiet in my mind.' To this Miles anſwered, 'Truly friend, from that time to this day, I never had any thing in my heart againſt thee, nor thy miſtreſs, but love. The Lord forgive you both; I deſire that it never may be laid to your charge; for ye knew not what ye did.' Here Miles ſtopped, and ſo went his ways. Many a notable occurrence he had in his life, and therefore he is to appear yet more than once in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Travelling once in Yorkſhire, he came to Skipton, where declaring the word of truth, he was ſo ſorely abuſed and beaten, that he was laid for dead; nevertheleſs, by the Lord's power, he was healed of all his bruiſes, and within three hours he was healthy and ſound again, to the aſtoniſhment of thoſe that had ſo abuſed him, and to the convincing of many that beheld him.

Then he went to Bradford, Leeds, and Halifax, where he alſo declared the doctrine of truth amongſt the people; but not without meeting with great perſecution.

From thence he came to Doncaſter, and there went on a Firſt-day of the week to a ſteeple-houſe, where, after the worſhip was done, he ſpoke to the prieſt and people: but they, inſtead of hearkening to what he ſaid, fell upon him in a great rage, and drove him out of the town; and he being ſorely bruiſed, they left him for dead. But before his going from home, he had been firmly perſuaded, that the Lord would preſerve him in all dangers: and it happened ſo to him according to his belief; for he got up again, and went to a friend's houſe, where he laid himſelf down upon a bed. But not long after, he felt a very ſtrong motion to go to a certain chapel, and there to declare the word of the Lord: forthwith he felt alſo an inward aſſurance, that if he gave up to do ſo, the Lord would heal him from his bruiſes. Then he roſe, as well as he could, and came down ſtairs with great difficulty,

by taking hold of the walls for a ſtay, and going out, he began to mend by degrees; and coming at length into the chapel, he ſpake as he was moved; and when he had cleared himſelf, he went back to the houſe from whence he came, and the Lord made him ſound of all his bruiſes.

From thence he went to York, and there ſpoke to the lord mayor, and other rulers of that city: and paſſing through Yorkſhire, he went into ſeveral ſteeple-houſes, to exhort the people; and though he met with great hardſhips, yet he was ſupported by an inviſible hand. So being clear of that country, he returned to his houſe at Mountjoy, in Underbarrow, in the county of Weſtmoreland. But his going thus often from home, was an exceeding great croſs to his wife, who in the firſt year of his change, not being of his perſuaſion, was very much troubled in her mind, and would often ſay from diſcontent, 'Would to God I had married a drunkard, then I might have found him at the alehouſe; but now I cannot tell where to find my huſband.' But after the ſpace of a year, it pleaſed the Lord to viſit her. She had a little ſon of about five years of age, which child ſhe loved extraordinarily, inſomuch that ſhe thought it was her only delight and comfort; but it happened that this darling died, and ſome time after ſhe ſpoke thus to her huſband: 'Truly, huſband, I have ſomething to tell thee: one night being in bed, mourning and lamenting with tears in my eyes, I heard a voice, ſaying, "Why art thou ſo diſcontented concerning thy huſband? I have called and choſen him to my work; my right hand ſhall uphold him. Therefore be thou content and pleaſed, that he ſerve me, and I will bleſs thee, and thy children for his ſake; and all things ſhall proſper that thou ſhalt take in hand. But if thou wilt not be content, but grudge and murmur, and repine againſt me, and my ſervant, whom I have choſen to do my work, I will bring a greater croſs upon thee.' Theſe words being freſh in my mind both night and day, I often ſaid within myſelf, What croſs can this be, that would be greater than the want of my huſband? But for all this, I could not be content: all the joy I had, or could find, was in our little boy, who would often, when he ſaw me weeping and

mourning, take me about my neck, and ſay, My dear mother, pray be content, for my father will come home in a little time. This child would often comfort me in this manner; but for all that I could not be content. Not long after, it pleaſed the Lord to take from me this my only ſon, my chiefeſt joy. Then the voice which I had heard came into my mind, and I perceiving that this was the croſs which the Lord would bring upon me, ſmote upon my breaſt, and ſaid within myſelf, that I was the very cauſe why the Lord had taken away my little ſon. A great fear then ſeizing upon me, I ſaid, O Lord my God! give me power to be content to give up my huſband freely to do thy will, leſt, O Lord, thou take away from me all my children. From that time I never durſt oppoſe thee, my huſband, any more in the work of the Lord, for fear that his judgments might alſo fall upon me, and my children.' This ſerved not a little to ſtrengthen and encourage Miles.

Some time after, walking in his garden, he felt a motion to go to Stanley chapel in Lancaſhire. Now though he might expect to meet with rude entertainment there, yet he conſulted not with fleſh and blood, but went to the aforeſaid chapel. Being come, he was not ſuffered to enter, but the door was violently turned againſt him. Then he walked in the yard till the worſhip was done, and the people that came out (one may gueſs how edified) fell upon him with great rage, and one captain William Rawlinſon, took hold of his arms and ſhoulders, and calling another man to take him by the feet and legs, they threw him over the wall; by which fall he was exceedingly bruiſed, ſo that he had much to do to get home. By the way it was inwardly ſaid to him, that he muſt be content with what was befallen him that day, and that if he was faithful in what the Lord required of him then, he would heal him again. Being come home, he waited upon the Lord to know his will. In this reſignedneſs, within ſix days, he was moved to go to Windermore ſteeple-houſe, and it was, as it were ſaid unto him, Fear not the face of any man, but ſpeak the word of the Lord freely; and then thou ſhalt be made ſound again of all thy bruiſes. So he went to the ſaid ſteeple-houſe, and having ſpoken

the word of the Lord to the prieſt and people, without receiving any harm, he was healed that day of his ſore bruiſes.

Some time after by another motion, he came to Furneſs in Lancaſhire, to the houſe of captain Adam Sands, where he found a great number of profeſſors gathered, and prieſt Lampitt preaching. But as ſoon as Miles entered, Lampitt was ſilent, which continuing a pretty while, captain Sands ſaid to him, 'Sir, what is the matter: are you not well?' To which the prieſt anſwered, 'I am well, but I ſhall ſpeak no more as long as this dumb devil is in the houſe.' 'A dumb devil,' ſaid the captain, 'where is he?' 'This is he,' ſaid the prieſt, pointing with his hand, 'that ſtandeth there.' Then the captain ſaid, 'This man is quiet, and ſaith nothing to you: I pray you, ſir, go on in the name of the Lord; and if he trouble or moleſt you in my houſe, I will ſend him to Lancaſter caſtle.' But the prieſt ſaid again, 'I ſhall not preach as long as this dumb devil is in the houſe.' Then the captain ſaid to one Camelford, a prieſt alſo, 'I pray you, ſir, ſtand up, and exerciſe your gift, and I will ſee that you be not diſturbed.' But the prieſt anſwered as the other, 'I ſhall not ſpeak as long as this dumb devil is in the houſe.' Then the people cried, 'Lord, rebuke thee Satan; Lord, rebuke thee Satan: what manner of ſpirit is this that ſtops our miniſters mouths?' Then the captain came to Miles, and taking him by the hand, led him out of the houſe. In all that time he had not ſpoke a word, and ſaw now the accompliſhment of what he had been perſuaded of before, viz. that an inviſible power would confound by him the wiſdom of the prieſts, when he ſpoke never a word. The ſaid Camelford was one who, a good while before had ſtirred up the rabble againſt G. Fox; and the other was that Lampitt, who has been mentioned already, and who had been ſo eſteemed by Margaret Fell, before ſhe came to be acquainted with G. Fox.

Some time after this occurrence, Miles went to Newcaſtle, and there ſaid to the mayor, rulers, and prieſts of that town, that God's anger was kindled againſt them, becauſe they had ſhut the kingdom of heaven againſt men,

and would not enter themſelves, nor ſuffer them that would. Becauſe of this he was impriſoned: but the mayor being much troubled, ſent for the ſheriff, for theſe two had committed Miles; when come, he ſaid to him, 'We have not done well in committing an innocent man to priſon: pray let us releaſe him.' The ſheriff conſenting, Miles was ſet at liberty. Then he declared the word of the Lord in thoſe parts, and many were convinced of the truth held forth by him. But now I part with this Miles Halhead, who hereafter is to be mentioned again.

About this time, viz. in the ſummer, general Cromwell had called a new parliament, conſiſting moſtly (as hath been ſaid by ſome) of members of his own choice; for it was a certain number of perſons out of each county and city in England, Scotland, and Ireland, nominated by the council of officers, and ſent for to meet at Weſtminſter. Into the hands of theſe, Cromwell delivered the ſupreme authority of the nation, by an inſtrument, or commiſſion, ſigned by himſelf and the officers; but the authority of this meeting laſted ſcarce half-a-year, as will be ſaid in the ſequel.

To this parliament a report was made, that at Carliſle, a perſon was impriſoned, who was to die for religion. This was G. Fox, whom we have left thus long in the dungeon at Carliſle, and now are returning to him again. The parliament then cauſed a letter to be ſent down concerning him to the ſheriff, and other magiſtrates. And G. Fox knowing how ſcandalouſly he had been belied, about ſpeaking blaſphemous words, gave forth a paper, wherein he challenged all who found fault with his doctrine, to appear in publick; ſince he was ready to ſtand the teſt of whatſoever he might have ſpoken. He alſo wrote a ſignificant letter to the juſtices at Carliſle, wherein he ſhewed them plainly the injuſtice of their dealings, and the horrid evil of perſecution, as having been always the work of the falſe church. Mention hath been made already of the juſtices Benſon and Anthony Pearſon: theſe had deſired, more than once, leave to viſit G. Fox in priſon; but this having been denied them, they wrote a letter to the magiſtrates, prieſts, and people at Carliſle, wherein they emphati-

cally deſcribed the wickedneſs of perſecution, and what would be the reward of perſecutors; ſaying alſo, that theſe were worſe than the heathen that put Paul into priſon; becauſe none of his friends or acquaintance, were hindered by them from coming to him. However, at length Pearſon got an opportunity to come with the governor into the dungeon, where G. Fox was kept, and they found the place ſo bad, and of ſo noiſome a ſmell, that the governor cried ſhame of the magiſtrates, for ſuffering the gaoler to treat G. Fox after ſuch a manner; and calling the gaoler into the dungeon, required them to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and put the under-gaoler, who had been very cruel to G. Fox, into the dungeon with him. In the mean-while, thoſe who had impriſoned G. Fox, began to grow afraid, the rather it may be, becauſe the parliament took notice of theſe doings; and it was not long after that he was releaſed: and then coming to the houſe of one Thomas Bewly, near Coldbeck, in Cumberland, there came a Baptiſt teacher to oppoſe him; but he found what G. Fox ſpoke to be ſo efficacious, that he became convinced of the truth thereof.

At that time there was alſo Robert Widders, who being moved to go to Coldbeck ſteeple-houſe, the Baptiſt teacher went with him. Widders coming into the ſteeple-houſe, there was one Hutton preaching, to whom he ſpoke; but the rude people threw him down, and dragged him into the yard, where they puſhed and beat him till the blood guſhed out of his mouth, ſo that he lay for dead ſome time; but a certain woman coming to him, held up his head, ſo that at length he recovered his breath. The Baptiſt who went along with him, had his ſword taken from him, and was ſorely beaten with it; yet this did not frighten or diſcourage him; and he not only left off the wearing of a ſword, but alſo freely gave up the inheritance of an impropriation of tithes.

The ſame day that this preacher was thus attacked with his own ſword, being the firſt of the week, ſeveral of G. Fox's friends, and among them William Dewſbury, went, one to this, and others to other ſteeple-houſes; and by ſuch means the number of the ſaid friends increaſed: though

Dewſbury at that time was ſo violently beaten by the people that he was almoſt killed; but the Lord's power healed him again.

But to return to Robert Widders: he being recovered from the rude treatment he met with, as hath been ſaid, felt himſelf ſo encouraged anew, and ſtrengthened in his undertakings, that he went, the ſame day in the afternoon, ſeven miles to Ackton ſteeple-houſe, where he ſpoke to prieſt Nichols, and calling him an enemy of Chriſt, told him alſo, that the hand of the Lord was againſt him. Then William Briſcoe, a juſtice of Crofton, commanded the conſtable to ſecure Robert; which he did, and carried him to the prieſt's houſe; where being examined by the juſtice, the prieſt began to fawn upon him. Thereupon Robert told the prieſt, that the ſpirit of perſecution lodged in him. But the prieſt ſaid, 'No, he was not ſuch a man.' Yet preſently after he ſaid to the juſtice, that Robert had ſtolen the horſe he came with: and, that he could find in his heart to become his executioner with his own hands: which made Robert ſay, 'Did I not ſay unto thee, that the ſpirit of perſecution lodged in thee?' Then the aforeſaid juſtice writ a warrant to ſend Robert to Carliſle gaol; and after having given the warrant to the conſtable, he aſked Robert, by what authority or power he came to ſeduce and bewitch the people? Robert anſwered, 'I came not to ſeduce and bewitch people, but I came in that power which ſhall make thee, and all the powers of the earth, bend and bow down before it, to wit, the mighty power of God.' Whilſt Robert was ſpeaking thus, the dread of the Lord ſeized on the juſtice, and ſo ſtruck him, that he called for his warrant again, and took it out of the conſtable's hand, ſuffering Robert, about night, to go away.

He being thus freed, did not leave viſiting the ſteeple-houſes from time to time, for which he was ſometimes impriſoned, and at other times was ſaved remarkably. Once coming near Skipton in Yorkſhire, at the ſteeple-houſe, he ſpoke very ſharply to the prieſt, Webſter; ſince he was one that had been partly convinced of the doctrine of the inward light, but becoming diſobedient thereunto, was turned back again. He alſo ſpoke to the people, and to

Juſtice Coats, bidding them to mind the word of God in the heart, which divided between the precious and the vile. After having cleared himſelf, he went to a place where a few of his friends were met together; but he had not been long there, when there came ſome horſemen and foot, who took him away, and carried him to the ſaid juſtice; who examining him, ſaid, he had broken the law, by diſturbing the miniſter and the people, and that he might ſend him priſoner to York caſtle. Robert anſwered, 'Send me to gaol thither, if thou dareſt; for I appeal to the witneſs of God in thy conſcience.' But the juſtice being a moderate man, ſaid, 'I neither dare nor will;' and taking Robert by the hand, told him, he might take his own time in going away.

To relate all the occurrences of this Robert Widders, would be too prolix; therefore I will only ſay, that as he was very zealous in ſpeaking to the prieſts, ſo he ſuffered very much in his eſtate, becauſe for conſcience-ſake he refuſed to pay them tithes; and on that account there was taken from him, at ſundry times, to the value of 143l. beſides what he ſuffered for meetings, and for Sunday ſhillings, ſo called, which alſo amounted to a conſiderable ſum. And this not only befel him, but it was the portion of many hundreds, nay, perhaps thouſands of thoſe of his perſuaſion. Wherefore I will not undertake to relate all that might be mentioned of this kind; for that would be beyond my reach.

However, by this that hath been ſaid, may be ſeen, by what means the Quakers, ſo called, grew ſo numerous in thoſe early times. As on one hand there were raiſed zealous preachers; ſo on the other, there were abundance of people in England, who, having ſearched all ſects, could no where find ſatisfaction for their hungry ſouls. And theſe now underſtanding that God by his light was ſo near in their hearts, began to take heed thereunto, and ſoon found that this gave them far more victory over the corruption of their minds, under which they had long groaned, than all the ſelf-willed worſhips which they with ſome zeal had performed many years. And beſides thoſe that were thus prepared to receive a farther manifeſtation of the way

of life, there were alſo many of a rude life, who being pricked to the heart, and brought over by the Chriſtian patience of the deſpiſed Quakers, became as zealous in doing good, as formerly they had been in working evil.

Perhaps ſome will think it was very indecent that they went ſo frequently to the ſteeple-houſes, and there ſpoke to the prieſts: but whatſoever any may judge concerning this, it is certain that thoſe teachers generally did not bring forth the fruits of godlineſs, as was well known to thoſe who themſelves had been prieſts, and freely reſigned their miniſtry, thenceforth to follow Chriſt in the way of his croſs; and theſe were none of the leaſt zealous againſt that ſociety among whom they formerly had miniſtered with an upright zeal. Yet they were not for uſing ſharp language againſt ſuch teachers, who, according to their knowledge, feared God; but they levelled their aim chiefly againſt thoſe who were only rich in words, without bringing forth true Chriſtian fruits, and works of juſtice. Hence it was that one Thomas Curtis, who was formerly a captain in the parliament army, but afterwards entered into the ſociety of the people called Quakers, wrote, in a letter to Samuel Wells, prieſt of Banbury, and a perſecutor of thoſe of that perſuaſion, amongſt other things, theſe words: 'To thy ſhame, remember I know thee ſcandalous. How often haſt thou ſate evening after evening at cards, and ſometimes whole nights, playing, and ſometimes compelling me to play with thee, for money; yet then thou waſt called of the world a miniſter; and now art thou turned perſecutor,' &c. None therefore need think it ſtrange, that thoſe called Quakers did look upon ſuch teachers as hirelings. And that there were not a few of that ſort, appeared plainly when King Charles II. was reſtored; for thoſe who had formerly cried out againſt epiſcopacy, and its liturgy, as falſe and idolatrous, then became turn-coats, and put on the ſurplice, to keep in the poſſeſſion of their livings and benefices. But by ſo doing, theſe hypocrites loſt not a few of their auditors, for this opened the eyes of many, who began to inquire into the doctrine of the deſpiſed Quakers, and ſaw that they had a

more ſure foundation, and that this it was which made them ſtand unſhaken againſt the fury of perſecution.

Let us again take up the thread of thoſe tranſactions which concern G. Fox: who now travelling through many places in the north of England, had every where great meetings; but now and then met with ſome oppoſition; ſometimes with hands, and at others with the tongue. Among the reſt, at Derwentwater in Northumberland; where in a diſpute recommending perfection, he was contradicted; but to prove his poſition, he ſaid, that Adam and Eve were perfect before they fell; and all that God made was perfect; and that the imperfection came by the devil and the fall; but that Chriſt, who came to deſtroy the devil, ſaid, 'Be ye perfect.' To this one of the profeſſors anſwered, that Job ſaid, 'Shall mortal man be more pure than his Maker? The heavens are not clear in his ſight. God charged his angels with folly.' But G. Fox ſhewed him his miſtake, and told him that it was not Job that ſaid ſo, but one of thoſe that contended againſt him. Then the profeſſors ſaid, the outward body was the body of death and ſin; but G. Fox replied, that Adam and Eve had each of them an outward body, before the body of death and ſin got into them; and that men would have bodies, when the body of ſin and death was put off again, and they were renewed into the image of God again by Chriſt Jeſus.

Thus G. Fox found work almoſt every where, and paſſing to Hexham, he had a great meeting there on the top of a hill. The prieſt indeed had threatened that he would come and oppoſe; but came not.

G. Fox then travelling on, came into Cumberland, where he had a meeting of many thouſands of people on a hill near Langlands. Once he came into Brigham ſteeple-houſe, before the prieſt was there, and declared the Truth to the people; but when the prieſt came in, he began to oppoſe, but was wearied ſo, that at length he went away.

There being now alſo ſeveral others who preached the doctrine of the inward light of God which convinceth man of ſin, the number of thoſe profeſſors of the light increaſed

greatly. And as it had been ſaid at firſt, that they ſhould be deſtroyed within a ſhort time; ſo now the prieſts began to ſay, that they would eat out one another. For many of them, after meetings, having a great way to go, ſtaid at their friends houſes by the way, and ſometimes more than there were beds to lodge, ſo that ſome lay on the hay-mows. This made ſome of the publick church grow afraid, that this hoſpitality would cauſe poverty, and that when theſe friends had eaten out one another, they would come to be maintained by the pariſhes, and ſo be chargeable to them. But it fell out quite otherwiſe, for theſe people were the more bleſſed, and increaſed, without falling into want. This puts me in mind of what one of the daughters of judge Thomas Fell once told me, viz. that her father having been abroad, and coming home with his ſervants, found the ſhed ſo full of the horſes of ſtrange gueſts, (for Margaret his wife had cleared the ſtable where they firſt ſtood, to make room for her huſband's own horſes) that he ſaid to his wife, this was the way to be eaten out, and that thus they themſelves ſhould ſoon be in want of hay. But to this Margaret ſaid in a friendly way, that ſhe did not believe when the year was at an end, that they ſhould have the leſs for that. And it ſo fell out; for this year their ſtock of hay was ſuch, that they ſold a great parcel of what they had in abundance. Thus the proverb was verified, that charity doth not impoveriſh. The truth of this was alſo experienced by thoſe called Quakers; for though many people at firſt were ſhy, and would not deal with them, becauſe of their nonconformity with the vulgar ſalutation, and their ſaying Thou and Thee to a ſingle perſon, inſtead of You, &c. inſomuch, that ſome that were tradeſmen loſt their cuſtomers, and could hardly get money enough to buy bread; yet this changed in time, when people found by experience they could better truſt to the words of theſe, than to that of thoſe of their own perſuaſion. Hence it was, that often when any came into a town, and wanted ſomething, they would aſk, where dwells a draper, or tay-lor, or ſhoemaker, or any other tradeſman, that is a Quaker? But this ſo exaſperated others, that they began to cry out, if we let theſe Quakers alone, they will take

the trade of the nation out of our hands. Now the cauſe of their trades thus increaſing, was, becauſe they were found upright in their dealings; for integrity did then ſhine out among them above many others: to this the true fear of God led them, and to this they were exhorted from time to time. G. Fox alſo writ a general epiſtle to them, which was as followeth:

To you all, Friends every where, ſcattered abroad.

'In the meaſure of the life of God, wait for wiſdom from God, even from him, from whence it comes. And all ye, who be babes of God, wait for the living food from the living God to be nouriſhed up to eternal life, from the one fountain, from whence life comes; that orderly, and in order, ye may all be guided and walk: ſervants in your places, young men and young women in your places, and rulers of families; that every one, in your reſpective places, may adorn the Truth; every one in the meaſure of it. With it, let your minds be kept up to the Lord Jeſus, from whence it doth come; that a ſweet ſavour you may be to God, and in wiſdom ye may all be ordered and ruled; that a crown and a glory ye may be one to another in the Lord. And that no ſtrife, nor bitterneſs, nor ſelf-will may appear amongſt you; but with the light, in which the unity is, all that may be condemned. And that every one in particular may ſee to, and take care of, the ordering and ruling of their own family; that in righteouſneſs and wiſdom it may be governed, the fear and dread of the Lord in every one's heart ſet, that the ſecrets of the Lord every one may come to receive, that ſtewards of his grace you may come to be, to diſpenſe it to every one as they have need; and ſo, in ſavouring and right diſcerning, you may all be kept: that nothing that is contrary to the pure life of God, may be brought forth in you, or among you; but all that is contrary to it, may by it be judged: ſo that in light, in life, and love, ye may all live; and all that is contrary to the light, and life, and love, may be brought to judgment, and by that light condemned. And that no fruitleſs trees be among you; but all cut down and condemnēd by the light, and caſt into the fire: ſo

that every one may bear and bring forth fruit to God, and grow fruitful in his knowledge, and in his wiſdom. And ſo that none may appear in words beyond what they be in the life, that gave forth the words: here none ſhall be as the untimely figs: and none ſhall be of thoſe trees, whoſe fruit withers: ſuch go in Cain's way, from the light; and by it are condemned. And that none amongſt you boaſt yourſelves above your meaſure; for if you do, out of God's kingdom you are excluded: for in that boaſting part gets up the pride, and the ſtrife, which is contrary to the light; which light leads to the kingdom of God; and gives every one of you an entrance thereinto, and an underſtanding, to know the things that belong to the kingdom of God. And there the light and life of man every one receives, him who was, before the world was, by whom it was made: who is the righteouſneſs of God, and his wiſdom: to whom all glory, honour, thanks, and praiſe belongs, who is God bleſſed for ever. Let no image, nor likeneſs be made; but in the light wait, which will bring condemnation on that part, that would make the images; for that priſons the juſt. So to the luſt yield not the eye, nor the fleſh; for the pride of life ſtands in that, which keeps out of the love of the Father; and upon which his judgments and wrath remains, where the love of the world is ſought after, and a crown that is mortal: in which ground the evil enters, which is curſed; which brings forth briars and thorns, where the death reigns, and tribulation and anguiſh is upon every ſoul, and the Egyptian tongue is heard: all which is by the light condemned. And there the earth is, which muſt be removed; by the light it is ſeen, and by the power it is removed, and out of its place it is ſhaken; to which the thunders utter their voices, before the myſteries of God be opened, and Jeſus revealed. Therefore all ye, whoſe minds are turned to this light (which brings condemnation upon all thoſe things before-mentioned, that are contrary to the light) wait upon the Lord Jeſus for the crown, that is immortal, and that fadeth not away.

G. F.

This epiſtle he ſent to be read at the meetings of his friends. Not long after, a certain prieſt of Wrexham in Wales, whoſe name was Morgan Floyd, ſent two of his congregation into the north of England, to inquire what kind of people the Quakers were. Theſe two coming thither, found the doctrine of the ſaid people ſuch, that they became convinced of the truth thereof, and ſo embraced it; and after ſome ſtay, they returned home. One of theſe was called John ap-John, and, continuing faithful, became a miniſter of the goſpel he had thus received; but the other afterwards departed from his convincement.

Let us now take a ſhort view of ſtate affairs in England. We have ſeen already Cromwell's power ſo great, that he ventured to diſſolve the long Parliament, and that he called another in its room. But before the year's end, this Parliament reſigned their power into the hands of Cromwell, from whom they had received it. Thus he, with his council of field officers, ſaw himſelf again in the poſſeſſion of the ſupreme government: and it was not long before this council declared: 'that henceforth the chief rule of the nation ſhould be entruſted to a ſingle perſon, and that this perſon ſhould be Oliver Cromwell, chief general of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that his title ſhould be Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and all the dominions belonging thereunto; and he was to have a council of twenty-one perſons to aſſiſt him in the government.'

This matter being thus ſtated, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, and the lord mayor and aldermen of London, were required, on the 16th of December, to attend Cromwell, and his council, in Weſtminſter-hall. Being come thither, the inſtrument of government was read, whereby Cromwell was declared Protector, he ſtanding all this while bare-headed, and major-general Lambert kneeling, preſented him with a ſword in the ſcabbard, repreſenting the civil ſword: which Cromwell accepting, put off his own, to intimate thereby, that he would no longer rule by the military ſword. The ſaid inſtrument being writ on parchment, contained, 'That the Protector was to call a Parliament every three years; that their firſt meeting

ſhould be on the 13th of September next enſuing: that he ſhould not be permitted to diſſolve a parliament, before it had ſat five months; that the bills preſented to him for his conſent, if he did not confirm them within twenty days, ſhould have the force of laws; that he was to have a council, who were not to exceed the number of twenty-one, and not to be under thirteen; that forthwith after his death, the council was to chooſe another Protector; that no Protector after him, ſhould be capable of being chief general of the army; and that it ſhould be in the power of the Protector to make war and peace.' Whilſt this inſtrument was reading, Cromwell held his hand on the bible, and afterwards took the oath, that he would perform all that was contained therein. This being done, he covered himſelf, all the others remaining uncovered. Then the commiſſioners delivered the ſeals to him, and the lord mayor of London the ſword; all which he reſtored again, with an exhortation to uſe them well. Afterward general Lambert carried the ſword before him to his coach, in which he went to Whitehall, where he was proclaimed Protector, which was done alſo in the city of London. Now he was attended like a prince, and created knights, as kings uſed to do. Thus Cromwell, by a ſingular, and very ſtrange turn of mundane affairs, ſaw himſelf placed in the palace, from whence he and his adherents had caſt out King Charles the Firſt.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

QUAKERS.

THE THIRD BOOK.

OLIVER CROMWELL in the beginning of the year 1654, ſeeing himſelf inveſted with the ſupreme authority of the nation, required, both of the ſoldiers and others, the oath of fidelity. But ſince amongſt the firſt, there were many, who, though convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Quakers ſo called, yet had not convenient opportunity to leave the military ſervice, it now preſented itſelf; for when the oath was tendered them, they declared that in obedience to Chriſt's command, they could not ſwear; whereupon they were diſbanded. Among theſe was John Stubbs, a man ſkilled not only in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but alſo in the Oriental languages; he was convinced by G. Fox, when in Carliſle priſon, and became afterwards a faithful miniſter of the goſpel. But ſome of the ſoldiers, who had been convinced in their judgment, not continuing ſtedfaſt, took the required oath, but not long out-lived it; for marching afterwards into Scotland, and paſſing by a garriſon there, theſe, thinking they had been enemies, fired at them, whereby ſeveral were killed.

G. Fox now ſeeing the churches of his friends in the

North ſettled, paſſed from Swarthmore (where he was about the beginning of this year) to Lancaſter, and from thence to Synder-hill-green, where he had a great meeting of ſome thouſands of people, among whom were many perſons of note; and a general convincement there was, ſo that a great number entered into the communion of thoſe called Quakers: with whom about this time, Ambroſe Rigge was alſo united, who, having been inclined to godlineſs from a youth, hearing G. Fox preach, and being convinced of the truth of the doctrine he taught, received it, and became a profeſſor of it, though for that reaſon he was caſt out by his parents and relations.

We have ſeen the firſt riſe of theſe Chriſtians, called Quakers, in the North of England, and how they increaſed under the oppreſſion of perſecution, ſo that in moſt places in thoſe parts meetings were ſettled: it remains to relate how they ſpread farther.

There were now above ſixty miniſters of the word raiſed among them, and theſe went out in the ſervice of the goſpel, to turn people where they could have an opportunity, from darkneſs to the light, and from the power of Satan to God. Of theſe, Francis Howgill and Edward Burrough, went to London; John Camm and John Audland, to Briſtol; Richard Hubberthorne and George Whitehead, to Norwich: Thomas Holmes into Wales, and others other ways. G. Fox, well knowing this to be a weighty work, writ a large epiſtle to theſe miniſters, wherein he admoniſhed them to prudence, adviſing them, to know the ſeed of God, which bruiſeth the head of the ſerpent; alſo to know the power of God, and the croſs of Chriſt: to receive wiſdom from God by the light; and not to be haſty, or to run in their own wills, but to continue in patience.

I will firſt mention ſomewhat of the occurrences at London, whither Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill, with Anthony Pearſon, who had been a juſtice of peace, came in the fore-part of the ſummer. Howgill and Pearſon, were the firſt of the people called Quakers, that had a meeting in this great city, where they preached in the houſe of one Robert Dring, in Watling-ſtreet; and Burrough was, as I have been informed, that day in an aſſembly of

a ſeparate ſociety. Yet I have been told alſo, that Ruth, wife of William Crouch, merchant in London, had ſaid, that ſomewhat before that time, there had been in the ſaid houſe meetings of ſome few perſons, of whom ſhe was one; and alſo Anne Downer, afterwards married to George Whitehead; that one Iſabella Buttery, with another woman, having ſpread in London ſome books, and among theſe one of G. Fox's, called, 'The way to the Kingdom,' had met with this ſmall company, of which were but two or three men, one of which was Amos Stoddard, formerly a military officer, mentioned already; and that the ſaid Iſabella ſometimes ſpoke a few words in this ſmall meeting. But when F. Howgill and E. Burrough were come to London, things began to have another face; for they laid hold of all opportunities they could light on to preach the goſpel.

At London there is a cuſtom in ſummer time, when the evening approaches, and tradeſmen leave off working, that many luſty fellows meet in the fields, to try their ſkill and ſtrength in wreſtling, where generally a multitude of people ſtands gazing in a round. Now it ſo fell out, that E. Burrough paſſed by the place where they were wreſtling, and ſtanding ſtill among the ſpectators, ſaw how a ſtrong and dexterous fellow had already thrown three others, and was waiting for a fourth champion, if any durſt venture to enter the liſts. At length, none being bold enough to try, E. Burrough ſtepped into the ring (commonly made up of all ſorts of people), and having looked upon the wreſtler with a ſerious countenance, the man was not a little ſurprized, inſtead of an airy antagoniſt, to meet with a grave and awful young man; and all ſtood as it were amazed at this ſight, eagerly expecting what would be the iſſue of this combat. But it was quite another fight E. Burrough aimed at. For having already fought againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs, that had once prevailed on him, and having overcome in meaſure, by the grace of God, he now endeavoured alſo to fight againſt it in others, and to turn them from the evil of their ways. With this intention, he began very ſeriouſly to ſpeak to the ſtanders by, and that with ſuch a heart-piercing power, that he was heard

by this mixed multitude, with no leſs attention than admiration; for this ſpeech tended to turn them from darkneſs to the light, and from the power of Satan to God. To effect this, he laboured with convincing words, ſhewing how God had not left himſelf without a witneſs, but had given to man a meaſure of his grace, and enlightened every one with the light of Chriſt. Thus he preached zealouſly; and though many might look upon this as a novelty, yet it was of ſuch effect, that ſome were convinced of the Truth; for he was a breaker of ſtony hearts, and therefore by a certain author, not unjuſtly, called a ſon of thunder: though he alſo omitted not in due ſeaſon, to ſpeak a word of conſolation to thoſe that were of a broken heart, and of a contrite ſpirit.

But to thunder againſt ſin and iniquity was his peculiar talent; inſomuch, that once preaching very zealouſly in meeting, and perceiving there were ſome contrite ſouls, that wanted ſpiritually-refreſhing food, he was heard to intimate, that though his preſent ſpeaking was not milk for babes, yet he would remember ſuch anon, and adminiſter to them alſo; but now he muſt threſh the whore. And indeed he was one of thoſe valiants, whoſe bow never turned back, nor ſword empty from the ſlaughter of the mighty; for the Lord bleſſed his powerful miniſtry with very glorious ſucceſs: nay, he was ſuch an excellent inſtrument in the hand of God, that even ſome mighty and eminent men were touched to the heart by the power of the word of life, which he preached. And although coals of fire, as it were, came forth of his mouth, to the conſuming of briers and thorns, and he paſſing through unbeaten paths, trampled upon wild thiſtles and luxuriant tares; yet his wholeſome doctrine dropped as the oil of joy upon the ſpirits of mourners in Sion. Hence it was that Francis Howgill not unjuſtly ſaid of him when deceaſed, 'Shall days, or months, or years wear out thy name, as though thou hadſt had no being? Oh nay: ſhall not thy noble and valiant acts, and mighty works which thou haſt wrought, through the power of him that ſeparated thee from the womb, live in generations to come? Oh yes! The children that are yet unborn ſhall have thee

in their mouths, and thy works ſhall teſtify of thee in the generation who yet have no being.'

The ſaid Howgill, alſo an eminent and eloquent man, being now at London, went to court, to utter what was in his mind to Oliver Cromwell. And after having ſpoke to him, he thought it convenient to expreſs himſelf farther in writing; as he did by the following letter:

'Friend,

'I was moved of the Lord to come to thee, to declare the word of the Lord, as I was moved of the Lord, and deal plainly with thee, as I was commanded, and not to petition thee for any thing; but to declare what the Lord had revealed to me, concerning thee; and when I had delivered what I was commanded, thou queſtionedſt it, whether it was the word of the Lord or not, and ſoughteſt by thy reaſon to put it off; and we have waited ſome days ſince, but cannot ſpeak to thee, therefore I was moved to write to thee, and clear my conſcience, and to leave thee. Therefore hear the word of the Lord. Thus ſaith the Lord, I choſe thee out of all the nations, when thou waſt little in thy own eyes, and threw down the mountains and the powers of the earth before thee, which had eſtabliſhed wickedneſs by a law, and I cut them down, and broke the yokes and bonds of the oppreſſor, and made them ſtoop before thee, and I made them as a plain before thee, that thou paſſedſt over them, and trode upon their necks; but thus ſaith the Lord, now thy heart is not upright before me, but thou takeſt counſel, and not of me; and thou art eſtabliſhing peace, and not by me; and thou art ſetting up laws, and not by me; and my name is not feared, nor I am not ſought after; but thy own wiſdom thou eſtabliſheſt. What ſaith the Lord, have I thrown down all the oppreſſors, and broken their laws, and thou art now going about to eſtabliſh them again, and art going to build again that which I have deſtroyed? Wherefore thus ſaith the Lord, Wilt thou limit me, and ſet bounds to me, when, and where, and how, and by whom, I ſhall declare myſelf, and publiſh my name? Then will I break thy cord, and remove thy ſtake, and exalt myſelf in thy overthrow.

Therefore this is the word of the Lord to thee, whether thou wilt hear, or forbear, If thou take not away all thoſe laws which are made concerning religion, whereby the people which are dear in mine eyes, are oppreſſed, thou ſhalt not be eſtabliſhed; but as thou haſt trodden down my enemies by my power, ſo ſhalt thou be trodden down by my power, and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord; for my goſpel ſhall not be eſtabliſhed by thy ſword, nor by thy law; but by my might, and by my power, and by my Spirit. Unto thee, this is the word of the Lord, Stint not the eternal Spirit, by which I will publiſh my name, when, and where, and how I will; for if thou doſt, thou ſhalt be as duſt before the wind: the mouth of the Lord hath ſpoken it, and he will perform his promiſe. For this is that I look for at thy hands, ſaith the Lord, that thou ſhouldeſt undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppreſſed go free. Are not many ſhut up in priſon, and ſome ſtocked, ſome ſtoned, ſome ſhamefully entreated? And ſome are judged blaſphemers by thoſe who know not the Lord, and by thoſe laws which have been made by the will of man, and ſtand not in the will of God; and ſome ſuffer now becauſe they cannot hold up the types, and ſo deny Chriſt come in the fleſh; and ſome have been ſhut up in priſon, becauſe they could not ſwear, and becauſe they abide in the doctrine of Chriſt; and ſome for declaring againſt ſin openly in markets, have ſuffered as evil-doers: and now if thou let them ſuffer in this nature by thoſe laws, and count it juſt; I will viſit for thoſe things, ſaith the Lord, I will break the yoke from off their necks, and I will bring deliverance another way, and thou ſhalt know that I am the Lord.

'Moved of the Lord to declare and write this, by a ſervant of the Truth for Jeſus's ſake, and a lover of thy ſoul, called,

'Francis Howgill.'

The laſt of the Firſt Month, about the ninth hour, waiting in James's Park at London.

How this was received I am not acquainted; but this I have underſtood, that ſome of Cromwell's ſervants, and among theſe one Theophilus Green, and Mary, afterwards

wife of Henry Stout, were ſo reached by F. Howgill's diſcourſe, that after ſome time they entered into the ſociety of the Quakers, ſo called.

Now in the ſaid letter, or ſpeech, we find notice taken of laws made concerning religion: theſe I do not look upon as made by the induction of Cromwell; but ſuch as were made in former times, which he could have altered, if he would have done it: as afterwards many penal laws were abrogated, under the reign of King William and Queen Mary, as will be ſaid in its proper place. For I do not find that in Cromwell's time any laws were made to conſtrain people to frequent the worſhip of the publick or national church. But notwithſtanding, the Quakers, ſo called, were impriſoned for refuſing to ſwear, or for not paying tithes to maintain the prieſts; and they were whipped like vagabonds, for preaching in markets, or in other publick places; or they were fined for not taking off their hats before magiſtrates; for this was called Contempt of the magiſtracy; and when for conſcience ſake they refuſed to pay ſuch a fine, either the ſpoiling of goods, or impriſonment became their ſhare: and thus always a cloak or cover was found to perſecute them, and malice never wanted pretences to vex them. And it alſo often happened that E. Burrough and F. Howgill were oppoſed by the chiefeſt of ſeveral ſects, whereby diſputes were raiſed, which many times gave occaſion for ſome of the hearers to embrace the doctrine maintained by the ſaid Burrough and Howgill; which ſo enraged their enemies, that no ſlanders were ſpared, and they ſometimes branded them as witches.

In the mean-while the people called Quakers ſo increaſed in London, that they began to have ſettled meetings, the firſt of which was in Alderſgate Street, at the houſe of one Sarah Sawyer. The firſt among women of this ſociety that preached at London publickly, was the already mentioned Anne Downer, afterwards married to one Greenwell, and being become a widow, in proceſs of time entered into matrimony with George Whitehead, as hath been hinted already.

The number of the ſaid people increaſing at London from time to time, ſeveral meetings were now erected

there, one of which was in the houſe of one Bates, in Tower Street, and another at Gerard Robert's, in Thomas Apoſtles; until the church became ſo great, that a houſe known by the name of the Bull and Mouth, in Martin's le Grand, near Alderſgate, was hired for a meeting-houſe; and it being a building that had belonged to ſome great man, there was a large hall in it that would hold many people, and ſo was very convenient for a meeting place.

Abundance of books were now ſpread againſt the Quakers, as ſeducers and falſe prophets; and theſe written by the prieſts and teachers of ſeveral ſects: for they perceiving that many of their hearers forſook them, left no ſtone unturned to ſtop it. But the event did not anſwer their hope, ſince Burrough and Howgill did not ſuffer thoſe writings to go unanſwered, but clearly ſhewed the malice and abſurdities of thoſe writers.

Leaving them buſy with this work, we will take a turn toward Briſtol, to behold the performances of John Audland, and Thomas Airey; who came thither in the month called July in this year, and going into the meetings of the Independents and Baptiſts, they found opportunity to preach Truth there, and alſo had occaſion to ſpeak to others, ſo that many received their teſtimony.

From thence they went to Plymouth in Devonſhire, and ſo to London, where they met with John Camm; but after ſome ſtay there, John Audland returned to Briſtol with John Camm, and found there a door opened for their miniſtry. Among thoſe that did receive their teſtimony, were Joſiah Cole, George Biſhop, Charles Marſhal, and Barbara Blaugdone, concerning which perſons more is to be ſaid hereafter. It was not long ere F. Howgill and E. Burrough, having gathered a church at London, came alſo to Briſtol, where perſecution now began to appear with open face: for the magiſtrates commanded them to depart the city and the liberties thereof; to which they anſwered, that they came not in the will of man; and that when He who moved them to come thither, did move them alſo to depart, they ſhould obey; that if they were guilty of the tranſgreſſion of any law, they were not un-

willing to ſuffer by it; that they were freeborn Engliſhmen, being free from the tranſgreſſion of any law; and that if by violence they were put out of the city, they were ready to ſuffer, and would not reſiſt; and ſo they departed out of the preſence of the rulers. But now the prieſts, eſpecially one Ralph Farmer, began to incite and enrage the people, and to ſet the city, as it were, on fire.

Hence it was that J. Camm and J. Audland, intending to have a meeting at Briſlington, about two miles from Briſtol, and paſſing over a bridge, were aſſaulted by the rabble of the city and ſeveral apprentices of Farmer's pariſh, who having got notice of their coming were gathered there, and violently abuſed them with beating, kicking, and a continual cry, knock them down, kill them, or hang them preſently. Thus they were driven back, and forced into the city again, narrowly eſcaping with their lives. But the tumult did not yet ceaſe; for ſome of the multitude were heard to ſay, that they ſhould find more protection from the magiſtrates, than thoſe ſtrangers, viz. Camm and Audland. But the officers of the garriſon, thinking it unwarrantable to permit ſuch a tumult, ſince it was not without reaſon to be feared, that the royaliſts, or abettors of King Charles, might take hold of ſuch an opportunity and raiſe an inſurrection, cauſed three of the ringleaders to be ſeized; but this made ſuch a ſtir, that the next day more than five hundred people, as it was thought, were gathered together in a ſeditious manner, ſo that their companions were ſet at liberty. This made the tumultuous mob more bold and ſaucy, the rather becauſe they ſaw that the magiſtrates, hearing that J. Camm and J. Audland not only had kept a meeting at Briſlington, but alſo had viſited ſome in their houſes at Briſtol, had bid them to depart the town.

Now the riotous multitude did not ſtick to ruſh violently into the houſes of the Quakers, ſo called, at Briſtol, under a pretence of preventing treaſonable plottings. And when ſome in zeal told the prieſts, theſe were the fruits of their doctrine, they incited the people the more, and induced the magiſtrates to impriſon ſome of thoſe called Quakers. This inſtigated the rabble to that degree, that now they

thought they had full liberty to uſe all kind of inſolence againſt the ſaid people; beating, ſmiting, puſhing, and often treading upon them, till blood was ſhed: for they were become a prey to every malapert fellow, as a people that were without the protection of the law. This often cauſed a tumult in the town; and ſome ſaid (not without good reaſon) that the apprentices durſt not have left their work, had not their maſters given them leave. And a certain perſon informed the mayor and aldermen upon his oath, that he had heard an apprentice ſay, that they had leave from their maſters, and were encouraged; for alderman George Hellier had ſaid, he would die rather than any of the apprentices ſhould go to priſon. Now an order of ſeſſions came forth, that the conſtables do once in every fortnight, make diligent ſearch within their ſeveral wards, for all ſtrangers and ſuſpicious perſons; and that all people be forewarned not to be preſent at any tumult, or other unlawful aſſembly, or gather into companies or multitudes in the ſtreets, on pain of being puniſhed according to law. But this order was to little purpoſe, for the tumultuous companies and riots continued; and once when a proclamation was read in the name of the Lord Protector, requiring every one to depart, ſome of the rioters were heard to ſay, 'What do you tell us of a Protector? tell us of King Charles.' In the mean-while the Quakers, ſo called, were kept in priſon, and it plainly appeared that the order againſt unlawful aſſemblies was levelled againſt their meetings: and though the magiſtrates pretended that they muſt anſwer for it to the Protector, if they did let the Quakers alone without diſturbing their meetings, which at that time, for the moſt part, were ſilent, and nothing was ſpoken, but when now and then one of their miniſters from abroad viſited them; yet this was not at all agreeable with the Protector's ſpeech he made on the 12th of the month called September, to the parliament, in the painted chamber, where he ſpoke theſe words:

'Is not liberty of conſcience in religion a fundamental? ſo long as there is liberty for the ſupreme magiſtrate, to exerciſe his conſcience in erecting what form of church

government he is ſatisfied he ſhould ſet up, why ſhould he not give it to others? Liberty of conſcience is a natural right, and he that would have it, ought to give it, having liberty to ſettle what he likes for the publick. Indeed that hath been the vanity of our conteſts: every ſect ſaith, Give me liberty; but give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to any body elſe. Where is our ingenuity? Truly that is a thing that ought to be very reciprocal. The magiſtrate hath his ſupremacy, and he may ſettle religion according to his conſcience. And I may ſay to you, I can ſay it, all the money in the nation would not have tempted men to fight upon ſuch an account as they have engaged, if they had not had hopes of liberty, better than they had from epiſcopacy, or than would have been afforded them from a Scottiſh Preſbytery, or an Engliſh either, if it had made ſuch ſteps, or been as ſharp and rigid as it threatened when it was firſt ſet up. This I ſay is a fundamental: it ought to be ſo. It is for us and the generations to come.'

Cromwell ſpoke more in confirmation hereof; and indeed he would have been a brave man, if really he had performed what he aſſerted with binding arguments. But though now he ſeemed to diſapprove the behaviour of Preſbytery (for then he was for Independency), yet after ſome time he courted the Preſbyterians; and theſe fawning upon him from the pulpit, as their preſerver and the reſtorer of the church, he ſuffered the Quakers to be perſecuted under his government (though he pretended not to know it), when he might eaſily have ſtopt it. But by hearkening to the flatteries of the clergy, at length he loſt his credit, even with thoſe who with him had fought for the common liberty; and thus at laſt befel him after his death, what he ſeemed to have imprecated on himſelf in the foregoing ſpeech, if he departed from allowing due liberty. For he farther ſaid, that many of the people had been neceſſitated to go into the vaſt howling wilderneſs in New England, for the enjoyment of their liberty; and that liberty was a fundamental of the government; adding, that it had coſt much blood to have it ſo, and even the

hazarding of all. And in the concluſion he ſaid, that he could ſooner be willing to be rolled into his grave, and buried with infamy, than give his conſent to the wilful throwing away of that government; ſo teſtified unto in the fundamentals of it. Now who knows not what infamy befel him afterwards, when in the reign of King Charles the ſecond, it is ſaid, his corpſe was digged up, and buried near the gallows, as may be farther mentioned in its due place?

But I return now to Briſtol, where ſeveral were kept in priſon ſtill, and no liberty granted them; nay, they were even charged with what they utterly denied themſelves to be guilty of. Among theſe, one John Worring was accuſed of having called the prieſt, Samuel Grimes, a devil: but Worring denied this, though he did not ſtick to ſay, he could prove ſomewhat like it by his own words. And it being aſked him how, he anſwered, that the prieſt had ſaid at the meeting, that in all things he did, he ſinned; and if in all things, then as well in his preaching, as in other things; and he that ſinneth is of the devil. If you will not believe me, believe the Scriptures. It may be eaſily conjectured that this anſwer did not pleaſe the prieſts' followers, and therefore Worring and ſome others were kept in priſon: and among theſe alſo Elizabeth Marſhall, who in the ſteeple-houſe, after the prieſt John Knowls had diſmiſſed the people with what is called the bleſſing, ſpoke to him, and ſaid, 'This is the word of the Lord to thee. I warn thee to repent, and to mind the light of Chriſt in thy conſcience.' And when the people, by order of the magiſtrates then preſent, violently aſſaulted her, giving her many blows with ſtaves and cudgels, ſhe cried out, 'The mighty day of the Lord is at hand, wherein he will ſtrike terror on the wicked.' Some time before, ſhe ſpoke alſo in the ſteeple-houſe to the prieſt Ralph Farmer, after he had ended his ſermon and prayer, and ſaid, 'This is the word of the Lord to thee. Wo, wo, wo from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never ſent them.'

A good while after this, the magiſtrates gave out the following warrant:

City of Briſtol.

'To all the conſtables within this city, and to every of them.

'Foraſmuch as information hath been given us, that John Camm, and John Audland, two ſtrangers, who were commanded to depart this city, have, in contempt of authority, come into this city again, to the diſturbance of the publick peace: theſe are therefore to will and require you forthwith to apprehend them, and bring them before us to be examined, according to law. Given this 22d of January 1654, Signed,

William Cann, Richard Vickers, Dept. Mayor,
Joſeph Jackſon, Henry Gibbs,
Gabriel Sherman, John Lock.

Camm and Audland had departed the town before this time, having never been commanded (as the warrant ſaith) to depart the city, either by the magiſtrates themſelves, or by any other at their command; though F. Howgill and E. Burrough had been required to do ſo. So this warrant proving ineffectual, the magiſtrates cauſed another to be formed in theſe words:

City of Briſtol.

'To the conſtables of the peace of the ward of ——— and to every of them.

'Foraſmuch as information hath been given us upon oath, that certain perſons of the Franciſcan order in Rome, have of late come over into England, and under the notion of Quakers, drawn together ſeveral multitudes of people in London; and whereas certain ſtrangers, going under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgill, and Edward Burrough, and others unknown, have lately reſorted to this city, and in like manner, under the notion of Quakers, drawn mul-

titudes of people after them, and occaſioned very great diſturbances amongſt us; and foraſmuch as by the ſaid information it appeareth to us to be very probable, and much to be ſuſpected, that the ſaid perſons ſo lately come hither, are ſome of thoſe that came from Rome, as aforeſaid; theſe are therefore in the name of his highneſs, the lord protector, to will and require you to make diligent ſearch through your ward for the aforeſaid ſtrangers, or any of them, and all other ſuſpected perſons, and to apprehend and bring them before us, or ſome of us, to be examined and dealt with according to law: hereof fail you not. Given the 25th of Jan. 1654. Signed,

John Gunning, Mayor,
Gabriel Sherman,
Henry Gibbs,
George Hellier,
Gabriel Sherman,
William Cann,
Joſeph Jackſon,
John Lock,
Richard Vickris.

Hereunto theſe magiſtrates affixed their ſeals; and that alderman Sherman might be ſure his name was down, he wrote it twice. How frivolous this pretence of perſons of the Franciſcan order was, even a child might perceive; for the Quakers were by this time ſo multiplied in the North of England, that they could no more be looked upon as an unknown people. And as for G. Fox, and James Nayler, they had not yet been at Briſtol, and therefore it ſeemed abſurd to ſeek for them there. But it was thought expedient to brand the Quakers, with odious names, that ſo under the cloke thereof, they might be perſecuted as diſturbers of the publick peace: as appeared when one Thomas Robertſon, and Joſiah Cole, being at Nicholas' ſteeple-houſe, and ſtanding both ſtill without ſpeaking a word, until the prieſt Hazzard had ended, and diſmiſſed the people, were very rudely treated; for Thomas then lifting up his voice, was preſently, even when the word was yet in his mouth, ſtruck on the head by many, as was alſo his companion, though he did not attempt to ſpeak. But Thomas, after being a little recovered of a heavy blow, began to ſpeak again, and ſaid to the people, 'Tremble before the Lord, and the word of his holineſs.'

But this ſo kindled their anger, that they were both hurried out of the ſteeple-houſe, and with great rage driven to the mayor's, who commanded them both to Newgate priſon.

Not long after one Jeremy Hignel, being in his ſhop attending his calling, was ſent for by the mayor and aldermen, to come before them; which he preſently doing, the mayor aſked him whether he knew where he was; he anſwered he did. Then the mayor aſked where; he replied, 'In the preſence of the Lord.' 'Are you not,' ſaid the mayor, 'in the preſence of the Lord's juſtices?' his anſwer was, 'If you be the Lord's juſtices, I am.' Whereupon one of the aldermen ſaid, without any more words paſſing at that time. 'We ſee what he is; take him away to Newgate.' For ſince he did not take off his hat, it was concluded he was a Quaker, and this was counted cauſe enough to ſend him to priſon; and ſo he was immediately brought thither, where the keeper received him without a mittimus, and kept him cloſe priſoner nineteen days, permitting none to come to him but his wife.

No better was the treatment of Daniel Waſtfield, who being ſent for by the mayor, appeared before him, and alderman Vickris; then the mayor ſaid to him, 'Waſtfield come hither;' and he thereupon drawing near, the mayor aſked him three ſeveral times, 'What art thou?' Though he knew him well enough, having called him by his name, as above ſaid. Waſtfield anſwered, 'I am a man.' 'But what's thy name?' ſaid the mayor. 'My name is Daniel Waſtfield,' anſwered he. Then ſaid the mayor to one of his officers, 'Take him and carry him to Newgate;' further adding, that he came thither to contemn juſtice: to which Waſtfield replied, 'No, I came hither in obedience to thy order;' for the mayor had ſent for him, as hath been ſaid. Thus he was carried away without a mittimus, the mayor ſaying his word was a mittimus; and he was kept a cloſe priſoner thirty-three days, and none ſuffered to come to him but his ſervants, notwithſtanding he was a widower, and muſt now leave his houſe

and trade to their management; and a child of his died in the mean-while, and was buried, and he kept from ſeeing it.

The magiſtrates having thus begun perſecution, became from time to time more vigorous in it, inſomuch, that ſeveral others were impriſoned, and among theſe Chriſtopher Birkhead, who ſtanding ſtill in Nicholas' ſteeple-houſe, with his hat on, and being aſked by the prieſt Ralph Farmer what he ſtood there for; anſwered, 'I ſtand in obedience to the righteous law of God in my conſcience; I have neither offended the law of God, nor of the nation. A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land.' More he would have ſpoken, but was ſtopped with beating and thruſting, and ſo carried to priſon.

Now the magiſtrates were not a little incited to perſecution by the ſaid Farmer; and there being ſeveral that were very bold, they did not ſtick to write ſharp letters to him; and his indecent carriage was alſo told him to his face, by word of mouth, in the ſteeple-houſe after ſermon; and thoſe who did ſo, were ſent to priſon. At length theſe priſoners were brought to trial; and ſince it could not be proved that they had tranſgreſſed any law, ſome of the magiſtrates ſeemed inclined to ſet them at liberty, if they would have declared that they were ſorry for what they had done. Among them was alſo one William Foord, and nothing material being found againſt him, but that he was one of thoſe called Quakers, he was accuſed of having kept a ſtranger at work; which he however eſteemed to be lawful, ſince his trade of wool-combing did not belong to the company of milliners, who complained of him. Yet he was aſked whether he was ſorry for what he had done; which denying, as well as thoſe who had reproved the prieſts, he that was not guilty, was ſent to priſon again, as well as thoſe that were pretended to be ſo. Among theſe laſt was alſo Sarah Goldſmith, who, from a well-meant zeal to teſtify againſt pride, having a coat of ſack-cloth, and her hair diſhevelled, with earth or duſt ſtrewed on her head, had gone through the city without receiving any conſiderable harm from the people, becauſe ſome looked upon her to be crack-brained. There was alſo

one Temperance Hignel, who having ſaid in the ſteeple-houſe to the prieſt, after he had ended his ſermon, 'Wo from the Lord God to thee, Jacob Brint,' was preſently ſtruck down, and ſo violently abuſed, that blood ran down her face, and ſhe being committed to priſon, fell ſick; and when they ſaw her life was in danger, ſhe was carried out in a baſket, and died three days after. The reaſon ſhe gave, when in priſon, why ſhe ſpoke in that manner to the prieſt was, that he had ſcarce any hearers, but what were ſwearers, drunkards, ſtrikers, fighters, and railers, &c. And that therefore his miniſtry was in vain, ſince he preached for gain; whereas he himſelf ought to have brought forth good fruits.

How long the others were kept in priſon, I do not know certainly; however, it was a pretty long time; for George Biſhop, and Dennis Holliſter, who formerly had been a member of the parliament, and three others, put all theſe tranſactions in writing at large, and ſent it to the magiſtrates, in hopes that thereby they might ſee the evil of perſecution; but this proving in vain, they gave it out in print five months after, that ſo every one might know how the Briſtollers treated their inhabitants, which was to that degree, that an author ſaid, 'Was ſuch a tyrannical iniquity and cruelty ever heard of in this nation? Or would the miniſters under king Charles have ventured to do ſo? Was not Stafford but a mean tranſgreſſor in compariſon of theſe?' And though archbiſhop Laud was beheaded, yet it could not be proved, that the Epiſcopalians had perſecuted ſo fiercely, as theſe pretended aſſerters of liberty of conſcience had done, who being got into poſſeſſion of the power, did oppreſs more than thoſe they had driven out. This made the perſecuted, ſome of which formerly had alſo fought for the common liberty, the more in earneſt againſt thoſe that were now in authority.

But I will turn away from Briſtol, towards Norwich, whither Richard Hubberthorn, and George Whitehead were gone. Here it happened, that R. Hubberthorn, having ſpoken ſomething to a prieſt in a ſteeple-houſe yard, and not having taken off his hat before the magiſtrates, was impriſoned in the caſtle, where he was kept

great part of the following year, and in the mean-while writ ſeveral epiſtles of exhortation to his friends; and his companion G. Whitehead's preaching had ſuch effect, that a meeting of their friends was ſettled in that city.

But before I go on, it will be convenient to give ſome account of the quality of theſe two perſons: R. Hubberthorn was born in the North of Lancaſhire, and deſcended from very honeſt parents: his father was a yeoman of good reputation among men, and Richard was his only ſon, and from a youth inclined to piety. Being come to man's eſtate, he became an officer in the parliament's army, and from a zeal for godlineſs, preached ſometimes to his ſoldiers. But entering afterwards into the ſociety of the Quakers ſo called, he left his military employment, and teſtified publickly againſt it; for he was now become a ſoldier under another banner, viz. that of Chriſt Jeſus, Prince of Peace; not fighting as formerly, with the outward ſword, but with the ſword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. In his miniſtry he had an excellent gift, and though not ſo loud in voice as ſome others, yet he was a man of a quick underſtanding, and very edifying in his preaching.

G. Whitehead (who whilſt I write this is yet alive), was trained up to learning, and though but a youth, inſtructed others in literature, and continued in that calling ſometime after he came to be convinced of that Truth which was preached by the profeſſors of the light; and he ſtrove to bring up children in the fear of the Lord. But before this change, he was a diligent hearer of the world's teachers, and uſually frequented the ſteeple-houſe at Orton in Weſtmoreland: yet the ſinging of David's pſalms became ſo burdenſome to him, that ſometimes he could not join therewith; for he ſaw that David's conditions were not generally ſuitable to the ſtates of a mixed multitude; and he found himſelf to be ſhort of what they ſung. This conſideration brought him into ſuch a ſtrait, that often he durſt not ſing thoſe pſalms the prieſts gave their hearers to ſing, leſt he ſhould have told lies unto God. Now alſo he began to ſee that the prieſts lives and practices did not agree with their doctrine; for they themſelves

ſpoke againſt pride and covetouſneſs, and yet lived in them. This likewiſe made him go to hear ſome that were ſeparated from the national church, and got into a more ſpecious form of godlineſs; but he ſoon ſaw, that though there was a difference in the ceremonial part, and that theſe had a more true form of words than the prieſts, yet they were ſuch as ran before they were ſent by God, ſpeaking peace to that nature in him, wherein he felt no true peace. And when he was about ſeventeen years of age, which was in the year 1652, he firſt heard the doctrine of Truth preached by thoſe that were reproachfully called Quakers; and their teſtimony wrought ſo powerfully on his mind, that he received it, and ſo entered into their communion. Now he found, that to grow up in the true wiſdom, and to become wiſe in the living knowledge of God, he muſt become a fool to that wiſdom, wherein he had been feeding upon the tree of knowledge, having in that ſtate no right to the tree of life: and he continuing in faithfulneſs, it pleaſed the Lord to ordain him a miniſter of the goſpel; in which ſervice he acquitted himſelf well, to the convincing of others, and the edification of the church.

But now leaving him, let us go and ſee what happened at Oxford in the year 1654. At the latter end of the month called June, there came two women, named Elizabeth Heavens, and Elizabeth Fletcher. Theſe ſpoke in the ſtreets to the people, and in the college they exhorted the ſcholars, who wickedly requiting their zeal, violently puſhed Elizabeth Fletcher againſt a grave-ſtone, and then threw her into the grave; and their malice grew to that pitch, that they tied theſe two women together, and drove them under the pump; and after their being exceedingly wetted with pumping water upon them, they threw them into a miry ditch, through which they dragged Elizabeth Fletcher, who was a young woman, and ſo cruelly abuſed her, that ſhe was in a painful condition till her death, which fell out not long after. Some ſhort time after this rude encounter, ſhe and her companion, on a Firſt-day of the week, went into the ſteeple-houſe at Oxford, and when the prieſt had ended, they began to admoniſh the

people to godlineſs: but two juſtices there preſent, commanded them to be taken into cuſtody, and carried to the priſon called Bocardo, where none but felons were uſed to be lodged. The juſtices deſiring the magiſtrates to meet on this account, the mayor would not meddle with it, but ſaid, 'Let thoſe who have committed them deal with them according to law, if they have tranſgreſſed any;' adding that he had nothing to ſay againſt them; but that he would provide them with victuals, clothes, or money, if they wanted any. Yet he came into the aſſembly where theſe women were examined, and whither the vice-chancellor of the univerſity was alſo required to come, who charged them, that they blaſphemed the name of God, and did abuſe the Spirit of God, and diſhonoured the grace of Chriſt: and aſking them whether they did read the Scriptures, they anſwered yea they did. Then he aſked whether they were not obedient to the power of the magiſtrate; to which their anſwer was, they were obedient to the power of God, and to the power that was of God they were ſubject for conſcience-ſake. 'Well,' ſaid the vice-chancellor, 'you profane the word of God, and I fear you know not God, though you ſo much ſpeak of him.' Then the women being made to withdraw, it was concluded that there was matter enough for their commitment and puniſhment, and agreed that a paper ſhould be drawn up for their being whipped out of the city. When this was done, it was preſented to the mayor to ſet his hand to it; but he refuſed, and ſaid he was not willing to do ſo. Then one of the juſtices ſaid, that it was the privilege of the city, that if any vagrant was taken within the franchiſes and liberties thereof, a paper muſt be drawn up, that ſuch a one, mayor, had committed ſuch and ſuch perſons; and that then it was to be ſealed with the office ſeal. But the mayor refuſed this as well as the other. Which made ſome ſay, that if he would not, it ſhould be done by them. And then it was agreed upon, that they ſhould be whipped ſoundly; which was performed the next morning, though with much unwillingneſs in the executioner; and the mayor had no hand in it.

But leaving theſe, I will turn to another, one Barbara

Blaugdone, of whom mention hath already been made, that ſhe was one of thoſe that received the Truth, by the miniſtry of John Audland and John Camm. She was from her youth inclined to godlineſs, and her employment was to inſtruct children. But being entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, ſhe became plain, both in ſpeech and habit, and thereupon the children ſhe taught, were taken from her; and, going ſometimes into the ſteeple-houſes, to bear teſtimony againſt their formalities, ſhe was put in priſon, and kept there a quarter of a year at a time. Afterwards ſhe led a very ſevere life, and abſtained from all fleſh, wine, and beer, drinking only water for the ſpace of a whole year. In the mean-while ſhe grew up and proſpered in true piety. Once it happened, that coming from a meeting that was at George Biſhop's houſe at Briſtol, a rude fellow ran a knife, or ſome ſharp inſtrument, through all her clothes, into the ſide of her belly, which if it had gone but a little farther, might have killed her. Then ſhe went to Marlborough, where, exhorting people, in the ſteeple-houſe and other places, to fear God, ſhe was put into priſon for the ſpace of ſix weeks, and there ſhe faſted ſeveral days and nights. When ſhe was releaſed, ſhe went to Iſaac Burges, the man that committed her, and diſcourſing with him, he was really convinced of the Truth, but could not reſolve to take up the croſs; yet he was afterwards very loving to her friends, and ſtood by them upon all occaſions, never more perſecuting any of them: and coming ſome time after to Briſtol, he went to her houſe and confeſſed, that he knew her doctrine was Truth, but that he could not take up the croſs to walk in that way. A while after ſhe went into Devonſhire, to Moulton, Barnſtaple, and Biddeford, in all which places a priſon was her lot. She went alſo to him, that after was earl of Bath, where, being acquainted, ſhe had formerly vainly ſpent much time, but now ſhe was moved to call this family to leave off their vanity. And ſhe aſked to ſpeak with the lady; but one of the ſervants that knew her, bid her go to the back-door, and their lady would come forth that way, to go into the garden. Barbara being come thither, a great maſtiff dog was ſet looſe upon

her; and he running fiercely, as if to devour her, turned ſuddenly, and went away crying and halting, whereby ſhe clearly ſaw the hand of the Lord in it, to preſerve her from this danger. The lady then came and ſtood ſtill, hearing what Barbara ſpoke, and gave her thanks for her exhortation, yet did not invite her to come in, though ſhe often had been lodged there, and had eaten and drank at her table.

Then Barbara went to Great Torrington, and, going into the ſteeple-houſe, ſpoke ſomewhat to the people by way of exhortation; but not having ſufficient opportunity to clear herſelf, went to her lodging, and ſat to writing. After noon the conſtables came to her, and took away what ſhe had written, and commanded her to go along with them to their worſhip. To which ſhe anſwered, that they would not ſuffer her to ſpeak there, and that ſhe knew no law that could compel her to go thither twice in a day; and that they all knew ſhe was there in the morning. Being thus unwilling to go, the next day the mayor ſent for her; when come, ſhe found him moderate, and loth to ſend her to priſon: but the prieſt being preſent, was very eager, and ſaid ſhe ought to be whipped for a vagabond. She then bid him prove where ever ſhe aſked any one for a bit of bread; but he ſaid ſhe had broken the law by ſpeaking in their church; and he ſo preſſed the mayor, that at length he made him write a mittimus, and ſend her to Exeter priſon, which was twenty miles diſtant; there ſhe remained for ſome time, until the aſſizes came, but was not brought forth to a trial. And after the ſeſſions were over, ſhe was put to lodge one night among a great company of gypſies, that were there in priſon; and the next day the ſheriff came with a beadle, who brought her into a room, where he whipped her till the blood ran down her back, and ſhe never ſtartled at a blow; but ſang aloud, and was made to rejoice that ſhe was counted worthy to ſuffer for the name of the Lord; which made the beadle ſay, 'Do ye ſing? I will make you cry by and by;' and with that he laid on ſo hard, that one Ann Speed ſeeing this, began to weep; but Barbara was ſtrengthened by an uncommon and more than human power, ſo that ſhe

afterwards declared if ſhe had been whipped to death in the ſtate ſhe then was, ſhe ſhould not have been terrified or diſmayed. And the ſheriff ſeeing that all the wrath of man could not move her, bid the fellow leave off ſtriking; and then Ann Speed was ſuffered to dreſs her ſtripes. The next day ſhe was turned out with all the gypſies, and the beadle followed her two miles out of the town: but as ſoon as he left her, ſhe returned back, and went into the priſon to ſee her friends that were priſoners there, and having viſited them, ſhe went home to Briſtol.

But by the way coming to Biddeford, ſhe was taken up, and put into the town-hall, and ſearched to ſee whether ſhe had either knife or ſciſſars about her. Next day ſhe was brought before the mayor, who diſcourſing much with her, had a ſenſe of what ſhe ſpoke to him; and at laſt he ſet open two doors, one right againſt the other, and ſaid he would give her, her choice, which ſhe would go out at; whether ſhe would go forth to priſon again, or go home. And ſhe told him, that ſhe would chooſe liberty rather than bonds. So ſhe went homeward, and then he took his horſe and followed; and overtaking her, would have had her ride behind him; but when any whom he knew met them, he would ſlacken his pace; and as ſoon as they were paſſed, he came up again to her; which ſhe perceiving, refuſed to ride behind him; yet he rode three or four miles with her, and diſcourſed all the way: and when they parted, ſhe kneeled down and prayed for him, all which time he was very ſerious, and afterwards grew very ſolid and ſober. She writ once to him; but not long after, he died.

Being come home, ſhe was moved to go to Baſingſtoke, to endeavour to obtain liberty for two of her friends, viz. Thomas Robinſon, and Ambroſe Rigg, who were taken up at the firſt meeting that their friends had had there. But when ſhe came thither the entrance of the priſon was denied her. And ſhe having a letter from John Camm to them, put it in at the chink of the door, and then ſhe went to the mayor to deſire their liberty; he told her, that if he ſaw the letter which ſhe brought them, they ſhould have their liberty. She then ſaid he ſhould ſee it; and ſo

went and fetched it; which he having read, told her, that ſhe ſhould have her brethren out; but that he could not let them out preſently. Yet it was not long before her friends had their liberty.

Now leaving Barbara for ſome time, we return to Miles Halhead. In the Firſt month of this preſent year, he was moved to go to Ireland, and declare the word of the Lord there; and ſpeaking of this to James Lancaſter, and Miles Bateman, they quickly reſolved to keep him company, and ſo they went for Ireland; where they proclaimed the Truth in cities, towns, villages, and before magiſtrates, as occaſion offered; and their teſtimony was received by many. After they had diſcharged themſelves, they returned to England, where Miles ſoon found himſelf moved to go to Scotland. In his way thither, he met his friend James Lancaſter, who was very free to go with him; and ſo they went into Scotland; but were not the firſt of thoſe called Quakers in that country; for Chriſtopher Fell, George Wilſon, and John Grave, had been there before; ſo that a little church of thoſe of their communion, was already planted in that kingdom, before Halhead went thither: and one Alexander Hamilton had, a year before ever any Quakers appeared in Scotland, erected a meeting at Drumbowy, and alſo at Heads, and he received their teſtimony when they came there, as alſo his wife Joan, James Gray, James Miller, and others. I find alſo that Scotland was early viſited by Catherine Evans, and Sarah Cheevers, two eminent women, of whom ſomething extraordinary is to be related in its due time.

But I return to J. Lancaſter, and Miles Halhead, who being come to Dumfries, went on a Firſt-day of the week into the ſteeple-houſe in that town, where ſeeing many people gathered together, howling and crying, and making great lamentation, as if they had been touched with a ſenſe of their ſins, Miles was ſilent until their worſhip was done; but then, being grieved with their deceit and hypocriſy, ſpoke as he was moved; but met with great oppoſition, many of the people being in ſuch a rage, that they drove him and his companion out of the town, near to the ſide of a great river; and it was intended that the women of

the town ſhould ſtone them; but they prevented this by wading through the river.

Being thus ſafely paſſed the water, they went to Edinburgh and Leith, where they ſtaid about ten days. During that time, Miles ſpoke to the people when occaſion offered; as alſo to the garriſons, and to the captains and officers of the army, who were much affected, and confeſſed that the Lord had been very good unto them; for Miles's meſſage was, that the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt them, becauſe they had not performed their promiſes, which they made to him in the day of their diſtreſs, when their enemies encompaſſed them on every ſide; for then the Lord delivered them, and gave them victory; but they had returned him evil for good, and committed violence againſt thoſe he ſent to declare his word amongſt them. This being told them at large by Miles, he went to Glaſgow and Stirling, where he alſo ſpoke as he was moved; and ſo returned to England.

But before I leave Scotland, I may ſay, that as the firſt meetings were kept at Drumbowy, and Heads, ſo it was not long ere meetings were ſettled alſo at Garſhore, at Edinburgh, and alſo at Aberdeen. The firſt Scotch preachers of thoſe called Quakers, I find to have been William Oſborn, Richard Ree, and Alexander Hamilton, already mentioned. Of the ſaid Hamilton, I may mention a ſingular inſtance: after he and his wife, with her and his ſiſter, had ſeparated themſelves from the ſociety of the Independants, it happened that Thomas Charters, a teacher of that ſect, at Kilbride, not from Drumbowy, ſeeing that he could not draw Hamilton, and thoſe of his family back again, threatened them with excommunication, and appointed a day for it, giving notice thereof to Hamilton ſome days beforehand. Hamilton warned him to forbear, or elſe the anger of God would ſeize on him. But he anſwered, 'It is but Alexander Hamilton that ſaith ſo.' To which Hamilton returned in the preſence of many witneſſes, that it was not only he, but what he had ſaid was of the Lord. But Charters perſiſting in what he intended, and walking two days before the appointed time in the ſteeple-houſe yard, where his horſe was feeding, ſtepped

to him to ſtroke him; but the horſe growing wanton, gave Charters ſuch a violent kick on his ſide, that he died about the ſame hour which was appointed by him for the excommunication. Whether this caſe happened in the year I now deſcribe, I am not certain; but however, it was either in, or near it.

This year Miles Halhead came to Berwick in Northumberland, and went to the mayor of that town, and ſpoke to him in his ſhop thus: 'Friend, hear what the ſervant of the Lord hath to ſay unto thee. Give over perſecuting the Lord's ſervants, whom he doth ſend in love to this town of Berwick, to ſhew you the way that leads to life eternal. I charge thee, O man, touch not the Lord's anointed, nor do his prophets any harm, leſt thou procure the anger of the living eternal God againſt thee.' This bold language ſo offended the mayor, that he ſent Miles to priſon, where he was about ten weeks, and then was brought to the ſeſſions, where a bill drawn up againſt him, was read in open court: but he denied the contents thereof, yet ſaid, 'But what I ſaid to the mayor of this town, I will not deny.' And then he related the aforeſaid words he ſpoke to the mayor. Whereupon the recorder ſaid, 'Sirs, as I underſtand by his own words, if he cannot prove the mayor of the town a perſecutor, in my judgment he hath wronged him.' To this Miles anſwered, 'If the mayor of this town of Berwick, dare ſay in the preſence of the Lord, whoſe preſence is here, that he is no perſecutor, but the perſecuting nature is ſlain in him, I will be willing to abide the judgment of the court.' Then the clerk of the court ſaid, 'Mr. Mayor, if you will ſay that you are no perſecutor, but the perſecuting nature is ſlain in you, he is willing to abide the judgment of the court.' To this the mayor anſwered, 'I know not what to do; I would I had never ſeen him; I pray you, let him go, and let us be no more troubled with him.' Then Miles ſaid that he would prove this mayor of Berwick the greateſt perſecutor in town or country. 'I was once [thus he went on] committed to the priſon in this town before, by ſome of the juſtices that are now in this court; but thou, O man, haſt exceeded them all; thou haſt committed me,

and kept me in cloſe priſon for about ten weeks, for ſpeaking to thy own perſon, in thy own ſhop. Now I make my appeal to the recorder of this town of Berwick, as I am a freeborn Engliſhman, whether my impriſonment be legal, according to the law of this nation, or not?' Then the recorder of the town ſtood up and ſaid, 'It is not very legal for any miniſter of the law to impriſon any man in his own cauſe.' Then the court cried, 'Take him away.' The chief prieſt of the town then ſtood, and deſired the court that he might aſk Miles one queſtion; to this Miles ſaid, 'The Lord knows thy heart, O man, and at this preſent has revealed thy thoughts to his ſervant; and therefore now I know thy heart alſo, thou high prieſt, and the queſtion thou wouldſt aſk me: and if thou wilt promiſe me before the court, that if I tell thee the queſtion thou wouldſt aſk me, thou wilt deal plainly with me, I will not only tell thee thy query; but I will anſwer it.' Then the prieſt ſaid he would. Then Miles proceeded: 'Thy queſtion is this: thou wouldeſt know whether I own that Chriſt that died at Jeruſalem, or not?' To this the prieſt wondering, ſaid, 'Truly that is the queſtion.' Then Miles ſaid, 'According to my promiſe, I will anſwer it before this court: in the preſence of the Lord God of heaven, I own no other Chriſt than him that died at Jeruſalem, and made a good confeſſion before Pontius Pilate, to be the light and way that leads fallen man out of ſin and evil, up to God eternal, bleſſed for evermore.' More queſtions were not aſked him, but the gaoler was commanded to take him away. Yet within a ſhort time, the court gave order to releaſe him. Then going to Newcaſtle, he returned to his wife and children at Mount-joy, where we will leave him for ſome time, and in the meanwhile return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Cynder-hill-green, from hence he travelled up and down in Yorkſhire, as far as Holderneſs, viſiting his friends, and finding the churches in a flouriſhing ſtate. To relate all his occurrences there, would be beyond my pale.

Paſſing then through the countries, he went to Lincolnſhire, and to the meeting where he was, came the ſheriff of Lincoln, who made great contention for a time;

but at length the power of the Lord ſo reached him, that he was convinced of the Truth, as were ſeveral others alſo that did oppoſe him.

Whilſt G. Fox was in this country, the church of his friends increaſed, and many received the doctrine preached by him, and amongſt theſe, was one ſir Richard Wrey, with his brother, and the brother's wife, who both continued ſtedfaſt till they died; but ſir Richard found this way ſo narrow, that he afterwards ran out; for perſecution in that time fell ſo faſt on thoſe called Quakers, that none could abide in their ſociety, but ſuch as were willing to hazard all.

G. Fox now went to Derbyſhire, and the aboveſaid ſheriff of Lincoln travelling with him, they came into Nottinghamſhire, and ſo into the Peak country, where having a meeting at Thomas Hammerſly's, ſeveral ranters came and oppoſed him; and when he reproved them for ſwearing, they ſaid, Abraham, Jacob, and Joſeph ſwore. But though G. Fox did not deny this, yet he ſaid, 'Chriſt (who ſaid before Abraham was, I am) ſaith, Swear not at all. And Chriſt ends the prophets, as alſo the old prieſthood, and the diſpenſation of Moſes; and he reigns over the houſe of Jacob, and of Joſeph, and ſaith, Swear not at all. And God when he bringeth in the firſt-begotten into the world, ſaith, Let all the angels of God worſhip him, to wit, Chriſt Jeſus, who ſaith, Swear not at all. And as for the plea that men make for ſwearing to end their ſtrife, Chriſt, who ſays, Swear not at all, deſtroys the devil and his works, who is the author of ſtrife; for that is one of his works. And God ſaid, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed, hear ye him. So the Son is to be heard, who forbids ſwearing: and the apoſtle James, who did hear the Son of God, and followed him, and preached him, forbids alſo all oaths.' Thus G. Fox prevailed, and many were convinced that day. It is remarkable that Thomas Hammerſly, being ſummoned upon a jury, was admitted to ſerve without an oath; and when he being foreman brought in the verdict, the judge did declare, that he had been a judge ſo many years, but never heard a more upright verdict than that the Quaker had then brought in.

G. Fox travelling on, came to Swanington, in Leiceſterſhire, where there was a general meeting, to which many of his friends came from ſeveral parts, and among theſe, J. Audland, and F. Howgill, from Briſtol; and E. Burrough from London. After this, G. Fox came to Twycroſs, and ſome ranters there ſang and danced before him; but he reproved them ſo earneſtly, that ſome of them were reached, and became modeſt and ſober.

Then he went to Drayton, his birth-place, to viſit his relations; where Nathaniel Stevens the prieſt, having gotten another prieſt, ſent for him. G. Fox having been three years abroad, knew nothing of their deſign, but yet at laſt he went to the ſteeple-houſe yard, where the two prieſts had gathered abundance of people; and they would have had him gone into the ſteeple-houſe: but he aſked them, what he ſhould do there; and it was anſwered him, Mr. Stevens could not bear the cold. At which G. Fox ſaid, 'He may bear it as well as I.' At laſt they went into a great hall, R. Farnſworth being with him, where they entered into a diſpute with the prieſts, concerning their practice, how contrary it was to Chriſt and his apoſtles. The prieſts aſked where tithes were forbidden, or ended; whereupon G. Fox ſhewed them out of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, chap. vii. that not only tithes, but the prieſthood, that took tithes, was ended; and that the law was ended and diſannulled, by which the prieſthood was made, and tithes were commanded to be paid. Moreover, he, knowing Stevens's condition, laid open his manner of preaching, ſhewing, that he, like the reſt of the prieſts, did apply the promiſes to the firſt birth, which muſt die; whereas the promiſes were to the ſeed, not to many ſeeds, but to the one ſeed, Chriſt, who was one in male and female: for all were to be born again, before they could enter into the kingdom of God. Then Stevens ſaid, that he muſt not judge ſo. But G. Fox told him, he that was ſpiritual judged all things. Stevens confeſſed, that this was a full ſcripture: but 'Neighbours,' ſaid he, 'this is the buſineſs; G. Fox is come to the light of the ſun, and now he thinks to put out my ſtar-light.' To this G. Fox returned, that he would not quench the leaſt

meaſure of God in any, much leſs put out his ſtar-light, if it were true ſtar-light, light from the morning ſtar: but that if he had any thing from Chriſt, or God, he ought to ſpeak it freely, and not take tithes from the people for preaching; ſeeing Chriſt commanded his miniſters to give freely, as they had received freely. But Stevens ſaid, he would not yield to that.

This diſpute being broke off for that time, was taken up again a week after by eight prieſts, in the preſence of many people: and when they ſaw that G. Fox remained unſhaken, they fawningly ſaid, 'What might he have been if it had not been for the Quakers!' Afterwards the diſpute was reſumed in the ſteeple-houſe yard, where G. Fox ſhewed, by abundance of Scriptures, that they who preached for wages were falſe prophets and hirelings; and that ſuch who would not preach without wages or tithes, did not ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own bellies. This he treated on ſo largely, that a profeſſor ſaid, 'George, what! wilt thou never have done?' To this his anſwer was, that he ſhould have done ſhortly. And when he broke off, one of the prieſts ſaid, they would read the Scriptures he had quoted. 'With all my heart;' ſaid he: then they began to read Jer. xxiii. and when they had read a verſe or two, George ſaid, 'Take notice, people.' But the prieſts cried, 'Hold thy tongue, George.' He then bid them read the whole chapter throughout; but they ſtopping, aſked him a queſtion: and he told them, that if the matter he charged them with, was firſt granted, then he would anſwer their queſtion: for his charge had been, that they were falſe prophets, and falſe teachers, ſuch as the true prophets, Chriſt, and his apoſtles, cried againſt. 'Nay,' ſaid a profeſſor to that: but he ſaid, 'Yes; for you, leaving the matter, and going to another thing, ſeem to conſent to the proof of the former charge.' Now their queſtion was, ſeeing thoſe falſe prophets were adulterated, whether he did judge prieſt Stevens an adulterer. To this he anſwered, that he was adulterated from God in his practice, like thoſe falſe prophets.

Then they broke up the meeting, and Stevens deſired,

that G. Fox, with his father and mother, might go aſide with him, that he might ſpeak to him in private. George, though his relations yielded to it, was very loth to do ſo; yet, that it might not be ſaid he was diſobedient to his parents, he went: but many of the people being willing to hear, drew cloſe to them. Then Stevens ſaid; if he was out of the way, George ſhould pray for him; and if George was out of the way, he would pray for him: moreover, that he would give to George a form of words to pray by. To this G. Fox replied, 'It ſeems thou doſt not know, whether thou art in the right way or no; but I know that I am in the everlaſting way, Chriſt Jeſus, which thou art out of: and thou wouldeſt give me a form of words to pray by, and yet thou denieſt the common prayer book to pray by, as well as I. If thou wouldeſt have me pray for thee by a form of words, is not this to deny the apoſtles' doctrine and practice of praying by the Spirit as it gave words and utterance?' Here, though ſome of the people fell a laughing, yet others that were grave and ſober, were convinced of the Truth, and the prieſts were greatly ſhaken; inſomuch, that George's father, though he was a hearer and follower of the prieſt, was ſo well ſatisfied, that, ſtriking his cane upon the ground, he ſaid, 'Truly I ſee, he that will but ſtand to the Truth, it will carry him out.'

G. Fox did not ſtay long at Drayton, but went to Leiceſter, and from thence to Whetſtone, where a meeting was to be kept; but before it began, there came about ſeventeen troopers, of colonel Hacker's regiment, who taking him up brought him to the ſaid colonel, where there was alſo his major and captains. Here he entered into a long diſcourſe with them, about the prieſts, and about meetings; for at this time there was a noiſe of a plot againſt Cromwell: and he ſpoke alſo much concerning the light of Chriſt, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. The colonel hearing him ſpeak thus, aſked whether it was the light of Chriſt, that made Judas betray his Maſter, and afterwards led him to hang himſelf? G. Fox told him, 'No; that was the ſpirit of darkneſs which hated Chriſt, and his light.' Then the colonel ſaid to George,

he might go home, and keep at home, and not go abroad to meetings. But he told him, he was an innocent man, free from plots, and he denied all ſuch works. Then the colonel's ſon, Needham, ſaid, 'Father, this man hath reigned too long; it is time to have him cut off.' G. Fox aſked him for what? 'What have I done, or whom have I wronged from a child; and who can accuſe me of any evil?' Then the colonel aſked him, if he would go home, and ſtay there. To which G. Fox anſwered, that if he ſhould promiſe him ſo, it would imply, that he was guilty of ſomething, to go home, and make his home a priſon to himſelf; and if he went to meetings, they would ſay, he broke their order; but that he ſhould go to meetings, as the Lord ſhould order him; and that therefore he could not ſubmit to their requirings: and having farther added, that he and his friends were a peaceable people; the colonel ſaid, 'Well then, I will ſend you to-morrow morning, by ſix o'clock, to my lord Protector, by captain Drury, one of his life-guard.' The next morning, about the appointed time, he was delivered to captain Drury. Then G. Fox deſired he would let him ſpeak with the colonel, before he went; and ſo the captain brought him to the colonel's bed-ſide, who again bade him go home and keep no more meetings. But G. Fox told him he could not ſubmit to that; but muſt have his liberty to ſerve God, and go to meetings. 'Then,' ſaid the colonel, 'you muſt go before the Protector.' Whereupon G. Fox kneeled on his bed-ſide, and prayed the Lord to forgive him: ſince according to his judgment he was as Pilate, though he would waſh his hands; (for he was ſtirred up and ſet on by the prieſts) and therefore George bade him, when the day of his miſery and trial ſhould come upon him, then to remember what he had ſaid to him. Far was it now from Needham, who would have had G. Fox cut off, to think that one time this would befal his father in an ignominious manner at Tyburn. But what afterwards happened, when he was condemned as one of the judges of King Charles the Firſt, will be related in its due place.

G. Fox then having left colonel Hacker, was carried priſoner by captain Drury to London; where the captain

went to give the Protector an account of him; and coming again, he told G. Fox, the Protector did require, that he ſhould promiſe, not to take up a carnal ſword or weapon againſt him, or the government, as it then was: and that he ſhould write this in what words he ſaw good, and ſet his hand to it. G. Fox conſidering this, next morning writ a paper to the Protector, by the name of Oliver Cromwell, wherein he did in the preſence of God declare, that he denied the wearing or drawing of a carnal ſword, or any outward weapon, againſt him, or any man: and that he was ſent of God to ſtand a witneſs againſt all violence, and againſt the works of darkneſs; and to turn people from darkneſs to the light, and to bring them from the occaſion of war and fighting, to the peaceable goſpel; and from being evil-doers, which the magiſtrates ſword ſhould be a terror to. Having writ this, he ſet his name to it, and gave it to captain Drury, who delivered it to Oliver Cromwell; and after ſome time returning to the Mermaid, near Charing-croſs, where G. Fox was lodged, he carried him to Whitehall, and brought him before the Protector who was not yet dreſſed, it being pretty early in the morning. G. Fox coming in, ſaid, 'Peace be in this houſe,' and bid the Protector keep in the fear of God, that he might receive wiſdom from him; that by it he might be ordered, and with it might order all things under his hands to God's glory. He had alſo much diſcourſe with him concerning religion, wherein Cromwell carried himſelf very moderately, but ſaid that G. Fox and his friends quarrelled with the miniſters, meaning his teachers. G. Fox told him, he did not quarrel with them; but they quarrelled with him and his friends. 'But, (thus continued he) if we own the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles, we cannot uphold ſuch teachers, prophets, and ſhepherds, as the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles declared againſt; but we muſt declare againſt them by the ſame power and ſpirit.' Moreover, he ſhewed, that the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles preached freely, and declared againſt them that did not declare freely, but preached for filthy lucre, and divined for money, or preached for hire, being covetous and greedy, like the dumb dogs, that could never have

enough: and that they that had the ſame ſpirit, which Chriſt, the prophets, and the apoſtles had, could not but declare againſt all ſuch now, as they did then. He alſo ſaid, that all Chriſtendom (ſo called) had the Scriptures, but they wanted the power and ſpirit, which they had who gave them forth; and that was the reaſon they were not in fellowſhip with the Son, nor with the Father, nor with the Scriptures, nor one with another. Whilſt he was thus ſpeaking, Cromwell ſeveral times ſaid, it was very good, and it was truth. G. Fox had many more words with him; but ſeeing people coming in, he drew a little back: and as he was turning, Cromwell catched him by the hand, and with tears in his eyes, ſaid, 'Come again to my houſe; for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we ſhould be nearer one to another:' adding, that he wiſhed him no more ill than he did to his own ſoul. To this G. Fox returned, that if he did, he wronged his own ſoul; and bid him hearken to God's voice, that he might ſtand in his council, and obey it; and if he did ſo, that would keep him from hardneſs of heart; but if he did not hear God's voice, his heart would be hardened. This ſo reached the Protector, that he ſaid it was true.

Then G. Fox went out; and captain Drury following, told him, that the lord Protector ſaid he was at liberty, and might go whither he would: yet he was brought into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and he aſked what they did bring him thither for? They told him it was by the Protector's order, that he might dine with them. But George bid them tell the Protector he would not eat a bit of his bread, nor drink a ſup of his drink. When Cromwell heard this, he ſaid. 'Now I ſee there is a people riſen, and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other ſects and people, I can.' But it was told him again, that the Quakers had forſook their own, and were not like to look for ſuch things from him.

It was very remarkable that captain Drury, who, while G. Fox was under his cuſtody, would often ſcoff at him, becauſe of the nickname of Quakers, which the Independents had firſt given to the profeſſors of the light, afterwards

came to him, and told him, that as he was lying on his bed to reſt himſelf in the day-time, a ſudden trembling ſeized on him, that his joints knocked together, and his body ſhook ſo, that he could not riſe from his bed; he was ſo ſhaken, that he had not ſtrength enough left to riſe. But he felt the power of the Lord was upon him, and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and ſaid, he would never ſpeak againſt the Quakers more, viz. ſuch as trembled at the word of God.

The particular occurrences that befel G. Fox, when he was a liberty in London, I paſs by. He had great meetings there, and the throngs of people were ſuch, that he could hardly get to and from the meetings, becauſe of the croud. In the mean-while the number of his friends increaſed exceedingly, and ſome belonging to Cromwell's court were alſo convinced of the Truth preached by him. He wrote about that time ſeveral papers, one of which was againſt pride, gaudy apparel, and the world's faſhions.

I do not find that about this time there was at London any perſecution from the magiſtrates, but in other places there was: and it was in this year that Anne, the wife of John Audland, coming into a ſteeple-houſe at Banbury, ſaid, after the prieſt had ended, that thoſe that were without the doctrine of Chriſt, though they ſaid the Lord liveth, yet ſpoke falſely, according to Jer. v. 2. For this ſhe was impriſoned as guilty of blaſphemy, and two boys ſwore againſt her, that ſhe had ſaid, that the Lord did not live. Thus falſe accuſations prevailed, and at this rate perſecution was cloked.

The year drew now to an end, and Cromwell concluded a peace with the united Netherlands; to get things the more clear at home, it ſeems he endeavoured to remove troubles abroad. And there being a rumour ſpread of a plot, as hath been hinted already, to be the more aſſured of the parliament, he cauſed a guard to be ſet upon the door of the houſe, to keep out thoſe members that refuſed to ſign a paper, whereby they promiſed to be faithful to the lord Protector, and to make no alteration in the government, ſo as it was ſettled, on a ſingle perſon, and a parliament. But ſeveral of the members would not ſign

this paper, ſaying, that it was a violation of the privileges of the parliament, and a depriving them of their liberty; and therefore they were kept out; but others who ſubſcribed the ſaid paper were admitted. Yet this aſſembly not acting to the ſatisfaction of Cromwell, he diſſolved them after a ſeſſion of five months. The young king Charles, who lived in exile, had left France, and was come to Cologne on the Rhine, where he ſtayed for ſome time.

But I return to London, where we left G. Fox. He was in that city continually at work, diſcharging his duty every where, both with mouth and pen, ſuffering no time to be loſt. There being commiſſioners appointed for the trying of miniſters, he writ a paper to them, wherein he adviſed them, to ſee whether they were not ſuch whom the prophets, Chriſt, and the apoſtles diſproved; and who would admire their perſons becauſe of advantage, &c. He ſtaid at London till the year 1655; and after having cleared himſelf, he went to Bedfordſhire, and came to the houſe of John Crook, a juſtice of peace, where there was a great meeting, and many were convinced of the Truth he declared, of which number John Crook alſo was one; but for this he was ſoon turned out from being a juſtice.

Whilſt G. Fox was in Bedfordſhire, there was alſo Alexander Parker, one of the early miniſters among thoſe called Quakers. But leaving them there, I now intend to ſpeak of William Caton, who, as it hath been ſaid already, was one of the family of judge Fell. When he was but about fourteen years of age, his father procured leave for him to dwell in the ſaid family; and his behaviour was ſo pleaſing, that he was allowed the judge's ſon as a companion night and day; he ate as he did, and went with him a hunting, ſhooting, and fiſhing, partaking of the ſame pleaſure with him in every thing, and living in eaſe and plenty; ſo that he had cauſe of joy, that Providence had caſt his lot into ſuch a noted family; for not only judge Fell, but alſo his wife Margaret, and their daughters, were well qualified. W. Caton converſing with ſuch choice company, grew up in piety, and was very zealous in performing his private devotions, ſtaying often

in the bed-chamber, till the judge's ſon, his bed-fellow, was gone down, that ſo he might the more freely pour out his heart before God in prayer. Having attained to the age of fifteen years, he was very diligent, when he had been at a lecture, to write down the chief heads thereof; for ſuch of the family as could make repetitions of ſermons, and paraphraſe thereupon, were held in eſteem. But William Caton found that what he reaped thereby, could not ſatisfy the hunger and thirſt of his immortal ſoul.

After he and the judge's ſon had for ſome time learned Latin together in the family, where there was a prieſt that inſtructed them, they were removed to a ſchool at Hawkſhead: but here he found company which he diſliked more than that in the judge's family.

It was in the year 1652, about Midſummer, that G. Fox, (as hath been ſaid in its proper place) firſt came to the houſe of judge Fell at Swarthmore. His non-conformity to the ordinary ſalutations, W. Caton not a little wondered at; but yet it did not hinder him from giving due attention to the doctrine G. Fox preached, which in ſubſtance was, to give heed to the light, which Chriſt Jeſus had enlightened us withal, and which ſhining in our hearts, convinceth us of ſin and evil. This ſo reached W. Caton, that in due time he began to be ſubject to this inward convincement, by which he came to be much reſtrained in his carriage, and could not allow himſelf ſo great liberty as he was wont to do; for though he was no ways extravagant, yet now he ſaw that a true Chriſtian muſt be weaned from all vanity; and that the common diverſions of youth diſpleaſed God. This he clearly perceived, for the witneſs of God had awakened and reproved him of that which was contrary to true gravity, and ſobriety of mind. He had not yet left the ſchool: but (though he was pretty much advanced in his learning) the making of Latin verſes became a burden to him, becauſe he could not give his thoughts that liberty for invention as others did; neither could he well any longer give to the maſter of the ſchool the compliment of the hat, as he was uſed to do: this I had from his own mouth. One

may eaſily gueſs that hereby he was brought into a ſtrait: but Margaret Fell, ſeeing that he longed to be freed from the ſchool, cauſed him to ſtay at home, where he was employed by her in writing, and teaching her children. And when he was about ſeventeen years of age, he became more and more ſtrengthened in the ſpiritual warfare, and his heart was often filled with joy, becauſe of the mercy and loving-kindneſs of the Lord to him.

Thus advancing in godlineſs, he was frequently moved to go to the places of publick worſhip, and alſo to markets, to warn people to repentance; but then beating and buffeting was his ſhare, and becauſe of his youth he was deſpiſed by many; yet he fainted not: and eſteeming it his duty now to labour in the miniſtry of the goſpel, he deſired to be diſcharged of his ſervice. Judge Fell was very unwilling to part with him; but Margaret his wife, though ſhe could not well give him up before, yet believing that the Lord required his ſervice, not only freely reſigned him, but alſo prevailed with her huſband to let him go: for he did not deſire his liberty to ſerve other men, but to enter into the ſervice of the Lord, and to proclaim the everlaſting goſpel. About the end of the year 1654, being eighteen years of age, he took his leave of that family, which was not done without mutual ſhedding of tears at parting.

He then went to viſit his friends in Lancaſhire, Yorkſhire, Derbyſhire, and Warwickſhire; from thence to Norwich, and ſo to Wellingborough, in Northamptonſhire; where he found an opportunity to declare the Truth of God in the ſteeple-houſe. After that he travelled to Cambridge, viſiting his friends there; and then returned to Norwich, where he viſited his friends in priſon, and had great meetings in that city. Then he went to London, where he was very kindly received by thoſe of the houſehold of faith; and on a Firſt-day of the week was at two ſteeple-houſes, at one of which he had large liberty to ſpeak, being indeed perſuaſive in ſpeech; and in the afternoon, at a meeting of diſſenters from the publick worſhip, he had liberty to publiſh Truth without oppoſition, or contradiction from any; and many were added to the faith: for

at that time there were twelve miniſtring brethren, moſt of them, come out of the North of England, among whom was John Stubbs, already mentioned, with whom he travelled into Kent: and coming to Dover, where they were altogether ſtrangers, not knowing any body in the town, they took their lodging at an inn. J. Stubbs went on the firſt day of the week to a meeting of the Baptiſts, and W. Caton to the ſteeple-houſe, where he had but little liberty; but in the yard he had more opportunity to clear his conſcience to the people. In the afternoon he went up to the caſtle, where the Independents performed their worſhip. Shortly after, he and J. Stubbs went into the Baptiſts meeting, unto which much people reſorted, and many began to be affected with their teſtimony, and adhered to it. This made ſuch a ſtir, that they were haled before the magiſtrates, who examined them, and ordered that none ſhould entertain them on a certain penalty; whereupon they were turned out of their lodging. But one Luke Howard, a ſhoemaker, who had already heard W. Caton at London, and afterwards at Dover, in the ſteeple-houſe yard, though he little regarded him at London, but ſaid to his companion, 'I know more than he can tell me, or more than either I or he is able to live up to;' yet now he became ſo affected with W. Caton's teſtimony, that he invited him and J. Stubbs to his houſe, where he entertained them; and not long after they had a meeting there; and he heard the teſtimony of his gueſts with no leſs ſatisfaction, than Agrippa of old, did the ſpeech of the apoſtle Paul, when he ſaid to him, 'Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to be a Chriſtian:' For Luke Howard was not yet come ſo far that he could reſolve to conform himſelf with the Quakers, ſo called: but yet, ſuch was his love to them, that when the mayor of the town ſent four conſtables to his houſe, with an order to deliver them up, that ſo they might be carried out of the town, he refuſed to do ſo, relying on his right as a freeman of the corporation; and the doors being ſhut, kept the conſtables out of his houſe, and told them from the ſhop window, that the mayor had no lawful authority to have theſe men haled out of his houſe, and ſent out of town, there being no hue

and cry come after them. They ſtaid yet ſome days in his houſe, and he became ſo ſtrengthened by their miniſtry, that he joined with them in profeſſion, and alſo gave up his houſe to be a meeting-place for their friends.

Then W. Caton and J. Stubbs departed the town, and went to Folkſtone, and from thence to Hithe, in both which places they found opportunity to preach the Truth. After ſome ſtay, they went to Romney, and ſo to Lydd. Here it was, that Samuel Fiſher, both by their miniſtry, and by that of Ambroſe Rigg, and Thomas Robinſon, (who now were alſo gone forth in the ſervice of the goſpel) was convinced, and brought over to their ſociety.

He was trained up to literature, and had ſtudied diligently in the Univerſity; and though but young then, yet was of a pious converſation, and diſliked many ceremonies and cuſtoms uſual in the ſchools. When he had finiſhed his courſe there, he was ordained a prieſt of the church; and a certain great man took him to be his chaplain; and afterwards he got a living at Lydd, worth about two hundred pounds a year. But after having been thus employed ſome time, he came to ſee that infant baptiſm was an human inſtitution, and to preach for wages unlawful. To this may be added, that Luke Howard, ſome time before he knew the Quakers, ſo called, not being ſatisfied concerning the ſinging of David's pſalms at the publick worſhip, ſo troubled his maſter that he had been apprentice with, that he got Samuel Fiſher, as a learned miniſter, to come and diſcourſe with him, and to try to convince him: and S. Fiſher talking with him, L. Howard told him, that God was a Spirit, and muſt be worſhipped in Spirit and Truth, of all thoſe that would worſhip him acceptably. And alſo, that it was contrary to Truth, for a proud man to ſing, "he was not puft in mind, he had no ſcornful eye, and he did not exerciſe himſelf in things that were too high;" when he lived in pride, wherein God beheld him afar off. And farther, that it was very unbecoming ſuch an one to ſing, "Rivers of tears run down mine eyes, becauſe other men keep not thy laws," when he never knew a true ſorrow and repentance for his own ſins. This reaſon of Howard's, againſt the cuſtomary ſinging in their

worſhip, had ſo much influence upon S. Fiſher, that from that time he was ſtopped from any more giving David's conditions to the people to ſing; and becoming in time more and more uneaſy to go on in acting what was burdenſome to his conſcience, he reſolved to deſiſt from his miniſtry, and ſo went to the biſhop, and delivered up the commiſſion that he had received from him to preach: and caſting himſelf upon God's providence, he took a farm, and turned grazier, by which means he maintained his wife and children much better to his content than before.

Departing thus from the Epiſcopalian church, he went over to the Baptiſts, and became a zealous teacher among them. It was about this time, that W. Caton, and J. Stubbs came to Lydd, whom S. Fiſher received into his houſe, remembring that Scripture exhortation, "Be not forgetful to entertain ſtrangers, for many thereby have entertained angels unawares." W. Caton went to the meeting of the Independents, and Stubbs to that of the Baptiſts, where Fiſher then preached; and J. Stubbs having got opportunity to ſpeak, declared Truth ſo plainly, that S. Fiſher being very much affected with it, began to paraphraſe upon it with excellency of ſpeech. W. Caton and J. Stubbs departing this place, went to another town in this county, but not long after returning to Lydd, they found S. Fiſher in fellowſhip with themſelves; for it happened that his fellow-teacher, George Hammond in his ſermon ſo violently inveighed againſt thoſe called Quakers, that S. Fiſher could not be ſatisfied until he ſtood up in the ſaid meeting, and bore a publick teſtimony againſt the revilings of Hammond: ſaying to him, 'Dear brother, you are very dear and near to me, but the Truth is nearer and dearer: it is the everlaſting Truth and goſpel which they hold forth.' And ſpeaking more words to that effect, he openly defended the doctrine of the reviled Quakers. This ſo vexed Hammond, that falling into a greater rage, he ſaid, 'Our brother Fiſher is alſo bewitched.' But Fiſher rendered not reviling for reviling, but continued with patience in the faith. This was he who afterwards writ a book, called Ruſticus ad Academicos, wherein he often encountered the prieſts with their own weapons; for

he was very dexterous at that, and ſo well verſed in the ancient poets, that he now and then with their words, gave home blows to his adverſaries, allowing himſelf ſometimes the freedom of the prophet Elijah againſt the prophets of Baal. He writ alſo a paper in Hebrew to the Jews, in which language he was well ſkilled. But before I ſay more of him, I return to W. Caton and J. Stubbs. They went from Lydd to Aſhford, Tenterden, Cranbrook, and Staplehurſt, where they found an open and tender-hearted people, who embraced their doctrine, and ſome would have given them money, nay, even have forced it upon them, yet they would not take any: but as they freely had received, ſo they freely gave: telling people it was not theirs, but them, which they ſought. Thence they travelled to Maidſtone, where J. Stubbs went to the publick place of worſhip, and W. Caton to the meeting of the Independents. J. Stubbs was taken at the ſteeple-houſe, and W. Caton, the day following from his inn, and were both ſent to the houſe of correction, where they were ſearched, and their money, inkhorns, and bibles, &c. taken from them. Afterwards they were ſtripped, and their necks and arms put in the ſtocks, and in that condition were deſperately whipped. A hard encounter indeed, eſpecially for ſuch a young man as W. Caton was; but they were ſupported by an inviſible hand. Afterwards means were uſed to compel them to work; and it was told them, he that would not work ſhould not eat. But they were not free to conſent thereto, becauſe they eſteemed this demand unjuſt, not being guilty of the breach of any law. Thus they were kept without victuals for ſome days, only a little water once a day was allowed them. In the mean-while, the malefactors that were there, would have given them of their bread; yea, the women of the houſe being moved with compaſſion, would have given them ſomething privately; but they were not free to accept of either. Now the report of this cruelty being ſpread in the town, many began to be offended at it; ſo that an officer was ſent to make reſtitution of ſome of their things, which had been taken from them, and then they bought victuals with their own money. Not long after,

they were parted, and with officers conveyed out of the town, one at the one end of it, and the other at the other.

At length W. Caton came to London, where he found his companion, J. Stubbs, but being there, it came upon them to return to the town from whence they came, which was no ſmall trial to them; but yet they reſigned, and gave up to what they believed to be the will of the Lord. Now Providence ſo ordered it, that none meddled with them, though they, to be more fully ſeen, went on a Firſt-day of the week to the ſteeple-houſe. They went alſo to Canterbury, where, at the meetings of the Baptiſts and Independents, they had pretty good liberty to declare the Truth amongſt them; and ſome, being convinced, received their teſtimony. They were likewiſe at Sandwich, where W. Caton had ſome ſervice among the Dutch people at their ſteeple-houſe.

It was now nigh Midſummer, when he felt a motion to go over to Calais, in France. For that end he went to Dover, and ſo to Calais, where coming to their high place of worſhip, his ſpirit was very much grieved and burdened, with the great idolatry in vogue there; for he ſaw how ſome were worſhipping before their dumb idols, and he could not well eaſe his ſpirit for want of the language. Having ſome time walked about in the town, he came to be known to ſome of the chief of the city, who deſiring to ſpeak with him, ſome of them came down in perſon to the quay, to look for him; and underſtanding he was aboard, he was called aſhore, and conveyed to a large houſe, where ſeveral of the great ones were come to ſee and hear him: ſo that he had a very good opportunity to declare the Truth among them, there being a Scotch lord who interpreted for him. And after he had cleared his conſcience they ſuffered him to depart quietly.

Soon after he returned for England, and found his companion, J. Stubbs, at Dover; and it being upon him to go for Holland, W. Caton was made free to accompany him. With this intent, they went together to Yarmouth, but could not find paſſage there for Holland, and ſo they paſſed farther to the North; and coming to Swarthmore,

W. Caton found his friends very glad to ſee him, eſpecially Margaret Fell, who had been as a nurſing mother to him. After ſome ſtay there, having been abundantly refreſhed, they went to Shields, where they heard of a ſhip bound for Flanders; but having little inclination to go thither, came ſoon after to Yarmouth, where they found a ſhip intended for Fluſhing, in Zealand. With this veſſel they went over, and arrived ſafely at the ſaid town: and on the Firſt-day of the week, they went to the congregation of the Engliſh and Scotch, where many wondered at them beeauſe of their nonconformity; and after they began to ſpeak, there aroſe a great ſtir, ſo that they were ſoon hurried out. The ſame day they went to Middleburgh, whither being come, before the afternoon's worſhip was ended, one of them began to ſpeak after the prieſt had done: but he ſtopped him preſently, thinking at firſt they were ſuch as came thither begging; but perceiving the contrary, he and others were the more violent. After that, he ſent for them to his houſe, and reaſoned awhile with them; but he being of a lofty mind, they found but a ſlight entertainment there. After a ſhort ſtay in town, they embarked themſelves for Rotterdam, in Holland, where being come, when they had been ſome few days in the city, they got a meeting at an Engliſh merchant's houſe: but he that interpreted for them, not rendering their words truly, it ſeemed not to ſatisfy the hearers. After ſome time they returned to Zealand, and from thence again to England, where being arrived, W. Caton journied to Swarthmore, and was received there with joy; and having ſome drawings to Scotland, he went to Biſhoprick, where he found his companion J. Stubbs again, with whom he travelled towards Scotland. It was about the beginning of the month called December, when they came to Berwick upon Tweed, where W. Caton went into the great publick aſſembly; and when the prieſt had done, ſtepped upon a ſeat, and beginning to ſpeak, none ſeemed to make ſuch haſte to get away, as the prieſt: in the mean-while W. Caton ſpoke with great boldneſs, and had pretty good liberty to declare the Truth. But when he had done, he was taken hold of, and brought

before the magiſtrates, who ordered that he ſhould be turned out of the town; which was done. J. Stubbs was that day in a meeting of the Baptiſts, and had ſome ſervice there. Not long after, W. Caton, who wandering up and down, could not well get any lodging for his money, returned, and came into the town again, the guard ſuffering him very freely to paſs.

Then they both travelled to Edinburgh in Scotland, where they found things ſomewhat out of order, through the unfaithfulneſs of ſome that were convinced of the Truth; but their miniſtry was ſo effectual among them, that they were brought into better order again: and ſo they edified the church according to their ability, the meeting being kept at the houſe of William Oſburn, who had been a lieutenant-colonel, and afterwards become a zealous miniſter among the flock there. While W. Caton was there, he went once to the chief ſteeple-houſe, where, after the prieſt had done, he ſpoke to the people; but, the multitude combining, he was not ſuffered to ſay much, but was carried out; and coming into the ſtreet, there was a guard of ſoldiers, who conducted him with drawn ſwords to the places where he deſired to be. He was about that time alſo with general Monk, who behaved himſelf moderately, and heard him. J. Stubbs now returning to England, W. Caton went to Stirling, where being carried to the governor, he was at firſt high, but when W. Caton, who was a man of meek behaviour, had ſpoke a little to him, he became cool and ſedate. He then went to the Engliſh chaplain's houſe, who was kind to him. From Edinburgh he went to Glaſgow, where going into the great cathedral, after the ſervice was done, he had ſome liberty to ſpeak to the multitude in the yard, the rude people being kept under by the Engliſh ſoldiers, who were moderate, ſo that he had very good ſervice there. He alſo went to Douglas, where his ſervice was no leſs, both in the ſteeple-houſe and elſewhere: ſo that having cleared himſelf in Scotland, he returned to England, and came again to Swarthmore, where he was received as formerly, in very great love.

Leaving him there, I turn again to G. Fox, whom we

left in Bedfordſhire. From thence he went by London to Kent, and came to Romney, not long after W. Caton and J. Stubbs had been there. Here he had a very large meeting, whither Samuel Fiſher alſo came, and there was a great convincement that day, ſo that many were turned to the light of Chriſt: and after the meeting, S. Fiſher's wife ſaid, 'Now we may diſcern betwixt fleſh and ſpirit, and diſtinguiſh ſpiritual teaching from fleſhly.'

From hence G. Fox went to Dover and Canterbury, and farther into Suſſex, and ſo to Reading, where they had a great meeting, and many were convinced that day. There came alſo George Biſhop of Briſtol, who being a captain, then wore a ſword, though in time he entirely left it off.

G. Fox going from hence, paſſed up to London, where leaving him for ſome time, we will go and behold the life and occurrences of James Parnel, who was born at Retford in Nottinghamſhire, and trained up in the ſchools of literature. He laboured very early in the miniſtry of the goſpel, having been convinced by G. Fox, when not quite ſixteen years of age, and then embraced the Truth; though for that reaſon deſpiſed and rejected by his relations. He was (though of low ſtature) endued with great ability, and did not fear, wherever he came, to call people to repentance. Being impriſoned at Cambridge for his zealous teſtimony, and afterward turned out of town like a vagabond, he ſoon came back, and diſputed with the ſcholars of the univerſity; but met with rude and bad entertainment from them. In the beginning of this year he came into Eſſex, being then about eighteen years of age, and preached the goſpel in ſeveral parts of that county, as Felſted, Stebbing, Witham, Coggeſhall, Halſted, and other places, and many received the word by his miniſtry. About the middle of the ſummer he came to Colcheſter, and there preached the goſpel on a Firſt-day of the week in a ſteeple-houſe, after the ſermon; then in a great meeting appointed on purpoſe; and after that diſputed with the town-lecturer, and another prieſt, in the French ſchool, all in one day; ſo that many were convinced of the Truth preached by him; and among theſe alſo Stephen

Criſp, of whom more will be ſaid hereafter. J. Parnel ſpent that week in the ſaid town, preaching, exhorting, and diſputing, to the convincing of many; though others were enraged, inſomuch, that his godly zeal was often rewarded with blows; as once coming out of Nicholas ſteeple-houſe, he was ſtruck by one with a great ſtaff, who ſaid, 'There, take that for Chriſt's ſake.' To which he meekly anſwered, 'Friend, I do receive it for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake.' Many other grievous affronts he bore, without ſhewing any heat or anger; ſo that he was a real pattern of patience and meekneſs.

Having laboured in the goſpel about ten days in Colcheſter, he went to Coggeſhall, where a faſt was proclaimed, to be held upon the 12th of the month called July, to pray againſt the errors of the people called Quakers. J. Parnel being come thither, went into the ſteeple-houſe, where he ſtood ſtill, till the prieſt was coming out of the pulpit. Now ſince this prieſt Sammes, who was an Independent, had cried out fiercely againſt the Quakers, as deceivers, J. Parnel eſteemed it his duty to ſay ſomething to that; and the firſt words he ſpoke were, 'This is the order of the true church, that all may ſpeak one by one; and if any thing be revealed to him that ſtands by, let the firſt hold his peace.' Then he ſpoke on behalf of thoſe called Quakers: but the prieſt interrupting, aſked what he would object againſt him? To which J. Parnel anſwered, in that he reviled the people called Quakers, and ſaid they were built upon a ſandy foundation, and ſo called them Shakers. 'But,' ſaid he, 'I will prove their foundation not to be ſandy, and thee to be a falſe prophet.' After ſome more words ſpoken by him, ſome accuſed him, that he owned no church: to which he ſaid it was falſe. Then it was aſked him what church he owned? And he anſwered, the church in God. Then prieſt Williams ſtood up, and ſaid he ſpoke nothing but nonſenſe. Parnel bade him name one word which he had ſpoken that was nonſenſe. At which Willis ſaid, 'To ſay the church in God.' Then Parnel took out his bible, and read 1 Theſ. i. 1. where the apoſtle writes to the church, which is in God the

Father. The prieſt now was at a loſs, and Parnel told him, that he blaſphemed in ſaying the church in God was nonſenſe. Then prieſt Stellum ſtood up, and accuſed Parnel with lies and ſlanders, and not ſuffering him to clear himſelf from thoſe accuſations, he got up into the pulpit, and began to pray; but Parnel not taking off his hat, the magiſtrates called to him to put it off. To which he returned, 'Order the prieſt to put off his cap;' and farther ſaid, before he ſhould be ſubject to their wills, he would rather paſs out of the meeting-place; and ſo he went out.

Not long after, juſtice Dionyſius Wakering followed him, and ſtruck him with his hand upon his back, ſaying he arreſted him in the name of the lord protector. Parnel not knowing him to be a magiſtrate, aſked him where his writ was. Wakering ſaid he had one; but ſhewed none. Then Parnel was hurried into an houſe, and ſome of his friends engaged, that he ſhould be forthcoming when their worſhip was done. And accordingly he appeared where four juſtices, and ſix or ſeven prieſts were met together. Then juſtice Wakering pulled his hat off his head, and threw it away; and they queſtioned him concerning many things; all which he anſwered, with many frivolous queſtions aſked to enſnare him. At laſt he was committed to the common gaol at Colcheſter, where none of his friends were ſuffered to come to him. The time of the ſeſſions at Chelmsford being come, he, with ſeveral felons and murderers was faſtened to a chain, and thus led about eighteen miles through the country, remaining chained both night and day.

Being brought into the court before judge Hills, the gaoler took off his hat and caſt it upon the floor. Then the clerk read his indictment, and aſked him if he was guilty; to which he ſaid, that he denied all guilt; and he called for his accuſers. The judge ſaid he might ſee them; and that he ought to ſay guilty, or not guilty. On which Parnel told him, he was not guilty. Then a jury of twelve men was called, whoſe foreman was a drunkard; prieſt Willis was alſo called, who ſwore againſt him, and ſo did two juſtices; one of their men ſwearing that they would

ſpeak nothing againſt him but the truth. The accuſations were, that in a riotous manner he did enter into the pariſh church at Great Coggeſhall; that he there did ſtand up, and told the miniſter he blaſphemed, and ſpoke falſely, uſing many other reproachful words againſt him: and he could not give a good account where he was laſt ſettled, or of his life and converſation, appearing to be an idle perſon. He was alſo accuſed with contempt of the magiſtracy and of the miniſtry. To this he anſwered, that he no ways in a riotous manner entered the ſteeple-houſe, but came thither quietly, and alone: for being followed by ſeveral boys that would have come in after him, he bade them go in before, rather than to go in diſorderly, whereby to occaſion any diſturbance. That he had ſaid to prieſt Willis, he blaſphemed, by ſaying the church in God was nonſenſe, he denied not; but did not own himſelf to be a vagabond and idle perſon. And he did not think it indecent to call an unjuſt judge, unrighteous; a perſecutor, perſecutor; and a deceiver, deceiver. Thus Parnel pleaded his cauſe. Yet the judge ſaid to the jury, that if they did not find him guilty, the ſin would lie upon their heads; thus condemning the priſoner before the jury had conſidered the caſe. Then J. Parnel began to ſpeak, to inform them concerning his cauſe, but the judge would not ſuffer him, though one of the jury deſired it. After conſultation, the jury had nothing to lay to his charge, but a paper in which he had anſwered the mittimus, though he had already owned this paper to be his writing. But in that they were at a loſs, becauſe in the indictment he was accuſed of a riot: yet the judge and the clerk ſtrove to draw ſome words from the foreman, which the other jurymen did not conſent to, and he himſelf was unwilling to anſwer fully to their queſtions. Then J. Parnel was made to withdraw; and being called in again, the judge fined him to the value of about forty pounds, for contempt of the magiſtracy and miniſtry; for he ſaid the lord protector had charged him to puniſh ſuch perſons as ſhould contemn either magiſtracy or miniſtry. Thereupon J. Parnel was carried back again to the priſon, being an old ruinous caſtle, built as it is reported, in the time of the ancient

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Romans: here he was to be kept until the fine ſhould be paid; and the gaoler was commanded, not to let any giddy-headed people (by which denomination they meant his friends), come at him.

The gaoler was willing enough to comply with this order, ſuffering none to come to him, but ſuch as abuſed him; and his wife, who was a wicked ſhrew, did not only ſet her man to beat him, but ſeveral times herſelf laid violent hands upon him, and ſwore ſhe would have his blood: ſhe alſo ſet other priſoners to take away the victuals brought to him by his friends; and would not let him have a trundle bed, which they would have brought him to lie on, ſo that he was forced to lie on the cold and damp ſtones. Afterwards he was put into the hole in the wall, a room much like a baker's oven; for the walls of that building, which is indeed a direful neſt, are of an exceſſive thickneſs, as I have ſeen myſelf, having been in the hole where this pious young man ended his days, as will be ſaid by and by. Being confined in the ſaid hole, which was, as I remember, about twelve foot high from the ground, and the ladder too ſhort by ſix foot; he muſt climb up and down by a rope on a broken wall, which he was forced to do to fetch his victuals, or for other neceſſities: for though his friends would have given him a cord and a baſket to draw up his victuals in, yet ſuch was the malice of his keepers, that they would not ſuffer it.

Continuing in this moiſt hole, his limbs grew benumbned; and thus it once happened, that as he was climbing up the ladder, with his victuals in one hand, and come to the top thereof, catching at the rope with his other, he miſſed the ſame, and fell down upon the ſtones, whereby he was exceedingly wounded in his head, and his body ſo bruiſed, that he was taken up for dead. Then they put him into a hole underneath the other; for there were two rows of ſuch vaulted holes in the wall. This hole was called the oven, and ſo little, that ſome bakers ovens were bigger, though not ſo high. Here (the door being ſhut) was ſcarcely any air, there being no window or hole. And after he was a little recovered from his fall, they would not ſuffer him to take the air, though he was almoſt ſpent

for want of breath: and though ſome of his friends, viz. William Talcot and Edward Grant, did offer their bond of forty pounds to the juſtice Henry Barrington, and another, whoſe name was Thomas Shortland, to lie body for body, that Parnel might but have his liberty to come to W. Talcot's houſe, and return, when recovered; yet this was denied; nay, ſo immoveable were they ſet againſt him, that when it was deſired that he might only walk a little ſometimes in the yard, they would not grant it by any means: and once the door of the hole being open, and he coming forth, and walking in a narrow yard between two high walls, ſo incenſed the gaoler, that he locked up the hole, and ſhut him out in the yard all night, being in the coldeſt time of the winter. This hard impriſonment did ſo weaken him, that after ten or eleven months he fell ſick, and died. At his departure there were with him Thomas Shortland, and Ann Langley: and it was one of theſe (that came often to him) who long after brought me into this hole where he died.

Several things which are related here, I had from the mouth of eye-witneſſes, who lived in that town. When death approached, he ſaid, 'Here I die innocently.' A little after he was heard to ſay, 'Now I muſt go:' and turning his head to Thomas, he ſaid, 'This death muſt I die, Thomas, I have ſeen great things: don't hold me, but let me go.' Then he ſaid again, 'Will you hold me?' To which Ann anſwered, 'No, dear heart, we will not hold thee.' He had often ſaid that one hour's ſleep would cure him of all: and the laſt words he was heard to ſay, were, 'Now I go;' and then ſtretched out himſelf, and ſlept about an hour, and breathed his laſt. Thus this valiant ſoldier of the Lamb conquered through ſufferings: and ſo great was the malice and envy of his perſecutors, that to cover their guilt and ſhame, they ſpread among the people, that by immoderate faſting, and afterwards with too greedy eating, he had ſhortened his days. But this was a wicked lie; for though it be true that he had no appetite to eat ſome days before he fell ſick, yet when he began to eat again, he took nothing but a little milk, as was declared by credible witneſſes. During his impriſonment he writ ſeveral edifying epiſtles to his friends.

By continuing this relation without breaking off, I am advanced ſomewhat as to time; but going back a little, let us ſee the tranſactions of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill. It was in the year 1655, that they went together to Ireland, where they came in the ſummer, and ſtaid more than ſix months, having ſpent at Dublin about three months, without being diſturbed, though they omitted no opportunity to declare the doctrine of Truth. Henry Cromwell, ſon of the protector, was at that time lord deputy of Ireland; and it was in his name that they were carried from Cork (whither they were gone) to Dublin; for ſince ſeveral received their teſtimony, and adhered to the doctrine they preached, it was reſolved upon, not to let them ſtay any longer in Ireland. Here it was, as I have been told, that William Ames, by their miniſtry, was brought over into the ſociety of the Quakers, ſo called. He was a Baptiſt teacher, and alſo a military officer, who being of a ſtrict life himſelf, kept his ſoldiers under a ſevere diſcipline. I remember how he uſed to tell us, that when any ſoldier under his colours had been guilty of any immorality on a Firſt-day of the week, he preſently had him bound neck and heels. But being now entered into the ſociety of the deſpiſed Quakers, and in proceſs of time becoming a miniſter among them, it was not long before he was caſt into priſon; of whom more may be ſaid hereafter.

Now E. Burrough and F. Howgill were baniſhed out of Ireland; but on the ſame day that they were ſent away, Barbara Blaugdone arrived there. She went from England in a veſſel bound for Cork, but by foul weather carried to Dublin. When the tempeſt was high, the ſeamen ſaid that ſhe being a Quaker was the cauſe of it, and they conſpired to caſt her overboard. Aware of this plot, ſhe told the maſter what his men deſigned to do, and ſaid that if he did ſuffer this, her blood would be required at his hands. So he charged them not to meddle with her. The ſtorm continuing, and it being on a Firſt-day of the week, ſhe went upon the deck, feeling herſelf moved to ſpeak to the ſeamen by way of exhortation, and to pray for them; for their prieſt, afraid like the reſt, could not

ſay any thing among them. Having ſpoke what was upon her, ſhe concluded with a prayer; and all the ſhip's crew was very quiet and ſedate, ſaying that they were more beholden to her than to their prieſt, becauſe ſhe prayed for them; and he, for fear, could not open his mouth to ſpeak. At length they arrived ſafe at Dublin, without damage, which indeed was ſtrange, and made the maſter ſay that he was never in ſuch a ſtorm without receiving any loſs.

Barbara going aſhore, went to the houſe of the deputy; but the people told her, there was for her no ſpeaking with him; for ſhe might know that he had baniſhed two of her friends out of the nation the day before. Then ſhe met with the ſecretary, and deſired him to help her to ſpeak with the deputy. He anſwered that he did not think he could; then ſhe told him that if he would be ſo civil, as to go up and tell the deputy that there was a woman below that would ſpeak with him; if he refuſed, ſhe was anſwered. So the ſecretary went up; and there came a man to fetch her into the withdrawing-room; and after ſhe had been there a while, a perſon came out of the deputy's chamber, and all that accompanied him ſtood bare-headed (for they knew ſhe never ſaw the deputy) but ſhe had a ſenſe it was a prieſt, who ſhewed himſelf covered to deceive her: and the room being almoſt full of people, they aſked her why ſhe did not do her meſſage to their lord. To which ſhe anſwered, 'When I ſee your lord, then I ſhall do my meſſage to him.' A little after the deputy came forth, and ſate down on a couch: ſhe then ſtood up, and ſpeaking to him what was upon her mind, bade him beware that he was not found fighting againſt God, in oppoſing the Truth, and perſecuting the innocent; but like wiſe Gamaliel, to let them alone; for if it was of God, it would ſtand; but if of man, it would fall. Farther, that the enmity did not lie ſo much in himſelf, but he was ſtirred up to it by evil magiſtrates, and bad prieſts; and that God's people were as dear to him now, as ever; and they that touched them, touched the apple of his eye. In the mean-while, in his name, and by his power, there was much hurt done to the people of God,

all over the nation, and it would at laſt lie heavy upon him. Moreover, that the teachers of the people did cauſe them to err, and that he knew the prieſts' condition. She touching upon that, the deputy ſaid to the prieſt that ſtood by, 'There's for you, Mr. Harriſon:' and ſhe ſpoke with ſuch power, that it made the deputy much concerned: and when ſhe had done, he aſked the prieſt what he had to ſay to that which ſhe ſpoke? And he ſaid, it was all very true, and very good, and he had nothing to ſay againſt it, if ſhe did ſpeak as ſhe meant. Then ſhe told the prieſt, that the Spirit of God was true, and did ſpeak as it meant, and meant as it ſpoke; but that men of corrupt minds did pervert the Scriptures, by putting their own imaginations and conceivings upon it, and ſo did deceive the people: but the holy men of God wrote, and gave forth the Scriptures as they were inſpired of the Holy Ghoſt; and that they were of no private interpretation; and could not be underſtood but by the ſame ſpirit that gave them forth.

After having thus ſpoken, ſhe went away, and returned to her lodging, which was at one captain Rich's houſe, who coming home, ſaid, that the deputy was ſo ſad and melancholy, after ſhe had been with him, that he could not go to bowls, or to any other paſtime.

Barbara having now performed her ſervice at Dublin, went to Cork, where ſhe had ſome relations and acquaintance; but great were her ſufferings thereabout; for ſhe was impriſoned almoſt wherever ſhe came, being moved to follow thoſe of her acquaintance, into ſeveral ſteeple-houſes; yet wherever her mouth was opened, there was ſome that received her teſtimony. Once ſhe was made to ſpeak in a market-place, where a butcher ſwore he would cleave her head; and having lifted up his cleaver to do it, there came a woman behind him, and catching his arms, ſtopt him, till the ſoldiers came and reſcued Barbara. Many of her acquaintance, with whom ſhe formerly had been very converſant, were now afraid of her; for ſometimes ſhe ſpoke ſo awfully to them in their houſes, that it made them tremble; and ſome ſaid ſhe was a witch; and, running away, their ſervants turned her out of doors. After having been there ſome time, ſhe returned home to Briſtol;

but it was not very long ere ſhe was moved to go to Ireland again; and being come near Dungarvan, the ſhip foundered near the ſhore: the maſter and the paſſengers got into the boat, ſave one man and a woman, who were caſt away; and Barbara who was ſtill in the cabin, was almoſt ſtifled by waves that beat in upon her; yet at length ſhe got upon the deck. The maſter in the meanwhile being come aſhore, called to her, that if ſhe would leap down, he and another would venture to come into the water to ſave her. Accordingly they came up to their necks, and ſhe leaping down, they caught her; but being entangled in the ropes in leaping down, ſhe was drawn from them again: but preſently a wave came rolling and beat the ſhip outward, which was their preſervation; for if it had beaten inward, it might have killed them all three; ſhe was thus caught again, and drawn to ſhore. Then ſhe went to Dublin, where coming into the court of juſtice, ſhe ſpoke to the judges, and exhorted them to righteouſneſs. But this was taken ſo ill, that ſhe was put into priſon, where ſhe lay upon ſtraw on the ground, and when it rained, the wet and filth of the houſe of office ran in under her. Being arraigned at the bar, ſhe was required to plead guilty or not guilty. She anſwered that there was no guilt upon any one's conſcience for what was done in obedience to the Lord God. But ſhe not anſwering in that form of words they bid her, was ſent back to priſon again, where ſhe ſuffered much. In the mean-while, there happened a ſingular inſtance, which I cannot paſs by with ſilence.

At that time there was in priſon an inn-keeper, with his family, being accuſed of a murder: now the brother of him that was either murdered, or loſt, could not enjoy ſome land, except he could prove that his brother was dead; and in order thereto, he brought a fellow into the priſon, who ſaid, he would prove that the man was killed at ſuch an inn, and buried under a wall: and he accuſed the inn-keeper and his wife, their man and maid, and a ſmith, to be guilty of this murder; they being already in priſon. Barbara having heard of this, found means to go to this deſperate fellow: and aſked him how he could

conceal this murder ſo long, when he was, according to law, as guilty of it as any of them, if what he ſaid were true. At this queſtion he trembled ſo exceedingly, that his knees ſtruck one againſt another; and he confeſſed that he never before ſaw the people with his eyes, nor ever was at the place in his life, nor knew any thing of it, but only he was drawn in by the man that was to have the land, and was perſuaded to witneſs the fact. Other priſoners heard this confeſſion alſo, and Barbara ſent to the deputy, deſiring him to ſend down his prieſt, that he might hear the ſaid confeſſion. The prieſt came, and the fellow confeſſed the ſame to him as he had done to Barbara; and he once alſo confeſſed the ſame before the judge. But afterwards he eat his words; for the man that had induced him, came every day, and made him drink plentifully, and alſo cauſed the gaoler to lock up Barbara, that ſhe might not come to him. Then ſhe wrote to the inn-keeper, and his wife, and man, and judge Pepes, and told him, the day of his death did draw nigh, wherein he muſt give an account of his actions; and that therefore he ought to take heed, that he did not condemn innocent people, having but one witneſs, in whoſe mouth ſo many lies were found, the others all ſaying they were innocent. For all that, the judge went on, and condemned all the accuſed, and the accuſer alſo, as conſcious to the crime. Hereupon a prieſt came to ſpeak with the maid that was condemned, and was in the ſame priſon with Barbara, but ſhe would not ſee him, ſaying, 'Nay, he can do me no good; I have done with man for ever: but God, thou knoweſt that I am innocent of what they lay to my charge.' But, however, they were all hanged, and the witneſs firſt, probably for fear he ſhould have made another confeſſion, after he had ſeen the others hanged.

Now ſome friends of Barbara, viz. Sir William King, colonel Fare, and the lady Brown, hearing ſhe was in priſon, came to ſee her, and afterward went to the aforementioned judge, to get her releaſed: but when they came to him, he told them, that he was afraid of his life. At which they laughed, and ſaid, they had known her from a child, and there was no harm in her at all. And

being all very earneſt to get her liberty, they at laſt obtained it. Then ſhe went to the ſteeple-houſe where this judge was, and cleared herſelf of him. He being come home, went to bed, and died that night. The noiſe of which ſudden death being ſpread, it made people ſay, that Barbara had been a true propheteſs unto him.

She now went to Limerick, where ſhe was put into priſon, but after a while being releaſed, ſhe took ſhipping for England again; and at ſea was robbed of all that ſhe had, by a privateer, who, coming on board, took the maſter away, until he ſhould pay them a ſum of money, for the ſhip and goods; but ſhe came ſafe to England. She travelled at her own charge, paying for what ſhe had.

But leaving her, I will return to Miles Halhead, who, as he was following the plough, in the beginning of this year, felt a motion to go to London. Taking York and Hull in his way, and paſſing thence through Lincolnſhire and Leiceſterſhire, he came to the city of London, from whence, after ſome ſtay, he went to Briſtol with Thomas Salthouſe, and ſo to Exeter and Plymouth, where he ſuffered much perſecution, and was impriſoned. He writ about that time a letter to his wife, which I think worth the while to inſert here, and was as followeth.

Anne Halhead,

My dear heart, my dear love in the bowels of love, in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſalutes thee and my children. My ſoul, my ſoul is poured forth in love to thee daily, and the breathings of my ſoul to my Father is for thee, that thou mayeſt be kept in the fear of the Lord, and in his counſel daily, that ſo thou mayeſt come to reſt and peace, that is laid up for all that fear him, and walk in obedience to the light that Jeſus Chriſt hath enlightened them withal. So my dear heart, I declare to thee, in the preſence of the living God, who is Lord of heaven and earth, and before men and angels, there is no other way that leads to peace, and eternal reſt, but walking in obedience to the light that comes from Jeſus Chriſt; and of this light thou haſt received a meaſure. Therefore my dear heart, be faithful to the Lord in what is made known unto thee, that thou

mayeſt come to witneſs true peace and reſt, that eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what is laid up for all them that fear him. So, my dear heart, as I have found peace and eternal reſt to my ſoul from the Lord, ſo I am moved of the Lord in love to thy ſoul, to ſhew thee the way that leads to peace and eternal reſt; which way is Chriſt, who is the light, and the way that leads to the Father, from whence all light comes; and of this light which comes from Chriſt, I bear record thou haſt received a meaſure. Therefore in dear love I exhort thee to walk in obedience to thy meaſure, which thou haſt received from the Lord. So in the preſence of the Lord God do I declare, that walking in obedience to this light that comes from Chriſt, is the way that leads to eternal reſt and peace. Therefore as thou tendereſt the eternal good of thy ſoul, be faithful to the light that comes from Chriſt, which light beareth witneſs againſt lying, and ſwearing, and vain talking, and all manner of evil. So, my dear wife, in bowels of dear love to thy ſoul, which is more precious than all the world, have I ſhewed thee the way; if thou wilt walk in it, it will lead thee into the eternal covenant of life and peace. So, my dear wife, in love, in love I have cleared my conſcience to thee, in the preſence of the living God, as a true and faithful huſband to thee, deſiring thy eternal good and welfare as my own, the Lord God is my witneſs. Dear wife, remember my dear love to all my friends and countrymen, according to the fleſh; for I deſire the eternal good and welfare of you all, and that you all may come to believe in the light in your own conſciences, which Jeſus Chriſt hath enlightened you with; which light bears witneſs againſt lying, and ſwearing, and all manner of evil. This is the light of Chriſt, and walking in obedience to this light is the way that leads out of ſin and evil, up to God eternal, bleſſed for evermore: and he that acts contrary to this light in his own conſcience, it is his condemnation. Now, dear friends, while you have time prize it.

Thy huſband, and a lover of thy ſoul,
Miles Halhead.

Wiltſhire, the 7th of the Third month, 1655.

This year alſo he writ the following epiſtle to his fellow-believers.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

In the North of England, even to the South, the land of our nativity, whom the Lord God of heaven and earth hath called and choſen in this the day of his eternal everlaſting love, to ſerve him in truth, and in righteouſneſs, who hath received the Lord's Truth in the love of it, not only to believe in his name, but to ſuffer bonds and impriſonments, and hard ſentences for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and the word of God. Dear friends, and beloved brethren, my prayers to the Lord God of heaven and earth, and my ſoul's deſire is for you all, that you may all dwell together as children of one father, in the eternal bond of love, and oneneſs of the ſpirit; that you may all grow in the eternal living Truth of God, to be eſtabliſhed upon the rock and ſure foundation, that the gates of hell and death cannot prevail againſt you; that under the ſhadow of the wings of the Almighty, you may all be kept and preſerved in peace and reſt, now in the day of trial, and hour of darkneſs, when hell hath opened her mouth, and the raging ſea caſt out her proud waves, even like to overflow the banks. Glory, glory, and eternal living praiſes be given to the Lord God, and to the Lamb for evermore, of all the children of the light, who hath found a reſting-place for all his dear ones, lambs, and babes, and children of light to flee into, in the needful time of trouble, where none can make them afraid, nor take away their peace, as they abide faithful to him, who is our way, our light, our life, our ſtrength, and eternal portion for ever. My dear friends and brethren, I beſeech you in the bowels of dear and tender love, that you walk as dear children, faithful to him who hath called you with an honourable calling, and loved you from the beginning with an everlaſting love, that all your friends and neighbours, and men of this world, that ſee your life coupled with fear, may be made to confeſs and acknowledge, to the honour and glory of the living Lord, that the God whom we ſerve and fear, is the only true God of Iſrael: and herein you become a

precious ſavour unto the living eternal God, and a ſweet ſmelling ſavour unto all the children of light, and no good thing will the Lord God withhold from you; the mouth of the Lord God of Hoſts hath ſpoken it, whoſe promiſes are Yea and Amen to his own ſeed for evermore.

Miles Halhead.

Given forth the 14th of the Sixth Month 1655, when I was a priſoner at the priſon-houſe in the city of Exeter, in Devonſhire, for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and the word of God.

A chief cauſe why he was impriſoned there, was, that Thomas Salthouſe, with whom he travelled, (having heard that one George Brooks, a prieſt belonging to the Nightingale frigate, ſaid, after the declarations of M. Halhead, and T. Salthouſe, at Plymouth, that it was the eternal truth which they had ſpoken, with many other words in vindication of what they ſaid) told Brooks, that he had ſpoken many good words, and fair ſpeeches; but aſked him, whether he lived the life of what he ſpoke? Farther, 'He that entereth not by the door, but climbeth up ſome other way, is, as Chriſt ſaid, a thief and a robber.' For T. Salthouſe thought, and that not without reaſon, as will be ſhewn by and by, that he did not want the praiſes of this prieſt, that were not better than thoſe of the damſel poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of divination, which ſhe ſpoke concerning Paul and Silas, viz. 'Theſe men are the ſervants of the moſt high God, which ſhew unto us the way of ſalvation.' Now what T. Salthouſe had ſpoken to the prieſt, was called provoking language; the rather, becauſe when the prieſt was ſpeaking of the trinity, T. Salthouſe had aſked him, where that word was to be found in the Scriptures; ſaying farther, 'I know no ſuch ſcripture that ſpeaks of the three perſons in the trinity; but the three that the Scripture ſpeaks of, are the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one.' From hence T. Salthouſe, and M. Halhead, were accuſed as ſuch as denied the Holy Three that are One. But becauſe about this accuſation, they were at a loſs in the court, ſomething elſe was thought of to enſnare them, viz. they were required to take the oath of abjuration of the Pope.

This oath the mayor of Plymouth had already tendered them, when they were firſt apprehended; and they refuſing to ſwear, were ſent to Exeter priſon: and now being brought to trial, and the ſaid oath required of them, they anſwered thus:

'In the preſence of the eternal God, and before all this people, we do deny, with as much deteſtation as any of you doth, the Pope and his ſupremacy, and the purgatory, and all that is in the form of the oath mentioned, we declare freely againſt: and we do not deny to ſwear becauſe of any guilt that is upon us, but in obedience to the command of Chriſt, who ſaith, "Swear not at all:" and we will not come under the condemnation of an oath, for the liberty of the outward man.'

Thus refuſing to ſwear, merely that they might not offend againſt the command of our Saviour, they were ſent back to priſon again, as ſuch that clandeſtinely adhered to the Pope: and uſe hath been made of this ſnare during the ſpace of many years, to vex the Quakers, ſo called. The next day the priſoners were brought again before the bench, and were aſked:

'Will ye confeſs, that you wronged G. Brooks, in calling him thief, and be ſorry for it, and make him ſatisfaction?'

To this M. Halhead anſwered:

'One of us did not ſpeak one word to him, and therefore I deny to make him ſatisfaction, or to be ſorry for it: and what was ſpoken was no ſuch thing; therefore we will not lie for our liberty, nor confeſs that we are ſorry for that which we never ſpoke.'

Then the court fined them five pounds a piece; and they were to go to the houſe of correction till payment, and to find ſureties for their good behaviour: and for refuſing to take the oath, the court threatened to ſend into the North to ſeize on their eſtates. So they were returned to priſon; and what follows, was entered as the record of their proceedings.

'July 10, 1655. Thomas Salthouſe, and Miles Halhead, for provoking words againſt G. Brooks, clerk, who refuſed to be tried by the country, fined 5l. a piece, com-

mitted to Bridewell till payment, and finding ſureties for their good behaviour.'

What is ſaid here of refuſing to be tried by the country, was a notorious untruth; and as to finding ſureties, that ſeemed of little moment; for though the giving of ſecurity had been offered before, when they were taken priſoners, yet that was not accepted of; and the mayor John Page had the boldneſs to aſſert, that they refuſed to give ſecurity, as will appear by the warrant by which he ſent them to the common gaol in Exeter, whereof the following is a true copy.

'Devon,

John Page, merchant, mayor of the borough of Plymouth, in the county aforeſaid, and one of his highneſs's juſtices of the peace within the ſaid borough, to the keeper of his highneſs's gaol at Exon caſtle, or to his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting. I ſend you herewithal by the bearer hereof, the bodies of Thomas Salthouſe, late of Dragglibeck, in the county of Lancaſter, huſbandman; and Miles Halhead, late of Kendal, in the county of Weſtmoreland, lately apprehended here, as diſturbers of the publick peace, and for divers other high miſdemeanors againſt a late proclamation, prohibiting the diſturbing of miniſters and other Chriſtians in their aſſemblies and meetings, and againſt an ordinance of his ſaid highneſs the lord protector, and his council, lately made againſt duels, challenges, and all provocations thereto, who have refuſed to give ſufficient ſecurity for their perſonal appearance at the next general ſeſſions of the peace, to be held for the county of Devon; and in the mean-time to be of good behaviour towards his highneſs the lord Protector, and all his liege people. Theſe are therefore in his ſaid highneſs's name, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the ſaid Thomas Salthouſe and Miles Halhead, ſhall be unto you brought, you them ſafely detain, and keep them, until by due courſe of law they ſhall be thence delivered: hereof fail not at your peril. Given under my hand, and

ſeal of Plymouth aforeſaid, the 28th day of May, in the year of our Lord God, 1655.

John Page, mayor.'

By this may be ſeen under what frivolous pretences thoſe called Quakers were impriſoned, viz. becauſe of an ordinance made againſt duels, &c. and as for their having refuſed to give ſecurity, how untrue this was, as well as other accuſatious, may appear from the following certificate.

'We whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do teſtify, that the ſeveral particulars in an anſwer made by our friends, are true, to wit. That they did not at all diſturb the publick peace, nor were they at any other meeting (but that which was appointed by us) to diſturb any miniſters, or other Chriſtians in their aſſemblies and meetings: nor were they guilty of any challenges, duels, and provocations thereunto, in the leaſt meaſure, whilſt they were amongſt us. And as for their refuſal to give ſecurity, two of us, whoſe names are Robert Cary and Arthur Cotton had given ſecurity to the mayor, by entering into recognizance for their appearance at the next ſeſſions, the day before their ſending to priſon, but that the town-clerk made it void the next day, pretending it could not be according to law.

Ralph Fogg,	Thomas Faulkener,
Arthur Cotton,	Nicholas Cole,
Robert Cary,	John Martindale,
Richard Smith,	Richard Lepincote,
Anthony Todde,	John Harris, ſen.
John Harris, jun.	

Now to what a heighth of confidence the aforeſaid mayor, Page, was come, in ſaying, that Thomas Salthouſe and Miles Halhead had refuſed to give bail, nay, that this was the cauſe of their confinement, may alſo appear from the following letter he writ to general Deſborough, to excuſe his proceedings againſt him.

Plymouth, June 1, 1665.

'Right Honourable,

Captain Hatſell hath communicated to me what you wrote him in reference to thoſe two men, Thomas Salthouſe and Miles Halhead, of whom, and of their impriſonment, your honour had heard ſomething from ſome perſons of this place, and received a copy of a letter which they ſent me. By the incloſed copies of their examinations, your honour will ſee ſome part of the cauſe of their confinement, which was on their refuſal to give bail for their appearance the next general ſeſſions, to be held for the county of Devon; they being, as I conceive, offenders within the late ordinance of his highneſs the lord protector and council, made againſt duels, challenges, and all provocations thereunto, and alſo his highneſs's late proclamation againſt Quakers; and they ſtill refuſing to give bail for their appearance as aforeſaid, went from hence to the gaol at Exon on Tueſday laſt. Indeed, ſir, their carriage here was not becoming men, much leſs Chriſtians; and beſides their contempt of authority, all the while they were in priſon, they never ſought God by prayer at any time, nor deſired a bleſſing on any creature they received, or gave thanks for them. And theſe very men were about two months paſt taken up by colonel Cuppleſtone, high ſheriff of our county, and after fourteen days reſtraint, were ſent away by him for Taunton, from tithing to tithing, as by their own examination; and they ſhew no occaſion they have to come to theſe parts. They are by profeſſion Quakers, but huſbandmen by their calling: one of them is a Lancaſhire man, the other of Weſtmoreland; and they left their families, relations, and callings about three months ſince, as they ſay, and do not work, nor employ themſelves in their calling, to procure themſelves a livelihood, but wander up and down in all parts, to vent their wicked opinions, and diſcover their irregular practices in the breach of peace, and diſturbance of good people. Indeed, ſir, they hold many ſad opinions, deſtructive to the true religion, and the power of godlineſs. I have hereby, according to my duty, given your honour an account of what paſſed here in reference to theſe men. I could ſay

much more in reference to their examination and diſcourſe with them; but I fear I have already treſpaſſed upon your honour's patience in the peruſal of theſe lines, and humbly deſiring your excuſe for giving you this trouble, do moſt thankfully acknowledge your honour's continued favours to this place, for which we ſtand very much obliged, deſiring your honour ſtill to retain ſuch an opinion of us, as thoſe that deſire to do nothing unbecoming Chriſtians, and perſons that deſire the welfare and peace of this commonwealth and government, and ſhall ever labour to appear

Your honour's very humble ſervant,
(For myſelf and my brethren)
John Page, mayor.'

That general Deſborough was but little ſatisfied with this letter, ſeems not improbable, becauſe enquiring into the matter, he let others have a copy of it, ſo that Thomas and Miles wrote an anſwer to it; and it was alſo ſome time after given out in publick print at London, by Giles Calvert, with other writings relating thereunto. Now as to what is ſaid in this letter of his highneſs's proclamation againſt Quakers, it was a groſs untruth; for in the proclamation the Quakers were not named; but it was againſt the diſturbing of Chriſtians in their aſſemblies; and beſides, the Quakers, ſo called, judged that their publick worſhip was permitted them by the 37th article of the inſtrument of government, which ſaid, 'That all that profeſs faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall not be reſtrained from, but be protected in, the profeſſion of the faith and exerciſe of their religion,' &c. As concerning their contempt of authority the mayor charged them with, it was nothing elſe, but that for conſcience ſake they could not take off their hats to the magiſtrates; neither did they give that honour to any other but God alone. And as to what was ſaid, that all the while they were in priſon, they never ſought God by prayer, &c. this was no other matter, than that they did not follow the formal way of prayers; for they were indeed religious men, who often prayed to God, and gave him thanks; though they were repreſented

in the letter as very wicked men, and vagabonds that had left their calling, and wandered up and down the country; although it was well known that they were honeſt men, that travelled on horſeback, lying at the beſt inns on the road, and paying for what they received there. And therefore after they had got a copy of the ſaid letter, they writ a large letter to the mayor, Page, and ſhewed him his abominable untruths, and told him, that they had been moved ſeveral times in priſon, as well as out of priſon, to go to prayers, and to give thanks for the bleſſings of God which they received. And in the concluſion of their letter, they ſignified, that they would not render railing for railing; but (ſaid they) in the ſpirit of love and meekneſs we exhort you all to repent, and fear to offend the Lord, &c.

Now as concerning the provoking words againſt George Brooks, for which they had been fined, it hath been ſaid already what they were; but this Brooks was of a diſſolute life, and a debauched fellow, having for his drunkenneſs not only been turned out of the frigates in which he had ſerved, but alſo once in the ſhip Nightingale, ignominiouſly expoſed with a quarter can about his neck, as appears by the following teſtimonies.

'I having been formerly deſired to relate upon what account it was that Mr. George Brooks, chaplain of the frigate under my command was put on ſhore. Firſt, becauſe he was a buſy body, and diſturbed the whole ſhip's company. Secondly, being on ſhore, it was his common practice to abuſe the creature in ſuch ſort, that he was drunken, void of good reaſon, that he would abuſe any one that came in his company, by ill language, beſides the abuſe of himſelf and the good creature, daily complaints coming unto me both aboard and on ſhore. Therefore knowing him to be a deboiſt fellow, and not fit for that employment, I put him on ſhore, and I dare own it, whoever ſhall call me to queſtion. Witneſs my hand,

Robert Veſſay.'

'Mr. Brooks being formerly with me in the Nightingale, I found him to be very idle, and continually drunk, which

once made me to put a quarter can about his neck; whereunto I ſubſcribe,

John Jeffery, captain of the Nantwich.'

'The perſon above-mentioned I have ſeen drunk on ſhore, in teſtimony whereof I have ſet my hand,

Richard Potter,
Captain of the Conſtant Warwick, frigate.'

From ſuch evidences as theſe it appears, that it was not without reaſon that he and the like prieſts ſometimes were treated a little roughly. But to return to M. Halhead; he continued priſoner many months before he was releaſed.

In the mean-while it happened that George Whitehead, Richard Clayton, and John Harwood, coming on the 30th of the month called July, to Bures in Suffolk, were impriſoned on this occaſion. R. Clayton had ſet up a paper on the ſteeple-houſe door, containing theſe queries.

'Whether by ſetting up ſuch miniſters as ſeek for their gain from their quarters, ſuch as the prophet diſapproves; Iſaiah lvi. 11. ſuch as the prophet Jeremiah diſapproves; Jer. v. and of whom mention is made alſo Ezek. xxxiv. and Mic. iii. ſuch as are called of men, maſters, loving the chief places in the aſſemblies; ſuch as Chriſt diſapproved; Matt. xxiii. ſuch as the apoſtle Peter diſapproves, 2 Pet. ii. and which the apoſtle Paul diſapproved alſo; Phil. iii. or when ſuch were ſet up that would not ſuffer another to ſpeak that ſtands by, when any thing is revealed, but ſend him to priſon; whether this was not the ſetting up a perſecuting ſpirit, limiting the Spirit of God, and deſpiſing prophecies, not daring to try all things? Whether it was expedient to give to ſcoffers, ſcorners, drunkards, ſwearers, and perſecutors, David's conditions to ſing? And if ſuch were ſet up that took tithes, though the apoſtle ſaid that the prieſthood was changed, and the law alſo, Heb. vii. Whether by the ſetting up of ſuch, they did not ſet up ſuch as did not labour in the Lord's vineyard.'

This paper being ſet up, people came to read it. G. Whitehead being there, and laying hold of this op-

portunity, ſpoke a few words to the people, and exhorted them to turn to the Lord from the vanities and wickedneſs they lived in. And when G. Whitehead and his fellow-travellers were paſſing away, there came a conſtable who ſtaid them, and carried them before Herbert Pelham, juſtice of peace. He aſking ſeveral vain queſtions, and behaving himſelf rudely, G. Whitehead began to ſpeak to him concerning his rage: but Pelham ſaid he did not ſend for him to preach. And not being able to lay the tranſgreſſion of any law to their charge, he ſent them, by the conſtable, to Thomas Walgrave, juſtice of peace at Smalbridge in Suffolk. Being come into his houſe, Richard Clayton was firſt examined, of his name and country, and where he had been. The ſame and ſome other frivolous queſtions were aſked of G. Whitehead. Then Walgrave aſked John Harwood if he would anſwer him all the queſtions he would demand of him: but J. Harwood refuſed to be limited thus to his will. Juſtice Pelham now being come thither alſo, J. Harwood told juſtice Walgrave, that Pelham, who had before examined him, had his examination in writing. Then the two juſtices conſulted together what to do in the caſe; and not long after Thomas Walgrave aſked G. Whitehead, if he would work at hay? But he denied to be bound to ſuch taſk-maſters, as being in that calling whereunto God had called him, and wherein he was chargeable to no man. The concluſion of their conſultation was, that they cauſed R. Clayton to be whipped, under pretence of having faſtened a ſeditious paper to the ſteeple-houſe; and the other two were impriſoned.

It was about this time that William Dewſbury, and ſeveral other of his friends were put into priſon at Northampton. It happened that he being at Wellingborough, and going along the ſtreets, the prieſt, Thomas Andrews, called to him in theſe words, 'Give over deceiving the people, leſt the plagues of God fall on thee.' To this Dewſbury returned, 'Doſt thou ſay I deceive the people? Make it manifeſt wherein I deceive them.' Then Andrews ſaid, 'Thou ſayeſt there is not any original ſin;' to this Dewſbury replied, 'Didſt thou hear me ſay ſo?' But the prieſt unwilling to anſwer that queſtion, went away.

Afterwards Dewſbury went into the ſteeple-houſe in the ſaid town, and after the ſermon was done, he demanded of the prieſt that he would prove there before the people, what he had openly accuſed him of, viz. that he had ſaid there was no original ſin. Yet the prieſt would not anſwer, but went away. There was alſo information given, that Dewſbury had ſaid, 'The prieſts preach for hire, and the people love to have it ſo: but what will ye do in the end thereof?' But that this was really ſo, I do not find.

Dewſbury then being committed to priſon, and kept there above half a year, was at laſt brought to his trial at Northampton, with other priſoners, his friends; and being ſet to the bar, the judge, Atkins, ſaid to the gaoler, 'Do you uſe to bring priſoners before the court in this manner? You deſerve to be fined ten pounds, for bringing them before the court covered.' The gaoler anſwered, 'If you command me, I will take off their hats.' To which the judge gave command, and the gaoler's man took them off. Then the judge ſaid to Dewſbury, 'What art thou here for?' Dewſbury anſwered, 'The mittimus will expreſs what I was committed for; but a copy of it I am denied by the keeper of the gaol.' The next query of the judge was, 'What is thy name?' And the anſwer was, 'Unknown to the world.' 'Let us hear' ſaid the judge, 'what name that is, that the world knows not.' 'It is,' quoth Dewſbury, 'known in the light, and none can know it, but he that hath it; but the name the world knows me by, is William Dewſbury.' Then ſaid the judge, 'What countryman art thou?' Dewſbury anſwered, 'Of the land of Canaan.' 'That is far off,' replied the judge; 'Nay,' ſaid Dewſbury, 'for all that dwell in God, are in the holy city, New Jeruſalem, which comes down from heaven, where the ſoul is in reſt, and enjoys the love of God in Jeſus Chriſt, in whom the union is with the Father of light.' To this the judge returned, 'That is true; but are you aſhamed of your country? Is it a diſparagement for you to be born in England?' 'Nay,' ſaid Dewſbury, 'I am free to declare that my natural birth was in Yorkſhire, nine miles from York, towards Hull.'

Then the judge ſaid, 'You pretend to be extraordinary men, and to have an extraordinary knowledge of God.' To which Dewſbury replied, 'We witneſs the work of regeneration to be an extraordinary work, wrought in us by the Spirit of God.' 'But,' ſaid the judge, 'the apoſtles wrought with their hands in their callings.' 'They had,' anſwered Dewſbury, 'callings in the world, ſome were fiſhermen, Paul a tent-maker: but when they were called to the miniſtry of Chriſt, they left their callings, to follow Chriſt, whither he led them by his Spirit, to preach the word: and I had a calling in the world, as they had, and in it did abide, until the Father revealed his Son in me, and called me from my calling I had in the world, to preach the eternal word he had made known to me in the great work of regeneration.' 'Why,' queried the judge, 'didſt thou not abide in thy own country, and teach people in thoſe parts?' 'There I did ſtay,' returned Dewſbury, 'until I was called from thence to go to where I was led by the Spirit of the Lord; and as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the ſons and daughters of God; and they that have not the Spirit of Chriſt are none of his.' To this the judge ſaid, 'You ſay well; for we muſt in charity conclude, that every one in this place hath the Spirit of God in him: but how do you know that you are guided by the Spirit of God?' 'They that have the Spirit of God,' replied Dewſbury, 'are known by their fruits: and he that believeth in Jeſus Chriſt, and is guided by his Spirit, hath the witneſs in himſelf.' 'That is true,' ſaid the judge, 'yet notwithſtanding, I ſee by your carriage, that what my brother Hale did at the laſt aſſizes, in requiring bond for your good behaviour, he might juſtly do it; for you are againſt magiſtrates and miniſters.' But Dewſbury returned, 'Make that manifeſt wherein we are againſt them.'

Then ſaid the judge to the clerk, 'Robert Guy, what have you againſt theſe men?' And he gave relation of what Dewſbury had ſaid to prieſt Andrews in the ſteeple-houſe. Dewſbury then giving an account of the matter of fact, and how the thing happened; and that it was not any breach of the law of the nation; the judge reſumed,

'But in that you are found wandering in the country, you break the law; for there is an old law, that if any did go from their dwellings to travel in the country without a certificate from ſome juſtice, they were to be taken as wandering perſons.' To this Dewſbury ſaid, 'If there be any ſuch law, read it to us; and if there be ſuch a law, thou knoweſt in thy conſcience it is contrary to the ſcripture; for the apoſtles and miniſters of Chriſt went to and fro in the country, preaching the word of eternal life; and there were added to the church daily ſuch as ſhould be ſaved; and the number of the ſaints and brethren daily encreaſed: and the law that is in force in this nation, doth allow all that profeſs faith in Jeſus Chriſt, to have free liberty to walk in the faith, which is according to Scripture.' To this the judge ſaid, 'Thou haſt an eloquent tongue, and thou art proud of it.' 'Pride I deny,' replied Dewſbury, 'but the Truth I witneſs, which will judge pride, and torment all that live in it, until it be deſtroyed.' The judge then ſpoke to the other priſoners; and though he behaved himſelf moderately, yet he could not reſolve to ſet them at liberty; but they were continued in priſon, though they had been kept there above twenty-nine weeks.

One of theſe priſoners was John Huchin, whom they had nothing elſe to charge with, but that being come into the ſteeple-houſe at Wellingborough, he ſtood there peaceably in ſilence, but before half the ſermon was over, prieſt Andrews commanded to have him taken away; which was done by the church-warden, Henry Henſnan, who carried him to an alehouſe, where it was told him by the conſtable, that if he would not come into the church in the afternoon, he ſhould be ſet free. But he refuſing to make ſuch a promiſe, though they let him alone then, yet ſome days after, a conſtable came to his maſter's ſhop, where he was working, and took him away without ſhewing any warrant.

Another of the priſoners was Michael Pattiſon, who having been in the ſame ſteeple-houſe, and ſtood peaceably in ſilence until prieſt Andrews had done, and the people were going away, ſaid to him, 'Friend, canſt thou witneſs this to be the word of the Lord, that thou haſt ſpoken here before the people?' But this ſo offended the prieſt, that

he commanded the officers to take Michael away, which the conſtable, John Brown, did.

Thomas Goodyar, who was alſo one of the priſoners, being come to Northampton to viſit his friends in priſon there, it was denied him by the gaoler; and he meeting the mayor and ſome aldermen in the ſtreets, ſpoke to them about perſecution; but one of the aldermen ſtruck off his hat, and ſaid he would teach him better manners, than to ſtand and talk before the mayor with his hat on. Then they required ſureties for his good behaviour; and he told them, that he was bound to good behaviour by the righteous law of God; and refuſing to find ſureties, he was taken up in the ſtreet, and ſent to priſon without mittimus, or farther examination. But I will not detain my reader any longer with theſe priſoners; for if I ſhould relate all occurrences of this nature that are come to my knowledge, and under what unreaſonable pretences, even ſuch that were as yet not fully entered into the communion of thoſe called Quakers, were committed to priſon, I muſt write much more than I might be able to do, though my life ſhould yet be lengthened conſiderably.

I find among my papers of this time, the names of about an hundred perſons, who, for not paying tithes to the prieſts, and refuſing to ſwear, ſuffered either by ſeizure of their cattle and goods, or impriſonment. Thomas Aldam, for not paying of tithes to the prieſt Thomas Rookby, of Warnſworth, was impriſoned at York in the year 1652, where he was kept above two years and a half, and beſides had thirteen beeves and two horſes taken from him.

But paſſing by a multitude of the like caſes, I return again to G. Fox, whom I left at London. He, having had there ſeveral large meetings, went from thence to Colcheſter, where, with difficulty, he viſited James Parnel in priſon. From Colcheſter he went to Ipſwich, and ſo on to Norwich and Yarmouth, finding ſervice every where.

Travelling farther, in company with R. Hubberthorn, towards Lynn, and by the way being in bed at an inn, a conſtable and officers came thither, being ſent with an hue

and cry from a juſtice of peace, to ſearch for two horſe-men that rid upon grey horſes, and in grey clothes; a houſe being broken up at night, as was reported. Now though they ſaid they were honeſt and innocent men, yet a guard with halberds and pikes was ſet upon them that night, and in the morning they were carried before a juſtice of peace about five miles off. The juſtice grew angry, becauſe they did not put off their hats to him: but G. Fox told him, he had been before the protector, and he was not offended at his hat; why then ſhould he be offended at it, who was but one of his ſervants? The juſtice, having examined them, ſaid, he believed they were not the men that had broken open the houſe; but he was ſorry that he had no more againſt them. But G. Fox told him, he ought not to be ſorry for not having evil againſt them; but rather to be glad. The juſtice, though ſtirred up by the conſtable to ſend them to priſon, yet let them go. G. Fox being thus ſet at liberty, travelled on to Lynn, from whence he went to Sutton, where he had a great meeting, many people from other places being come thither, and alſo the mayor's wife of Cambridge; and many hundreds were convinced of the truth he preached. From thence he paſſed to Cambridge, and though the ſcholars were exceeding rude, yet he got ſafe into an inn. In the dark of the evening, the mayor of the town came, and fetched him to his houſe, whither ſome friendly people were ſent for, and he had a meeting there. Next morning he departed the town and returned to London, where he ſtaid ſome time.

In this year came out the oath of abjuration againſt king Charles, whereupon he wrote to the protector, acquainting him, that many of his friends, who could not ſwear for conſcience ſake, ſuffered much on this account.

From London he went to Leiceſterſhire, and coming to Whetſtone, where formerly he had been taken by colonel Hacker, he now had a great meeting, to which Hacker's wife, and his marſhal came, and they, beſides many more, were convinced of G. Fox's miniſtry: who going from thence after having paſſed through many places, came again to London, where meeting James Naylor, and caſt-

ing his eyes upon him, he was ſtruck with a fear concerning him; being, as it were, under a ſenſe of ſome great diſaſter that was like to befal him.

In this year Edward Burrough writ a letter to the protector, wherein he told him, that the Lord's controverſy was againſt him, becauſe he had not been faithful in God's work; but that he had taken his reſt and eaſe upon a lofty mountain of pride and vain glory; having ſet up himſelf to be worſhipped, and exalting his own horn, without giving glory and honour to God. Moreover, that he had not performed his vows made to the Lord in the day of diſtreſs; and that now he ſuffered grievous oppreſſion, cruelty, and tyranny to be acted in his name, by unjuſt impriſonments, and perſecution of the Lord's people. That therefore the Lord would bring his judgments upon him, except he did repent. How boldly ſoever Burrough wrote in this letter to Cromwell, yet I do not find that he ſhewed himſelf angry becauſe of it; but yet he hearkened too much to the flatteries of thoſe teachers, who, being now entered into the poſſeſſions of the Epiſcopalians, exalted him as their idol, by their applauſe. And he revering them as ſuch who could ſtrengthen his authority with the people, winked at the grievous perſecution, by their inſtigation carried on againſt the Quakers, ſo called.

In the mean-while there were many malcontents, who could not bear that Cromwell ſhould force the members of parliament to conſent to make no change in the government then eſtabliſhed, and would not ſuffer any one to ſit in the houſe, without having promiſed by writing, not to oppoſe, or give his conſent there, to the change of the ſaid government. This gave occaſion, that even ſome of thoſe who had been his eminent friends, now did not ſtick to reprove him ſharply.

Among theſe was lieutenant-colonel John Lilburn, who being an extraordinary bold man, very ſtiff and inflexible, had more than once ſhewed himſelf a publick aſſerter of the people's liberties and freedoms; for which he had been proſecuted at law; viz. once in the year 1645, when he was impriſoned as guilty of treaſon, but was diſcharged; and afterwards, in the year 1649, when, having publiſhed

ſeveral books, to expoſe to the publick the arbitrary power he thought was exerciſed in the government, he was confined in the tower: and, after having been priſoner about ſeven months, was impeached of high treaſon. But he ſo vigorouſly defended his cauſe, that though ſtrong perſuaſions had been uſed to move the jury to bring him in guilty, yet he ſo far prevailed, that at length he was ſet at liberty again: though I find that once he was whipt for a crime laid to his charge, of which he gloried publickly. And when Cromwell had uſurped the ſupreme power Lilburn made bold to charge him, both by word of mouth, and by writing, with falſeneſs and tyranny; and he went on at that rate, that Cromwell, foreſeeing that if this man continued thus to expoſe his doings, he ſhould not be able to maintain his credit and authority, ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, and impeached of high treaſon. When Lilburn, thus accuſed, appeared at the bar, he behaved himſelf with that undauntedneſs, and ſo defended his cauſe, that he ſeemed leſs to plead for his life, than for the freedom of his country; and, boldly anſwering what was objected to him, ſaid that what he had done was not only no high treaſon; but the government was ſuch, that no high treaſon could be committed againſt it; and that therefore all true Engliſhmen were obliged to oppoſe the tyranny that was exerciſed. He alſo ſaid, that having been once in favour with Cromwell, he might have attained to great preferment, if he would have been quiet; but that he having thought this unlawful, it was now reſolved to have his life taken away; which he did not fear, becauſe he aſſerted a good cauſe. Thus vigorouſly Lilburn pleaded, and he defended his cauſe with ſuch ſtrong arguments, that the jury brought him in not guilty, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the judges to the contrary.

Now, though according to law, he muſt have been ſet at liberty, yet Cromwell would not conſent to it, but kept him priſoner; and becauſe he indeed feared him, as one that would weaken his government, he ordered him to be carried from one priſon to another; till at length he came to be confined in the caſtle of Dover, in which town lived Luke Howard, mentioned before; who thereby having

occaſion to ſpeak with Lilburn concerning religion, gave him ſuch convincing reaſons for his profeſſions, as prevailed upon Lilburn to receive the Truth; as he himſelf ſignified in a letter he writ to his wife; who having viſited him in priſon, afterwards writ to him this following exhortation.

'My dear,

'Retain a ſober patient ſpirit within thee, which I am confident thou ſhalt ſee ſhall be of more force to recover thee, than all thy keen metal hath been. I hope God is doing a work upon thee and me too, as ſhall make us ſtudy ourſelves more than we have done.'

Theſe words were ſo acceptable to Lilburn, that repeating them in his letter to her, he anſwered thus, after many other paſſages.

'O, my dear love!

'I am deeply already entered into my part of it: the mighty power of God enable thee to get in too, and alſo to go through thine, and effectually to go chearfully and willingly along hand in hand with me, which would render thee abundantly more amiable, lovely, and pleaſant in mine eyes, although thou wert then clothed in rags, than thou couldeſt be to me in thy drawing back, or ſtanding ſtill where thou waſt when I laſt ſaw thee, though therein thou wert clothed all over with rich and outwardly gliſtering earthly diamonds, and in the greateſt of earthly proſperity. I am ſorry thou art ſo ſtraitly put to it for money; but to live upon God by faith, in the depth of ſtraits, is the lively condition of a Chriſtian. O that thy ſpirit could attain unto this, according to thy deſire in thy letter, and my own preſent frame of ſpirit!——I now can contentedly feed ſavourily upon bread and cheeſe, and ſmall beer alone, for ſaving of money. And for my liberty, about which thou ſo wearieſt and ſpendeſt thyſelf, as thy letter acquaints me thou doſt, I can ſay to thee, that I am in my preſent temper of ſpirit, ready really with Peter, at the ſight of the glorious transfiguration of Chriſt,

to ſay, it is good being here. For here in Dover Caſtle, through the loving-kindneſs of God, I have met with a more clear, plain, and evident knowledge of God, and myſelf, and his gracious outgoings to my ſoul, than ever I had in all my lifetime, not excepting my glorying and rejoicing condition under the biſhops.——And now ſubmiſſively and heartily I can ſay, the will of my heavenly Father be done in me, by me, and for me; in whoſe will I leave thee and thine, with all thy and my friends, and reſt

Thine in the ſtrength of
renewedneſs of true love,
'John Lilburn.'

From Dover Caſtle, the place of the preſent enjoyed delightful diſpenſations of the eternal, everlaſting love of God unto my ſoul. The 4th of the Tenth Month, 1655.

Whilſt Lilburn was priſoner here, Cromwell, as it ſeemed, would have releaſed him, if he would have ſigned a declaration that he would never draw a ſword againſt his government. But Lilburn as yet not being fully convinced, that to refrain the uſe of the carnal ſword, was the duty of a true Chriſtian, refuſed; thinking that though G. Fox had ſigned ſuch a declaration, yet this did not become him becauſe he did not perfectly approve that point of ſelf-denial. But however, continuing in faithfulneſs, to perſevere in reſpect of that knowledge he had already attained to, he became, in proceſs of time, ſuch an aſſerter of the true Chriſtian life, that in a paper, which at his deſire was given out in print, he expreſſed himſelf thus:

'I have now the faithful and true witneſs in my own ſoul, that the Lord himſelf is become, within me, the teacher of my ſoul, and enabler of me to walk in a meaſure of his pure ways and paths; yea, and ſo clear a teacher within me is he already become unto me, as that I with confidence believe my inward teacher ſhall never now more be removed into a corner; but is, and ſhall be, as a continual voice ſpeaking in my ears, "This is the way, walk in it:" by which divine teaching, I am now daily

taught to die to ſin, and led up by it into living power, to be raiſed up, and enabled to live in a pure meaſure of righteouſneſs; and by which inward ſpiritual teachings, I am, I ſay again, led up into power in Chriſt, by which I particularly can, and do hereby witneſs, that I am already dead, or crucified to the very occaſions, and real grounds of all outward wars, and carnal ſword-fightings, and fleſhly buſtlings and conteſts; and that therefore confidently I now believe, I ſhall never hereafter be an uſer of a temporal ſword more, nor a joiner with thoſe that ſo do. And this I do here ſolemnly declare, not in the leaſt to avoid perſecution, or for any politick ends of my own, or in the leaſt for the ſatisfaction of the fleſhly wills of any of my great adverſaries, or for ſatisfying the carnal will of my poor weak afflicted wife; but by the ſpecial movings and compulſions of God now upon my ſoul, am I in truth and righteouſneſs compelled thus to declare; that ſo I may take away from my adverſaries, all their fig-leaf covers, or pretences, for their continuing of my every way unjuſt bonds. And that thereby, if yet I muſt be an impriſoned ſufferer, it may from this day forward, be for the Truth as it is in Jeſus; which Truth I witneſs to be truly profeſſed and practiſed by the ſavourieſt of people called Quakers.

'And to this my preſent declaration, which I exceedingly long and earneſtly deſire to have in print, and for which I know that I can cheerfully and aſſuredly lay down my life, if I be called to witneſs the truth of it, I ſubſcribe my name,

'John Lilburn.'

From my innocent and every way cauſeleſs captivity in Dover Caſtle, the place of my ſoul's delightful and contentful abode, where I have really and ſubſtantially found that which my ſoul many years hath ſought diligently after, and with unſatisfied longingneſs thirſted to enjoy: this preſent Firſt-day of the week, being the 4th of the Third Month, 1655.

It ſufficiently appears by this, that Lilburn did not think that this declaration would procure his liberty; and he gueſſed not wrong; for before he was releaſed, Cromwell died. Lilburn being then diſcharged from his confine-

ment, continued ſtedfaſt to the doctrine of the Truth he had embraced, and died at London in the year 1660. But being advanced in the time, I go therefore back a little, and intend in the ſequel to give a more circumſtantial deſcription of Cromwell's death.

And thus I conclude this book with the year 1655, in which year there was a plot of the royaliſts againſt Cromwell; and in Nottinghamſhire they had already ſurpriſed ſome places; and towards the Weſt the city of Saliſbury. The young king (Charles) was now come from Cologne into Zealand, to be the nearer if the attempt ſucceeded. But his time of ruling was not yet come; for the cavaliers were ſoon forced to give way to the power of Cromwell: and the deſign being thus quaſhed, king Charles returned to Cologne. In the mean-while, Cromwell, to raiſe his eſteem abroad, ſent a fleet, under admiral Penn, to the Weſt-Indies, and another, under the command of admiral Blake, towards the Mediterranean ſea.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

NEAR the beginning of the year 1656, G. Fox went from London to Surry, Chicheſter, Portſmouth, and Pool; where William Baily, a Baptiſt teacher, and ſome others, were convinced by G. Fox's miniſtry, and entered into the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers; among whom, Baily afterwards became an eminent miniſter. From Pool, G. Fox went to Southampton and Dorcheſter, where he deſired of the Baptiſts to have their meeting-houſe to meet in; but they refuſing, he ſent them word, that they might come to his inn, if they pleaſed. Many of them came, with their teacher, and they fell into a diſcourſe about water-baptiſm. G. Fox aſked them, whether they could ſay they were ſent of God to baptize people, as John was; and whether they had the ſame ſpirit and power, that the apoſtles had. They ſaid they had not. Then he aſked them, how many powers there are. Whether there are any more than the power of God, and the power of the devil;' and they ſaid, there was not any power than thoſe two. Then ſaid G. Fox, 'If you have not the power of God, that the apoſtles had, then you act by the power of the devil.' And his ſpeaking was of ſuch effect,

that many ſubſtantial people were convinced that night. Next morning when he was paſſing away, the Baptiſts began to ſhake the duſt from off their feet after him. What, ſaid he, in the power of darkneſs! We who are in the power of God, ſhake off the duſt of our feet againſt you.'

Leaving Dorcheſter, he came to Weymouth, where enquiring after the ſober people, about fourſcore of them gathered together at a prieſt's houſe, and moſt of them were turned to Chriſt Jeſus, who had enlightened them with his divine light, by which they were reproved of their ſins. There was at that time a captain of horſe in the town, who rode about ſeven miles out of town with G. Fox. This captain was of ſuch a merry temper, and ſo exceedingly given to laughter, that G. Fox ſeveral times ſpoke very ſeriouſly to him about it; but it was become ſo cuſtomary to him, that he would laugh almoſt at any thing he ſaw. But G. Fox ſtill admoniſhed him to gravity, and the fear of the Lord; and of this he ſpoke to him again when they parted. The next time G. Fox ſaw him, the captain told him, that when he ſpoke to him at parting, the power of the Lord ſo ſtruck him, that before he got home, he was ſerious enough, and had left his laughing. He indeed became a ſerious and good man; and being convinced of the Truth, died in the real profeſſion thereof.

For brevity's ſake, I do not intend to mention all the places G. Fox paſſed through, much leſs all his occurrences. At Kingſbridge he had good ſervice; and returning in the evening to his inn, and there being many people drinking, he was moved to go amongſt them, and to direct them to the light which Chriſt, the heavenly man, had enlightened them withal: by which light they might ſee all their evil ways, words, and deeds; and by the ſame light they might alſo ſee Chriſt Jeſus their Saviour. But this diſcourſe did not pleaſe the innkeeper, ſeeing it hindered his gueſts from drinking: and hearing G. Fox ſpeak ſo much of the light, he ſnatcht away the candle, and ſaid, 'Come, here is light for you to go into your chamber.'

The next day G. Fox went to Plymouth, and from thence to Cornwall; and travelling through the country, he came to Market-Jew. Being there at an inn, he met with ſome trouble from the magiſtrates: and he writ a paper, to ſhew, that the Lord was come to teach his people himſelf, by Jeſus Chriſt, &c. This paper came accidently to the hands of Peter Ceely, a major in the army, and alſo a juſtice of peace at Ives, whither G. Fox came. Here Edward Pyot and William Salt, who were G. Fox's fellow-travellers, were haled before the ſaid major, whilſt G. Fox was walking down to the ſea-ſide: but he hearing this, followed them, and came alſo into the juſtice's houſe, where the aforeſaid paper being produced, it was aſked him, whether he would own it: and he ſaid, 'Yes.' Then the major tendered them the oath of abjuration. G. Fox thereupon putting his hand in his pocket, drew forth the anſwer to it, which had been given to the protector. A prieſt being preſent there, found fault with his hair, which then was pretty long, and aſked to have cut it; but G. Fox told him, he had no pride in it. It happened alſo at other times, that becauſe of his long hair he was ſpoken to, as I have ſeen myſelf; but of this I am fully perſuaded, that he had not the leaſt pride in it; but it ſeems to me not improbable, that he, ſeeing how ſome would make it a kind of holineſs to wear ſhort hair, did the contrary, to ſhew that in ſome things there was a Chriſtian liberty, for which we ought not to judge one another. But to proceed, G. Fox and his companions were taken into cuſtody, and with a guard of horſe ſent to priſon with this mittimus.

Peter Ceely, one of the juſtices of the peace of this county, to the keeper of his highneſs's gaol at Launceſton, or his lawful deputy in that behalf, greeting.

'I ſend you here withal by the bearers hereof, the bodies of Edward Pyot of Briſtol, and George Fox of Drayton and Clea, in Leiceſterſhire, and William Salt of London, which they pretend to be the places of their habitations, who go under the notion of Quakers, and

acknowledge themſelves to be ſuch; who have ſpread ſeveral papers, tending to the diſturbance of the publick peace, and cannot render any lawful cauſe of coming into theſe parts, being perſons altogether unknown, and having no paſs for their travelling up and down the country, and refuſing to give ſureties of their good behaviour, according to the law in that behalf provided, and refuſe to take the oath of abjuration, &c. Theſe are therefore, in the name of his highneſs the lord protector, to will and command you, that when the bodies of the ſaid Edward Pyot, George Fox, and William Salt, ſhall be unto you brought, you them receive, and in his highneſs's priſon aforeſaid you ſafely keep them, until by due courſe of law they ſhall be delivered. Hereof fail you not, as you will anſwer the contrary at your perils. Given under my hand and ſeal, at St. Ives, the 18th day of January, 1655.

P. Ceely.'

By this mittimus it appears under what odd pretences the Quakers, ſo called, were committed to priſon; for ſuch reaſons as are mentioned therein, might be found and picked up at any time. Thus G. Fox and his companions were carried through Redruth, Falmouth, and Bodmin, to Launceſton. By the way they ſuffered great inſolences, both from the ſoldiers that conducted them, and from others, by the connivance of captain Keat; but I will not detain my reader with all thoſe particulars. Being come to Launceſton, Keat delivered the priſoners to the gaoler. And though many were greatly enraged againſt them, and expected that theſe priſoners, who thou'd and thee'd all, and did not put off their hats to any man, ſhould at the aſſizes be condemned to be hanged if they did not pay that reſpect to the bench; yet there were many friendly people, out of ſeveral parts of the country, that came to viſit them; for it was about nine weeks from the time of their commitment to the aſſizes; by reaſon of which ſeveral got opportunity to ſpeak with them, which had that good effect, that many were convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by them.

At the time of the aſſizes, abundance of people came

from far and near, to hear the trial of the Quakers; who being guarded by the ſoldiers, and the ſheriff's men to the court, had much ado to get through the multitude that filled the ſtreets; beſides the doors and windows were filled with people looking out upon them. Being brought into the court, G. Fox after all was quiet, ſaid, 'Peace be amongſt you.' The judge (Glyn), who was then chief juſtice of England, ſaid to the gaoler, 'What be theſe you have brought here into court?' 'Priſoners, my lord,' ſaid he, 'Why do not you put off your hats?' ſaid the judge to them. They ſaying nothing; 'Put off your hats,' ſaid the judge again: and they ſtill continuing ſilent, the judge ſaid, 'The court commands you to put off your hats.' Then G. Fox began to ſpeak, and ſaid, 'Where did ever any magiſtrate, king, or judge, from Moſes to Daniel, command any to put off their hats, when they came before them in their courts, either amongſt the Jews (the people of God) or amongſt the heathen? And if the law of England doth command any ſuch thing, ſhew me that law either written or printed.' The judge, then growing angry, ſaid, 'I do not carry my law books on my back.' 'But,' ſaid G. Fox, 'where is it printed in any ſtatute-book, that I may read it?' At this the judge ſaid, 'Take him away, prevaricator! I'll ferk him.' Then the priſoners were taken away, and put among the thieves. But preſently after the judge called to the gaoler, 'Bring them up again.' This being done, 'Come,' ſaid he, 'where had they hats from Moſes to Daniel? Come, anſwer me; I have you faſt now.' To this G. Fox replied, 'Thou mayeſt read in the third of Daniel, that the three children were caſt into the fiery furnace, by Nebuchadnezzar's command, with their coats, their hoſe, and their hats on.' This plain inſtance ſtopped him; ſo that not having any thing elſe to ſay, he cried again, 'Take them away gaoler.' Accordingly they were taken away, and being thruſt among the thieves, they were kept there a great while, and at length carried again to priſon: but in the afternoon they were brought up again into the court.

G. Fox ſeeing the jurymen there, gave them a paper

which he had written againſt ſwearing. This paper paſſing from the jury to the juſtices, they preſented it to the judge; and he bid the clerk give G. Fox that paper, and then aſked him whether that ſeditious paper was his: to which he ſaid if they would read it in open court, that he might hear it, if it was his, he would own it, and ſtand by it. The judge would have G. Fox to have taken it, and looked upon it in his own hand. But he deſired again that it might be read, that all in the court might hear it, and judge whether there was any ſedition in it, or no; for if there were, he was willing to ſuffer for it. At length the clerk of the aſſizes read it with an audible voice; and when he had done, G. Fox ſaid it was his paper, and he would own it; and ſo might they to, except they would deny the Scripture; for was it not Scripture language, and the words and commands of Chriſt and the apoſtles, which all true Chriſtians ought to obey? Then they let fall that ſubject, and the judge ſpeaking again about the hats of the priſoners, bid the gaoler take them off. Then they aſked what they had lain in priſon for theſe nine weeks, ſeeing now nothing was objected againſt them, but what concerned their hats: 'And,' ſaid G. Fox, 'as for putting off our hats, that was the honour which God would lay in the duſt, though they made ſo much ado about it: the honour which is of men, and which men ſeek one of another, is the mark of unbelievers: for "How can ye believe," ſaith Chriſt, "who receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour that cometh from God only?" And Chriſt ſaith alſo, "I receive not honour from men." And all true Chriſtians ſhould be of his mind.' Then the judge made a ſpeech, how he repreſented the lord protector's perſon; and how he had made him lord chief juſtice of England, and ſent him to come that circuit, &c. Thereupon the priſoners deſired him, that he would do them juſtice for their falſe impriſonment, which they had ſuffered nine weeks.

But inſtead thereof, an indictment was read againſt them, but ſo full of untruths, that G. Fox thought it had been againſt ſome of the thieves; for it contained, that they came by force and arms, and in an hoſtile manner into the

court; whereas they were brought there as priſoners; which made him ſay it was all falſe. And ſtill they cried for juſtice for their falſe impriſonment, being taken up in their journey without cauſe, by major Ceely. Then this Peter Ceely, who as a juſtice of peace ſat alſo on the bench, ſaid to the judge, 'May it pleaſe you, my lord, this man (pointing to G. Fox), went aſide with me, and told me how ſerviceable I might be for his deſign; that he could raiſe forty thouſand men at an hours warning, and involve the nation in blood, and ſo bring in king Charles; and I would have aided him out of the country, but he would not go. And if it pleaſe you, my lord, I have a witneſs to ſwear it.' And ſo he called upon his witneſs, who, without queſtion, was one that was bribed. But the judge, perceiving this palpable lie, was not forward to examine the witneſs: then G. Fox deſired the judge that he would be pleaſed to let his mittimus be read, in which the pretended crime was ſignified, for which he was committed to priſon. But the judge ſaid it ſhould not be read: G. Fox ſtill inſiſting to have it read, ſaid, 'It ought to be: for if I have done any thing worthy of death, or of bonds, let all the country know it.' Seeing then they would not read it, he ſaid to one of his fellow-priſoners, 'Thou haſt a copy of it; read it up.' 'It ſhall not be read,' ſaid the judge; 'gaoler, take him away; I will ſee whether he or I ſhall be maſter.'

Then G. Fox was taken away, and awhile after called for again. He ſtill cried to have the mittimus read; and the people being eager to hear it, he bid his fellow-priſoner to read it up; which being done, and read according to the copy already mentioned, G. Fox ſaid to the judge and juſtices, 'Thou that ſayeſt thou art chief juſtice of England, and you that be juſtices, ye know, that if I had put in ſureties, I might have gone whither I pleaſed, and have carried on the deſign, if I had had one, which major Ceely hath charged me with. And if I had ſpoken theſe words to him, which he hath here declared, then judge ye, whether bail or mainpriſe could have been taken in that caſe.' Then directing his ſpeech to major Ceely, he ſaid, 'When or where did I take thee aſide? Was not

thy houſe full of rude people, and thou as rude as any of them at our examination, ſo that I aſked for a conſtable, or other officer, to keep the people civil? But if thou art my accuſer, why ſitteſt thou on the bench? That is not a place for thee to ſit in; for accuſers do not uſe to ſit with the judges: thou oughteſt to come down, and ſtand by me, and look me in the face. Beſides, I would aſk the judge and juſtices this queſtion, whether or no major Ceely is not guilty of this treaſon, which he charges againſt me, in concealing it ſo long as he hath done? Doth he underſtand his place, either as a ſoldier, or a juſtice of the peace? For he tells you here, that I went aſide with him, and told him what a deſign I had in hand; and how ſerviceable he might be for it: that I could raiſe forty thouſand men in an hour's time, and bring in king Charles, and involve the nation in blood. Moreover, that he would have aided me out of the country, but I would not go; and therefore he committed me to priſon for want of ſureties for the good behaviour, as the mittimus declares. Now do not ye ſee plainly, that major Ceely is guilty of this plot and treaſon that he talks of, and hath made himſelf a party to it, by deſiring me to go out of the country, and demanding bail of me; and not charging me with this pretended treaſon till now, nor diſcovering it? But I deny and abhor his words, and am innocent of his deviliſh deſign.'

The judge by this ſeeing clearly that Ceely, inſtead of enſnaring G. Fox, had enſnared himſelf, let fall that buſineſs. But then Ceely got up again, and ſaid to the judge, 'If it pleaſe you, my lord, to hear me: this man ſtruck me, and gave me ſuch a blow, as I never had in my life.' G. Fox ſmiling at this, ſaid, 'Major Ceely, art thou a juſtice of peace, and a major of a troop of horſe, and tells the judge here in the face of the court and country, that I, who am a priſoner, ſtruck thee; and gave thee ſuch a blow, as thou never hadſt the like in thy life? What! art thou not aſhamed? Prithee, major Ceely, where did I ſtrike thee; and who is thy witneſs for that? Who was by?' To this Ceely ſaid it was in the caſtle-green, and that captain Bradden was ſtanding by when G. Fox ſtruck him; who then deſired the judge to let

him produce his witneſs for that: and he called again upon Ceely, to come down from off the bench; telling him it was not fit that the accuſer ſhould ſit as judge over the accuſed. Ceely then ſaid, captain Bradden was his witneſs: which made G. Fox ſay to captain Bradden, who was preſent there, 'Didſt thou ſee me give him ſuch a blow, and ſtrike him as he ſaith?' Bradden made no anſwer, but bowed his head. G. Fox then deſired him to ſpeak up, if he knew any ſuch thing; but he only bowed his head again. 'Nay,' ſaid G. Fox, 'ſpeak up, and let the court and country hear, and let not bowing of the head ſerve the turn. If I have done ſo, let the law be inflicted on me. I fear not ſufferings, nor death itſelf; for I am an innocent man concerning all his charge.' But Bradden would not teſtify to it. And the judge, finding thoſe ſnares would not hold, cried, 'Take him away, gaoler;' and fined the priſoners twenty marks a piece, for not putting off their hats, and to be kept in priſon till they paid the fine: and ſo they were brought back to gaol again.

At night captain Bradden came with ſeven or eight juſtices to ſee them; and they being very civil, ſaid, they did not believe that either the judge, or any in the court, believed thoſe charges which major Ceely had made upon G. Fox. And Bradden ſaid, major Ceely had an intent to have taken away G. Fox's life, if he could have got another witneſs. 'But,' ſaid G. Fox, 'captain Bradden, why didſt not thou witneſs for me, or againſt me, ſeeing major Ceely produced thee for a witneſs, that thou ſaweſt me ſtrike him? And when I deſired thee to ſpeak either for me, or againſt me, according to what thou ſaweſt or kneweſt, thou wouldeſt not ſpeak.' 'Why,' ſaid he, 'when major Ceely and I came by you, as you were walking in the caſtle-green, he put off his hat to you, and ſaid, how do you, Mr. Fox? Your ſervant, ſir. Then you ſaid to him, major Ceely, take heed of hypocriſy, and of a rotten heart; for when came I to be thy maſter, or thou my ſervant? Do ſervants uſe to caſt their maſters into priſon? This was the great blow he meant that you gave him.' G. Fox hearing this, called to mind, that

they walking by, Ceely had ſpoken the aforeſaid words, and that he himſelf indeed made ſuch an anſwer as is mentioned; and he thought he ſaid nothing amiſs, ſince Ceely ſo openly had manifeſted his hypocriſy and rotten-heartedneſs, when he complained of this to the judge in open court, and would have made all believe, that G. Fox gave him a ſtroke outwardly with his hand. A report of this trial being ſpread abroad, divers people, of whom ſome were of account in the world, came far and near to ſee him and his friends in priſon, which tended to the convincement of ſome.

Being ſettled in priſon upon ſuch a commitment, that they were not likely to be ſoon releaſed, they forebore giving the gaoler ſeven ſhillings a week a piece for themſelves, and as much for their horſes, which he had in a manner extorted from them: but upon this he grew ſo very wicked, that he turned them down into a naſty ſtinking place, where they uſed to put perſons condemned for witchcraft and murder. This place was ſo noiſome, that it was obſerved few who went into it, did ever come out again in health: for there was no houſe of office in it, and the excrements of the priſoners that from time to time had been put there, had not been carried out for many years; ſo that it was all like mire, and in ſome places to the top of the ſhoes; and the gaoler would not ſuffer them to cleanſe it, nor let them have beds or ſtraw to lie on. At night ſome friendly people of the town brought them a candle, and a little ſtraw; of which they were about to burn a little to take away the ſtink. The thieves lay over their heads, and the head gaoler in a room by them, over their heads alſo. But it ſeems the ſmoke went up into the room where he lay, which put him into ſuch a rage, that he took the pots of the thieves' excrements, and poured them down through a hole upon their heads; whereby they were ſo beſpattered, that it was loathſome to touch themſelves, or one another: beſides, the ſtink ſo increaſed, that by it, and the ſmoke, they were almoſt in danger of being ſuffocated. And all this could not ſatisfy the rage of this cruel gaoler, but he railed againſt them ſo hideouſly, and called them ſuch

horrible nicknames, that they never had heard the like before. In this manner they were forced to ſtand all night, for they could not ſit down, the place being ſo filthy. Thus he kept them a great while, before he would let them cleanſe it, or ſuffer them to have any victuals brought in, but what they got through the grate. And even this could not be done without difficulty; for a laſs one time having brought them a little meat, he ſued her in the town-court for breaking the priſon; perhaps, becauſe ſhe had a little bent an half-broken bar of the grate, to get a ſmall diſh through it. That this gaoler was ſo deſperately wicked, is not ſo much to be wondered at, ſince (as they were informed) he had been a thief, and was on that account burnt both in the hand and on the ſhoulder; and the under-gaoler in like manner: their wives had alſo been burnt in the hand. It was not at all ſtrange then, that the priſoners ſuffered moſt grievouſly from ſuch a wicked crew; but it was more to be wondered at that colonel Bennet, a Baptiſt teacher, having purchaſed the gaol and lands belonging to the caſtle, had there placed this head-gaoler.

It was much talked of, that ſpirits haunted this dungeon, and walked there, and that many had died in it; ſome thinking to terrify the priſoners therewith. But G. Fox told them, that if all the ſpirits and devils in hell were there, he was over them in the power of God, and feared no ſuch thing; for Chriſt, their prieſt, would ſanctify the walls and the houſe to them; he who bruiſed the head of the devil; as the prieſt was to cleanſe the plague out of the walls of the houſe under the law.

Now the time of the ſeſſions at Bodmin being come, the priſoners drew up their ſuffering caſe, and ſent the paper thither; upon reading of which, the juſtices gave order, that the door of Doomſdale (thus the dungeon was called) ſhould be opened, and that they ſhould have liberty to cleanſe it, and to buy their meat in the town. Having obtained this liberty, they writ to London, and deſired Anne Downer, a young woman already mentioned in this work, to come down, and to buy and dreſs their meat: which ſhe being very willing to do, was therein greatly ſerviceable to them; for ſhe was a good writer, and could

take things in ſhort hand. They alſo ſent up a relation of their ſufferings to the protector; who thereupon ſent down an order to the governor of Pendennis Caſtle, to examine the matter. On which occaſion Hugh Peters, one of the protector's chaplains, told him they could not do George Fox a greater ſervice for the ſpreading of his principles in Cornwal, than to impriſon him there. This was not altogether untrue, for he was much viſited, and many were turned from darkneſs to the light; notwithſtanding the mayor of Launceſton was a fierce perſecutor, caſting in priſon all he could get; and he did not ſtick to ſearch ſubſtantial grave women, for letters, as ſuppoſed.

In Devonſhire it was not much better; for many of thoſe called Quakers, that travelled through the country, were taken up and whipped, under pretence of being vagabonds: nay, ſome clothiers, that were going to mill with their cloth, and other ſubſtantial men, were ſeized and whipped; and Henry Pollexfen, who had been a juſtice of peace for the moſt part of forty years before, was caſt into priſon, under pretence of being a Jeſuit.

In the mean-while Edward Pyot, who had been a captain, and was a man of good underſtanding in the laws and rights of the nation, writ a large letter to the lord chief juſtice John Glyn, wherein he plainly ſet before him his unlawful dealings; and queried with him, whether his ſaying if ye will be uncovered (or put off your hats) I will hear you, and do you juſtice, was not an overthrow of the laws, that were made to maintain right and juſtice. Many other particulars (and among the reſt that of G. Fox's ſtriking major Ceely) were alſo mentioned in this letter. G. Fox himſelf writ alſo ſeveral papers, wherein the odiouſneſs of perſecution was plainly ſet forth.

Among thoſe that came to viſit him was Thomas Lower, a doctor of phyſick at London; who, whilſt I am writing this, is yet alive; and he, aſking many queſtions concerning religious matters, received ſuch ſatisfactory anſwers from G. Fox, that he afterwards ſaid his words were as a flaſh of lightning, they ran ſo through him; and that he never met with ſuch wiſe men in his life, &c. Thus he came to be convinced of the Truth, and ſo entered into

the communion of the deſpiſed Quakers. While G. Fox was ſtill in priſon, one of his friends went to Oliver Cromwell, and offered himſelf body for body, to lie in Doomſdale priſon in his ſtead, if he would take him, and let G. Fox go at liberty. But Cromwell ſaid he could not do it, for it was contrary to law: and turning to thoſe of his council, 'Which of you,' quoth he, 'would do ſo much for me, if I were in the ſame condition?'

Thus G. Fox continued in priſon, and it was yet a good while before he and his fellow-priſoners were releaſed. The next year the wicked gaoler received a recompenſe of his deeds; for he was turned out of his place, and for ſome wicked act was caſt into gaol himſelf; and there his carriage was ſo unruly, that he was by the ſucceeding gaoler put into Doomſdale, locked in irons, and beaten, and bid to remember how he had abuſed thoſe good men, whom he had wickedly, without any cauſe, caſt into that naſty dungeon; but that now he deſervedly ſhould ſuffer for his wickedneſs; and the ſame meaſure he had meted to others, he ſhould have meted out to himſelf: and this miſchievous fellow, who might have grown rich if he had carried himſelf civilly, grew now very poor, and ſo died in priſon.

About the ſame time that G. Fox was releaſed, Cromwell called a parliament, which met for the firſt ſitting, in the painted chamber at Weſtminſter, on the 17th of the month called September. Samuel Fiſher got an opportunity to come into this aſſembly, where he heard the protector's ſpeech, and in it theſe words, 'that he knew not of any one man that ſuffered impriſonment unjuſtly in all England.' And after he had got the conveniency of a ſtanding, he ſaid that he had a word to ſpeak from the Lord to the protector, to the parliament, and the people, and then he began thus:

'The burden of the word of the Lord God of heaven and of earth, as it came unto me on the 22d day of the laſt month, and as it now lieth upon me to declare it in his name, even unto thee, Oliver Cromwell, protector (ſo called) of theſe three nations, England, Scotland, and Ireland; and alſo to all you who are choſen out of the

ſeveral parts thereof to ſit in parliament this day, to conſider of ſuch things as concern the commonwealth thereof; and likewiſe to the three nations themſelves, and all the people thereof, whoſe rulers and repreſentatives ye are: which word of the Lord, as ye do not deem yourſelves too high, or too great, or too good, to be ſpoken to from the Lord; and as you will not fall under the guilt of that ſin of ſaying to the ſeers, See not, and to the prophets, Propheſy not, propheſy not unto us right things, propheſy ſmooth things, propheſy deceits; I charge you all, in the name of the living God, that without interruption or oppoſition, whether you like it, or like it not, you ſtand ſtill and hear it: and when I have done, you may do with me as the Lord ſhall give you leave, or leave me under the power of your hands to do; no law of equity condemning any man before he be heard, eſpecially when he ſpeaks on ſo high an account as from the God of heaven himſelf, though to ſuch as are no leſs than gods under him here on earth.'

Scarce had he ſpoken thus much, but ſome cried, 'A Quaker, a Quaker; keep him down, he ſhall not ſpeak:' yet the protector and the parliament-men were ſtill and quiet. But ſome others, among whom two juſtices of peace, had not ſo much patience; but Fiſher, as he related afterwards, believed that the protector and the parliament-men would have given him audience, had not others ſet him at nought: ſome ſaying the protector had ſpoken long, and was very hot and weary; and that he [Fiſher] might be aſhamed to occaſion his ſtay any longer. Thus Fiſher was interrupted, and the protector and parliament-men riſing, went away; though Fiſher did not queſtion but the protector would have heard him: for his moderation in hearing what was ſaid, having been experienced before, Fiſher was willing to acknowledge his nobility as freely, as Paul took notice of the like in Feſtus; whom he held moſt noble in that he would hear him, though he thought him mad. Fiſher being thus prohibited, publiſhed his ſpeech in print, ſo as he intended to have delivered it, though not one ſyllable of it was written before. It was pretty long, and contained a ſharp reproof to the hypocriſy of thoſe, who under a ſhew of godlineſs made long prayers, kept

faſts, and nevertheleſs lived in pride, pomp, and luxury, perſecuting thoſe who really were a pious people. And to the protector he ſaid, that unleſs he took away the wicked from before him, and all flattering falſe accuſers, his throne would never be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs. In the introduction placed before this ſpeech, he ſaith that before this burden came upon him, he had prayed God that he might have been excuſed of this meſſage, thinking that a more unworthy one than himſelf could not have been ſingled out; but whatever he did, he could not be rid of it; and though he ſpent a whole week with faſting, tears, and ſupplication, yet during the time of that abſtinence, he felt a daily ſupply and refreſhment to his ſpirits, ſo that he fully reſigned to do what he believed was required of him from the Lord; and he felt all fears of the frowns of men removed from him. Some other ſpeeches which he intended to have made to the parliament, but was obſtructed therein, he alſo publiſhed afterwards in print.

In the latter part of this year it happened that Humphry Smith coming to Eveſham in Worceſterſhire, was diſturbed in a meeting by the mayor, Edward Young, who ſaid he would break the Quakers meetings, or elſe his bones ſhould lie in the dirt. Thus reſolved, he came in the month called October, on a Firſt-day of the week in the morning, into their meeting, in a houſe where H. Smith was; and ſeveral perſons after being rudely abuſed, were haled out to priſon. In the afternoon a meeting being kept in the ſtreet, ſome of the company were by order of the ſaid mayor put into the ſtocks, and others, of which the aforeſaid Smith was one, into a dark dungeon: and though the mayor then ſaid it was an unlawful aſſembly, but if they would meet in houſes he would not moleſt them; yet on next Firſt-day of the week, he ſeeing one going to a meeting that was appointed in a houſe, put him in priſon. H. Smith and his friends, had ſome bedding and bed-clothes ſent them, but the mayor cauſed it to be taken away from them; and when afterwards ſome ſtraw was brought them to lie upon, the gaoler would not ſuffer it; nay, when one came, and aſked liberty to fetch out their dung from them, the mayor denied it, and ordered him to be put in the ſtocks. The

place where they were kept, was not twelve foot ſquare, and the hole to take in air, was but four inches wide, ſo that even by day-light they were fain to burn candle, when they had it. Here they were kept above fourteen weeks, with their own dung in the ſame room; ſo that one of them grew ſick of the ſtink; and yet the gaoler ſaid, if they had been there for theft or murder, he could have let them have more liberty than now he durſt, becauſe of the mayor. James Wall, one of the priſoners, was a freeman of the town, and a ſhopkeeper, and yet the mayor forbade his wife to ſtand in the market-place, which for many years ſhe had done. She going to him about it, he began to fawn upon her, and ſaid: 'I hear that your huſband doth abuſe you.' To which ſhe anſwered, 'My huſband did never abuſe me; but as for that judgment which he now holdeth, once I could not own it; but now ſeeing it is ſo much perſecuted, makes me own it, becauſe the way of God was always perſecuted.' He hearing her ſpeak ſo, ſaid, ſhe ſhould not have a ſtanding-place for five pounds.

About a month after, Margaret Newby, and Elizabeth Courton came to this town, and had a meeting at the houſe of one Edward Pitwayes: but coming in the afternoon to viſit the priſoners, the mayor himſelf laid violent hands on them, and cauſed them to be put in the ſtocks, with their legs near a yard one from another; and he would not ſuffer them to have a block to ſit on, though they deſired it; yet as one that would ſeem to have ſome modeſty, he bid the conſtable fetch a block, and put between their legs, uttering indecent expreſſions: in this poſture they were kept for the ſpace of fifteen hours, and then, in a freezing night, ſent out of the town, without ſuffering them to go to any place to refreſh themſelves. And as to Humphry Smith, and thoſe with him, they were yet kept a good while in priſon.

In this year Alexander Parker was at Radnor in Wales, and bearing there a teſtimony againſt the prieſt Vavaſor Powel, he alſo preached the doctrine of Truth, as occaſion offered. It was, I think, about this time, that Ambroſe Rigg and Thomas Robinſon came to Exeter; from thence to Briſtol, and afterwards to Baſingſtoke in Hampſhire.

Here, after much trouble, they got a meeting appointed; but before all the people were aſſembled, the chief prieſt, with the magiſtrates, came thither, and cauſing them to be taken away, tendered them the oath of abjuration. But they denying to ſwear, for conſcience-ſake, were committed to priſon: and the gaoler nailed planks before the window, to deprive them of the light; neither would he ſuffer them to have a candle at night. Here they were kept about a quarter of a year; having nothing to lie on but ſome ſtraw. But this their ſuffering had ſuch effect, that ſome of the inhabitants ſeeing theſe unreaſonable dealings, began to enquire into the doctrine held forth by the ſufferers, and ſo came to be convinced of the truth thereof. They at laſt being releaſed, Robinſon went to Portſmouth, where he preached repentance. Some time after A. Rigg came alſo thither, and reaped what Robinſon in ſome reſpect had ſowed; though it was not long before he was ſent out of town. But returning within a ſhort time, he found opportunity to have a meeting there; and by his preaching ſome were convinced, and embraced his doctrine.

From thence he went to the Iſle of Wight, where ſome alſo received the doctrine maintained by him. After ſome ſtay, he returned to Suſſex, where he had great ſervice. And travelling up and down the country, he came to Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis, where ſpeaking in the ſteeple-houſe againſt the prieſt, he was ſeized and locked up in a naſty dungeon where there was nothing to lie on but ſome filthy ſtraw, and a ſtone to ſit on: there was alſo no houſe of office; but on the ground lay an heap of dung, where he alſo was forced to eaſe himſelf. But there being an opening at the top of the room, he could ſee people go along the ſtreets, and thus took occaſion, from this ſubterranean cave, to preach to the paſſengers with ſuch power and efficacy, that his doctrine entered into the hearts of the hearers, and ſtuck there. This manner of preaching often hath been in England, and I myſelf, in my young years, have been an eye-witneſs of it; and have heard the priſoners lift up their voice ſo, that it could be heard very eaſily in the ſtreets; which made people that

paſſed by, ſtand ſtill, and hearken to what was ſpoken by ſuch zealous preachers. And though theſe were often hindered of having meetings, yet it was impoſſible to ſtop up the fountain from whence their words flowed. Thus it was alſo with A. Rigg, who, after an impriſonment of eleven weeks, being ſet at liberty, travelled up and down again; but in many places where he came, a priſon was his lot; ſometimes even when nothing could be laid to his charge, but that he was gone from his dwelling-place: for the parliament had made a law, that all who were gone from home, and could not give a ſatisfactory account of their buſineſs, ſhould be taken up as vagabonds. Under this pretence, many who travelled to the markets with their goods, were ſeized by the way; for if it did but appear that ſuch an one was a Quaker, which was preſently ſeen by his not putting off his hat, then there wanted no pretended reaſon to clap him up in priſon.

A. Rigg travelling on, came alſo to viſit ſome of his friends in priſon at Southampton. This was taken ſo ill, that the mayor, Peter Seal, without examining, cauſed him to be faſtened to the whipping-poſt in the market-place, where he was ſeverely laſhed by the executioner, and then put into a cart, and ſent out of the town, in freezing ſnowy weather; the mayor threatening him, that if ever he returned, he ſhould be whipt again, and burnt in the ſhoulder with an R, ſignifying rogue. Notwithſtanding this, he was moved to return, and the mayor was very eager to have this executed on him; but the other magiſtrates would not conſent; and not long after the mayor died of a bloody flux. This relation hath carried me a little beyond the courſe of time. But now I leave A. Rigg for a while, intending to make further mention of him hereafter.

In this year William Caton went again into Scotland, from whence returning, he travelled to Briſtol, thence to Plymouth, and ſo to London; from whence he made a voyage again to Holland, where William Ames and John Stubbs had been, and alſo found ſome among the Engliſh people at Amſterdam, who had received the doctrine they preached, though afterwards they turned from it again.

W. Ames found alſo ſome reception among the Baptiſts there, who at firſt were pleaſed with him, but J. Stubbs did not pleaſe them ſo well: as Dr. Galenus Abrahams once told me, who compared Ames to a muſician that played a very melodious tune, and Stubbs to a diſturber of the harmonious muſick; though Ames afterwards, for his great zeal, was found fault with alſo.

W. Caton now arrived at Dort, and from thence repaired to Rotterdam, where, for want of an interpreter that underſtood Engliſh, he was fain to make uſe of the Latin. But it grieved him exceedingly to meet with ſome unruly ſpirits there, that having been in ſome meaſure convinced by W. Ames, ran out under the denomination of Quakers, into extremes, both in words and writings. Some of theſe perſons I know, and have ſeen alſo ſome of the books they publiſhed in print, in which, under a pretence of plainneſs, not one capital letter was to be found, even not to proper names, nay, not to names of authors themſelves. And ſince they ran out into ſeveral other extravagancies, it was not much to be wondered, that the magiſtrates clapt them up in Bedlam. The ring-leader of theſe people, was one Iſaac Furnier, who formerly (as I have heard my uncle tell, who had ſeen it himſelf) lived as another Diogenes, uſing at the fire, inſtead of a pair of tongs, a ſplit ſtick; and now converſing among the Quakers, ſo called, made it a piece of holineſs to uſe the moſt blunt language he could think of; how abſurd and irregular ſoever. In fine, he ſo behaved himſelf, that the orthodox Quakers rejected his ſociety. He it was, as I have underſtood, who was the author of that ridiculous ſaying, 'My ſpirit teſtifieth:' which, though not approved nor uſed by the true Quakers, yet hath been ſo ſpread among the people in the Low Countries, that it hath been conſtantly credited, and is not yet quite diſbelieved, that the Quakers uſed to ſay ſo of any thing they intend to do; and that if any one, whoever it be, ſays ſo, they will give credit to his ſaying. The aboveſaid Dr. Galenus told me, that this man coming to his door, and finding the doctor's name writ on the poſt of the door (as is uſual in Holland), did, with his knife, ſcratch out the letters Dr. ſignifying doctor.

On which the doctor aſked him, why he did ſo? And his anſwer was, becauſe the ſpirit did teſtify ſo unto him. And being aſked farther, if ſo be that ſpirit did move him to ſtab the doctor with the knife, whether he would follow that motion, he anſwered (if the relation be true), as the doctor affirmed to me, 'Yes.' But however it be, this is true, that this Furnier was a paſſionate, and giddy-headed man, whom the true Quakers could not own, though he had tranſlated many of their books out of Engliſh into Dutch; and would alſo preach amongſt them. But at length he left them, and turning Papiſt, fell into a diſſolute and debauched life.

But to return to W. Caton; coming to Amſterdam, he did not find much more ſatisfaction there than at Rotterdam; for ſeveral high-conceited profeſſors, who ſeemed to approve the doctrine preached by the Quakers, were more apt to take upon them to teach others, than to receive inſtruction from others. Wherefore W. Caton did not ſtay long at Amſterdam, but returned to Rotterdam; and from thence went to Zealand, arriving at Middleburgh, accompanied with a certain young man, who went to ſome of the meeting-places in that city, and was apprehended; which Caton underſtanding, went to viſit him, and they perceiving that he was his companion, ſecured him alſo; and after having been kept in priſon ſome days, being weak in body, it was ordered that they ſhould be ſent to England; and ſo they were carried in a coach-waggon to the water ſide, being conducted by a guard of ſoldiers, to protect them againſt the rude multitude, and brought on board a ſhip of war, where Caton ſuffered great hardſhip; for the ſeamen were ſo ill-natured, that they would not allow him ſo much as a piece of ſail-cloth, but he was fain to lie upon the bare boards, in very cold and ſtormy weather. But though thus hardly uſed, yet he felt his ſtrength increaſe, and ſo experienced the mercies of God. It was in November when he arrived at London, where he was kindly received by the brethren: after ſome ſtay there, he went to Hampſhire, Surry, Suſſex, and Kent.

Not long before this, G. Fox came to Exeter, where James Nayler was in priſon, and ſpoke to him by way of

reproof; which Nayler ſlighted; though he offered to kiſs G. Fox; but he unwilling to ſuffer this, ſaid, ſince he had turned againſt the power of God, he could not receive his ſhew of kindneſs. It appeared by letters the magiſtrates found in his pocket at Briſtol, that the Quakers found fault with him, and had reproved him of his high-mindedneſs, before it launched out into that extravagant act which made ſo great a noiſe in the world, and hath been mixed with many untruths, and falſe turns. I have therefore thought it worth while to enquire narrowly into it, in order to give a true relation of matters of fact.

This James Nayler was born of honeſt parents,* in the pariſh of Ardeſley, near Wakefield in Yorkſhire, about the year 1616. He had ſerved in the parliament army, being quarter-maſter in major-general Lambert's troop in Scotland; was a member of the Independents; and afterwards, in the year 1651, he entered into the communion of the Quakers ſo called.† He was a man of excellent natural parts, and at firſt did acquit himſelf well, both in word and writing among his friends, ſo that many came to receive the Truth by his miniſtry. He came to London towards the latter end of the year 1654, or beginning of 1655, and found there a meeting of friends, which had already been gathered in that city, by the ſervice of Edward

* His father was a huſbandman, and of good repute, having a competent eſtate to live on, with induſtry, according to the manner of the country where he dwelt. He was educated in good Engliſh, and wrote well. About the age of twenty-two he married, and then removed into Wakefield pariſh; where he continued, till the wars broke out in 1641, and then went into the army, and was a ſoldier eight or nine years, firſt under the lord Fairfax, and afterwards quarter-maſter under major-general Lambert, till diſabled by ſickneſs in Scotland, he returned home about 1649. J. W's account.

† He and Thomas Goodair were convinced by G. Fox, about Wakefield, anno 1651, as were alſo Richard Farnſworth, Thomas Aldam, William Dewſbury, and wife, about the ſame time. And in the beginning of the year following, as he was in the field at plough, meditating on the things of God, he heard a voice, bidding him go out from his kindred, and from his father's houſe; and had a promiſe given with it, that the Lord would be with him; whereupon he did exceedingly rejoice that he had heard the voice of God, whom he had profeſſed from a child, and endeavoured to ſerve: and when he went home he made preparation to go; but not being obedient, the wrath of God was upon him, ſo that he was made a wonder, and it was thought he would have died. Afterwards being made willing, and going out with a friend, not thinking then of a journey, he was commanded to go into the Weſt, not knowing what he was to do there; but when he came, he had given him what to declare; and ſo he continued, not knowing one day what he was to do the next; and the promiſe of God, that he would be with him, he found made good to him every day. Collect. of J. N's writings.

Burrough, and Francis Howgill; and there he preached in ſuch an eminent manner, that many admiring his great gift, began to eſteem him much above his brethren, which as it brought him no benefit, ſo it gave occaſion of ſome difference in the ſociety; and this ran ſo high, that ſome forward and inconſiderate women, of whom Martha Simmons was the chief, aſſumed the boldneſs to diſpute with F. Howgill and E. Burrough openly in their preaching, and thus to diſturb the meetings:* whereupon they, who were truly excellent preachers, did not fail, according to their duty, to reprove this indiſcretion. But theſe women were ſo diſguſted, that Martha, and another woman, went and complained to J. Nayler, to incenſe him againſt F. Howgill and E. Burrough; but this did not ſucceed, for he ſhewed himſelf afraid to paſs judgment upon his brethren, as they deſired. Hereupon Martha fell into a paſſion, in a kind of moaning or weeping, and, bitterly crying out with a mournful ſhrill voice, ſaid, 'I looked for judgment, but behold a cry;' and with that cried aloud in a paſſionate lamenting manner, which ſo entered and pierced J. Nayler, that it ſmote him down into ſo much ſorrow and ſadneſs, that he was much dejected in ſpirit, or diſconſolate. Fear and doubting then entered him, ſo that he came to be clouded in his underſtanding, bewildered, and at a loſs in his judgment, and became eſtranged from his beſt friends, becauſe they did not approve his conduct; inſomuch, that he began to give ear to the flattering praiſes of ſome whimſical people, which he ought to have abhorred, and reproved them for. But his ſorrowful fall ought to ſtand as a warning, even to thoſe that are endued with great gifts, that they do not preſume to be exalted, leſt they alſo fall, but endeavour to continue in true humility, in which alone a Chriſtian can be kept ſafe.

Hannah Stranger, whom I very well knew, and have

* Theſe women's practice we may ſuppoſe to be ſomewhat like that which gave occaſion to the apoſtle Paul to ſay, "Let your women keep ſilence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak," 1 Cor. xix. 34. This prohibition of ſpeaking, muſt be voluntary diſcourſe, by way of reaſoning or diſputing, and not when they had an immediate impulſe, or concern to propheſy; for the apoſtle in the ſame epiſtle, has defined prophecy to be ſpeaking unto "Men to edification, exhortation and comfort," chap. xiv. 3. And has alſo chap. xi. made expreſs mention of women's praying and propheſying, together with the men.

reaſon to believe a woman of high imaginations, at this time wrote to him ſeveral very extravagant letters; calling him the everlaſting Son of Righteouſneſs, Prince of Peace, the only begotten Son of God, the faireſt of ten thouſands, &c. In the letters of Jane Woodcock, John Stranger, and others, were expreſſions of the like extravagancy; and the ſaid Hannah Stranger, Martha Simmons, and Dorcas Erbury, arrived to that height of folly, that, in the priſon at Exeter, they kneeled before Nayler, and kiſſed his feet: but as to what hath been divulged concerning his committing of fornication, I never could find, though very inquiſitive in the caſe, that he was in the leaſt guilty thereof.* But for all that, he was already too much tranſported, and grew yet more exorbitant; for being releaſed from that priſon, and riding to Briſtol in the beginning of November, he was accompanied by the aforeſaid and other perſons; and paſſing through the ſuburbs of Briſtol, one Thomas Woodcock went bareheaded before him; one of the women led his horſe; Dorcas, Martha, and Hannah, ſpread their ſcarfs and handerchiefs before him, and the company ſung, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of hoſts, Hoſannah in the higheſt; holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Iſrael." Thus theſe mad people ſung, whilſt they were walking through the mire and dirt, till they came into Briſtol; where they were examined by the magiſtrates, and committed to priſon; and not long after he was carried to London, to be examined by the parliament. How it went there may be ſeen in the printed trial, which the parliament was pleaſed to publiſh.† I believe that J. Nayler was clouded in his

* As to that accuſation, as if I had committed adultery with ſome of thoſe women who came with us from Exeter priſon, and alſo thoſe who were with me at Briſtol the night before I ſuffered there, of both which accuſations I am clear before God, who kept me at that day both in thought and deed, as to all women, as a little child, God is my record. Collect. of J. Nayler's writings, p. 54. See more particularly in his anſwer to Blome's Fanatick Hiſtory, in the ſaid Collect. at p. 652.

† But the extravagancy of the ſentence which that parliament paſſed upon him, with other circumſtances, give great reaſon to ſuſpect the account was partially taken, and publiſhed to juſtify their cruelty, which is alſo ſet forth in part by way of annotation on the ſaid trial. And (as J. W. ſays) ſome of his anſwers were innocent enough, ſome not clear, and ſome aggravated by his adverſaries: ſome of them he denied, ſome he owned; they reported the worſt, and more than was true in ſome things, adding and diminiſhing as they were

underſtanding in all this tranſaction: but how grievous ſoever his fall was, yet it pleaſed God in his infinite mercy to raiſe him up again, and to bring him to ſuch ſincere repentance that (as we may ſee in the ſequel) he abhorred not only this whole buſineſs, but alſo manifeſted his hearty ſorrow, in pathetical expreſſions, which were publiſhed, as will be ſhewn in its proper place.

What hath been ſaid of the odd doings in Exeter priſon, and of his riding into Briſtol, was not denied by him, nor by the reſt of the company, when they were examined by a committee of parliament, who made their report on the 5th of December, to which the houſe agreed next day. On the 16th this buſineſs, which had (not without much contradiction; for many members of the parliament did not approve the ſeverity uſed againſt him) been treated both forenoons and afternoons, was propoſed the twelfth time: which made an ingenious author ſay afterwards, that it was wondered at by many, what the cauſe might be, that this fooliſh buſineſs ſhould hold ſo many wiſe men ſo long at work. On the 17th, after a long debate, they came to this reſolution,

That James Nayler be ſet on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, in the Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, during the ſpace of two hours, on Thurſday next, and be whipped by the hangman through the ſtreets, from Weſtminſter to the Old Exchange, London; and there likewiſe be ſet on the pillory, with his head in the pillory, for the ſpace of two hours, between the hours of eleven and one, on Saturday next, in each place wearing a paper containing an inſcription of his crimes; and that at the Old Exchange his tongue be bored through with a hot iron, and that he be there alſo ſtigmatized in the forehead with the letter B; and that he be afterwards ſent to Briſtol, and be conveyed into, and through the ſaid city on horſeback, with his face backward, and there alſo publickly whipped the next market-day after he comes thither; and that from thence

minded; much was wanting of what he had ſpoken to the committee; wreſting and perverting his words what they could, and endeavouring to draw words out of him to enſnare him, and take away his life: and to ſhew their confuſion when he was before them, they would have had him to kneel, and put off his hat to them, though a part of the charge againſt him was, that ſome kneeled to him.

he be committed to priſon in Bridewell, London, and there reſtrained from the ſociety of all people, and there to labour hard till he ſhall be releaſed by parliament; and during that time be debarred the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, and ſhall have no relief but what he earns by his daily labour.

They were long ere they could agree on the ſentence; for ſuppoſe there was blaſphemy committed, yet his tongue ſeemed not properly guilty of it, ſince it was not proved that blaſphemous words had been ſpoken by him.* Many thought it to be indeed a very ſevere judgment to be executed upon one whoſe crime ſeemed to proceed more from a clouded underſtanding, than any wilful intention of evil.

Now although ſeveral perſons of different perſuaſions, being moved with compaſſion towards Nayler, as a man carried away by fooliſh imaginations, had offered petitions to the parliament on his behalf, yet it was reſolved not to read them, till the ſentence was pronounced againſt him.

There lived then at London, one Robert Rich, a merchant (a very bold man), who writ a letter to the parliament, wherein he ſhewed what was blaſphemy; and on the 15th of December, ſeveral copies thereof were delivered to particular members; and in that which was given to the ſpeaker, theſe words were written at the bottom, 'If I may have liberty of thoſe that ſit in parliament, I do here attend at their door, and am ready, out of the Scriptures of Truth, to ſhew, that not any thing J. Nayler hath ſaid or done, is blaſphemy,' &c.

The parliament after judgment was concluded, reſolved,

* At Lancaſter ſeſſions the prieſt got ſome to ſwear blaſphemy againſt G. Fox (which was the common accuſation in thoſe days) but he was cleared, and the prieſts, &c. were enraged, who thereupon ſent a petition to the council of ſtate, againſt G. F. and J. N. who anſwered the ſame, in a book called, 'Saul's Errand to Damaſcus.' After this, J. N. was perſecuted in divers places, beaten, ſtoned, and cruelly uſed by the prieſts, and their rude followers, and in danger of his life. Afterward, by the inſtigation of the prieſt, he and F. Howgill were committed to Appleby gaol, and tried on an indictment for blaſphemy, for ſaying Chriſt was in him, according to Col. i. 27. "Chriſt in you the hope of glory." He was alſo another time charged with blaſphemy, for aſſerting in a book, 'Juſtification by the Gift of God's Righteouſneſs,' which he proved from Rom. v. and ſo ſtopped their mouths, and cleared himſelf: by which we may ſee what that generation, who were righteous in their own eyes, would have made blaſphemy. J. Whiting's account.

that the ſpeaker ſhould be authorized to iſſue his warrants to the ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, the ſheriff of Briſtol, and governor of Bridewell, to ſee the ſaid judgment put in execution. By ſome it was queſtioned whether this was a ſufficient warrant, unleſs the protector concurred in the matter; but he ſeemed unwilling to meddle with it. The thing being thus far agreed upon, J. Nayler was brought up to the bar; and when the ſpeaker, ſir Thomas Widdrington, was about to pronounce the aforementioned ſentence, Nayler ſaid he did not know his offence. To which the ſpeaker returned, he ſhould know his offence by his puniſhment. After ſentence was pronounced, though J. Nayler bore the ſame with great patience, yet it ſeemed he would have ſpoken ſomething, but was denied liberty; nevertheleſs was heard to ſay, with a compoſed mind, 'I pray God, he may not lay it to your charge.'

The 18th of December, J. Nayler ſuffered part of the ſentence; and after having ſtood full two hours with his head in the pillory, was ſtripped, and whipped at a cart's tail, from Palace-yard to the Old Exchange, and received three hundred and ten ſtripes; and the executioner would have given him one more (as he confeſſed to the ſheriff), there being three hundred and eleven kennels, but his foot ſlipping, the ſtroke fell upon his own hand, which hurt him much. All this Nayler bore with ſo much patience and quietneſs, that it aſtoniſhed many of the beholders, though his body was in a moſt pitiful condition: he was alſo much hurt with horſes treading on his feet, whereon the print of the nails were ſeen. Rebecca Travers, a grave perſon, who waſhed his wounds, in a certificate which was preſented to the parliament, and afterwards printed, ſays, 'There was not the ſpace of a man's nail free from ſtripes and blood, from his ſhoulders, near to his waiſt, his right arm ſorely ſtriped, his hands much hurt with cords, that they bled, and were ſwelled: the blood and wounds of his back did very little appear at firſt ſight, by reaſon of abundance of dirt that covered them, till it was waſhed off.' Nay, his puniſhment was ſo ſevere, that ſome judged his ſentence would have been more mild, if it had been preſent death: and it ſeemed indeed that there was a party,

who not being able to prevail ſo far in parliament as to have him ſentenced to death, yet ſtrove to the utmoſt of their power to make him ſink under the weight of his puniſhment: for the 20th of December was the time appointed for executing the other part of the ſentence, viz. boring through his tongue, and ſtigmatizing in his forehead; but by reaſon of the moſt cruel whipping, he was brought to ſuch a low ebb, that many perſons of note, moved with compaſſion, preſented petitions to the parliament on his behalf, who reſpited his farther puniſhment for one week.

During this interval, ſeveral perſons preſented another petition, in which are theſe words:

'Your moderation and clemency in reſpiting the puniſhment of J. Nayler, in conſideration of his illneſs of body, hath refreſhed the hearts of many thouſands in theſe cities, altogether unconcerned in his practice: wherefore we moſt humbly beg your pardon that are conſtrained to appear before you in ſuch a ſuit (not daring to do otherwiſe), that you would remit the remaining part of your ſentence againſt the ſaid J. Nayler, leaving him to the Lord, and to ſuch goſpel remedies as he hath ſanctified; and we are perſuaded you will find ſuch a courſe of love and forbearance more effectual to reclaim; and will leave a zeal of your love and tenderneſs upon our ſpirits,'

'And we ſhall pray,' &c.

This petition being preſented at the bar of the houſe, by about one hundred perſons, on the behalf of the whole, was accordingly read and debated by them; but not being likely to produce the deſired effect, the petitioners thought themſelves in duty and conſcience bound to addreſs the protector, for remitting the remaining part of the ſentence; who thereupon ſent a letter to the parliament, which occaſioned ſome debate in the houſe. But the day for executing the remaining part of the ſentence drawing near, the petitioners made a ſecond addreſs to the protector. It was indeed very remarkable, that ſo many inhabitants

that were not of the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, ſhewed themſelves ſo much concerned in this buſineſs; but to me it ſeems to have proceeded merely from compaſſion towards the perſon of J. Nayler; whom they regarded as one that was rather fallen into error, through inconſiderateneſs, than to have been guilty of wilful blaſphemy: for then he would not have deſerved ſo much pity.

But notwithſtanding all theſe humble petitions, the publick preachers it ſeems prevailed ſo much with Cromwell, that he could not reſolve to put a ſtop to the intended execution; for five of theſe miniſters, whom I find named thus, Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds, came on the 24th of December, by order from the parliament (as it was ſaid) to Nayler, to ſpeak with him concerning the things for which he was detained; and would not permit either friend or other to be preſent in the room. A certain impartial or neutral perſon deſired it earneſtly, but it was denied him; but coming into the priſon, after the conference, he aſked Nayler what had been the iſſue of it who told him, that he told thoſe miniſters, that he ſaw they had an intent to make him ſuffer (though innocent) as an evil-doer; and therefore had denied any to be preſent that might be indifferent judges betwixt them and him; and that therefore he ſhould not ſay any thing, unleſs what paſſed was writ down, and a copy thereof given him to keep, or left with the gaoler, ſigned by them. This was by them conſented to, and ſo they propounded ſeveral queſtions unto him, and took his anſwers in writing. He farther told, that they aſked him if he was ſorry for thoſe blaſphemies that he was guilty of, and whether he did recant and renounce the ſame; to which his anſwer was, 'What blaſphemies, name them?' but they not being able to inſtance in any particular, he continued, 'Would you have me recant and renounce you know not what?' Then they aſked him whether he did believe there was a Jeſus Chriſt? to which he anſwered, he did believe there was, and that Jeſus had taken up his dwelling in his heart and ſpirit, and for the teſtimony of Him he now ſuffered. Then one of the preachers ſaid, 'But I believe in a Jeſus that never was in any man's heart:' to which

Nayler returned, he knew no ſuch Chriſt, for the Chriſt he witneſſed filled heaven and earth, and dwelt in the hearts of the believers. Next they demanded of him why he ſuffered thoſe women to worſhip and adore him? to which he replied, 'Bowing to the creature I deny; but if they beheld the power of Chriſt, wherever it is, and bow to it, he had nothing by which he might reſiſt that, or gainſay it;'* and withal ſaid to the miniſters, 'Have you thus long profeſſed the Scriptures, and do you now ſtumble at what they hold forth?' Whereupon they deſiring one inſtance of Scripture wherein ſuch a practice was held forth, he anſwered, 'What think you of the Shunamite's falling down at the feet of Eliſha, and bowing before him? As alſo divers others in Scripture ſpoken of, as that of Abigail to David, and that of Nebuchadnezzar to Daniel:' upon which they pauſing a while, ſaid at length, 'That was but a civil act or acknowledgment:' to which he returned, 'So you might interpret the act of thoſe women alſo, if your eye were not evil, ſeeing the outward action is one and the ſame:' and he perceiving that they were ſeeking to wreſt words from him to their own purpoſe, ſaid, 'How ſoon have you forgot the works of the biſhops, who are now found in the ſame, ſeeking to enſnare the innocent.' Whereupon they roſe up, and with bitterneſs of ſpirit burnt what they had written before, and ſo left him with ſome bemoaning expreſſions; and when they were departing, he deſired of them that the parliament would ſend him ſuch queſtions in writing as they deſiring ſatisfaction to, and give him leave to return his anſwers in writing alſo.

By this it ſeems that Nayler, though ſtill under ſome

* The moſt that I find in his examination, either at Briſtol or London, before the committee of parliament, as publiſhed from their report, was, that he owned Chriſt in him, but never that he was Chriſt; and that he took the honour given, not as to himſelf, but to Chriſt in him; which yet is more than any man ought to receive; for when the beloved diſciple John fell at the angel's feet to worſhip him, he (though an angel) ſaid unto him, "See thou do it not, I am thy fellow-ſervant, and of thy brethren that have the teſtimony of Jeſus, worſhip God," Rev. xix. 10. And if an angel ought not, ſurely no mortal man ought to receive or accept it, on any pretence whatſoever; though falling down or kneeling to one another, is too frequently uſed by ſome other people, and if it is not to their perſon, it muſt be to their function, quality, or character in the church: but that he received it to himſelf, as a creature, he utterly denied. Trial, page 15. And that there could be a more abominable thing, than to take from the Creator, and give to the creature, &c. J. W.

cloud, yet was a little more clear in his underſtanding than before; but he was encountered by fierce enemies, and therefore the execution of his ſentence was not ſtopped, but performed on the 27th of December. Robert Rich, that forward man, of whom ſomething hath been mentioned already, was this day at the parliament door, from eight in the morning till about eleven, crying variouſly to the parliament men, as they paſſed by. To one whom he judged to be innocent, he ſaid, "He that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, for God is love:" and to another, whom he thought to be ſwayed by envy, he ſaid, "He that hates his brother is a manſlayer, and he that hates his brother is a murderer." Some then thought that Nayler would not have ſuffered any farther puniſhment, becauſe many honourable perſons had attended the parliament and the protector on his behalf; but Rich knowing how the caſe ſtood, told the people that the innocent was going to ſuffer; and to ſome of the parliament men he cried, that he was clear from the blood of all men; and that he deſired them to be ſo too. Then he went towards the Exchange, and got on the pillory, held Nayler by the hand while he was burnt in the forehead, and bored through the tongue; and was not a little affected with Nayler's ſuffering, for he licked his wounds, thereby as it ſeems to allay the pain; and he led him by the hand from off the pillory. It was very remarkable that notwithſtanding there might be many thouſands of people, yet they were very quiet, and few heard to revile him, or ſeen to throw any thing at him: and when he was burning, the people both before and behind him, and on both ſides, with one conſent ſtood bareheaded, as ſeeming generally moved with compaſſion and goodwill towards him.

Many now rejoiced, ſeeing how ſome few among the Quakers, as Rich, and the like ſort of people, did ſide with Nayler, whilſt the Quakers generally ſpoke againſt him and his doings; for thoſe who hoped to ſee the downfal of them, ſignified, not obſcurely, that now things went as they would have, ſince the Quakers (as they ſaid) were divided among themſelves. But time ſhewed that this pretended diviſion ſoon came to an end, and thoſe

diviners and gueſſers overſhot themſelves. How it went with the execution of Nayler's ſentence at Briſtol, I am not informed; * but by a letter of one Richard Snead, an ancient man of about eighty years, I have underſtood that Nayler had written a letter to the magiſtrates of Briſtol, wherein he had diſapproved, and penitently condemned, his carriage there. † After this he was brought to Bridewell, London (as ſentenced) where he continued priſoner about two years, during which confinement he came to a true repentance of his tranſgreſſion; and having got the uſe of pen and ink, wrote ſeveral books and papers, condemning his error, which were publiſhed in print; and after his releaſe, he publiſhed ſeveral others, one of which, by way of recantation, runs thus:

'Glory to God Almighty, who ruleth in the heavens, and in whoſe hands are all the kingdoms of the earth; who raiſeth up, and caſteth down at his will; who hath ways to confound the exaltation of man, and to chaſtiſe his children, and to make man to know himſelf to be as graſs before him; whoſe judgments are above the higheſt of men, and his pity reacheth the deepeſt miſery; and the arm of his mercy is underneath, to lift up the priſoner out of the pit, and to ſave ſuch as truſt in him from the great deſtruction, which vain man, through his folly, brings upon himſelf; who hath delivered my ſoul from darkneſs, and made way for my freedom out of the priſon-houſe, and ranſomed me from the great captivity; who divides the ſea before him, and removes the mountains out of his way, in the day when he takes upon him to deliver the oppreſſed out of the hand of him that is too mighty for him in the earth: let his name be exalted for ever, and

* He was ſent to Briſtol, and there whipped from the middle of Thomas ſtreet, over the bridge, up High ſtreet, to the middle of Broad ſtreet, all which he bore with wonderful patience, as related by an eye-witneſs, and then ſent by Tower lane the back way to Newgate, and from thence returned to Bridewell, London, according to the ſentence. J. W.

† After he was ſet at liberty, he went to Briſtol, where in a publick meeting, he made confeſſion of his offence, as to his former fall, and declared in ſo powerful manner, as tendered and broke the meeting into tears, ſo that there were few dry eyes (as related by ſome then preſent), and many were bowed in their minds and reconciled to him. J. W's account.

let all fleſh fear before him; whoſe breath is life to his own, but a conſuming fire to the adverſary.

'And to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be everlaſting dominion upon earth, and his kingdom above all the powers of darkneſs; even that Chriſt of whom the Scriptures declare, which was, and is, and is to come, the light of the world to all generations; of whoſe coming I teſtify with the reſt of the children of light, begotten of the immortal ſeed, whoſe truth and virtue now ſhine in the world, unto the righteouſneſs of eternal life, and the Saviour of all that believe therein; who hath been the rock of my ſalvation, and his ſpirit hath given quietneſs and patience to my ſoul in deep affliction, even for his name's ſake: praiſes for ever.

'But condemned for ever be all thoſe falſe worſhips with which any have idolized my perſon in the night of my temptation, when the power of darkneſs was above. All their caſting of their clothes in the way, their bowings and ſingings, and all the reſt of thoſe wild actions which did any ways tend to diſhonour the Lord, or draw the minds of any from the meaſure of Chriſt Jeſus in themſelves, to look at fleſh, which is as graſs, or to aſcribe that to the viſible, which belongs to Chriſt Jeſus; all that I condemn, by which the pure name of the Lord hath been any ways blaſphemed through me, in the time of temptation; or the ſpirits of any people grieved, that truly love the Lord Jeſus, throughout the whole world, of what ſort ſoever. This offence I confeſs, which hath been ſorrow of heart, that the enemy of man's peace in Chriſt, ſhould get this advantage in the night of my trial, to ſtir up wrath and offences in the creation of God; a thing the ſimplicity of my heart did not intend, the Lord knows; who in his endleſs love hath given me power over it, to condemn it. And alſo that letter which was ſent me to Exeter, by John Stranger, when I was in priſon, with theſe words, 'Thy name ſhall be no more James Nayler, but Jeſus,' this I judge to be written from the imaginations; and a fear ſtruck me when I firſt ſaw it, and ſo I put it in my pocket, cloſe, not intending any ſhould ſee it; which they finding on me, ſpread it abroad, which the ſimplicity of my heart never

owned. So this I deny alſo, that the name of Chriſt Jeſus was received inſtead of James Nayler, or aſcribed to him; for that name is to the promiſed ſeed to all generations; and he that hath the Son, hath the name, which is life and power, the ſalvation and the unction, into which name all the children of light are baptized. So the name of Chriſt I confeſs before men, which name to me hath been a ſtrong tower in the night and in the day: and this is the name of Chriſt Jeſus, which I confeſs, the Son and the Lamb, the promiſed ſeed, where he ſpeaks in male and female. But who hath not this in himſelf, hath not life, neither can have, by idolizing my perſon, or the perſon of any fleſh; but in whom the heir is born, and hath ſpoken, or doth ſpeak, there he muſt not be denied the mouth to ſpeak by, who is head over all, and in all his own, God bleſſed for ever.

'And all thoſe ranting wild ſpirits, which then gathered about me in that time of darkneſs; and all their wild actions and wicked words againſt the honour of God, and his pure ſpirit and people; I deny that bad ſpirit, the power and the works thereof; and as far as I gave advantage, through want of judgment, for that evil ſpirit in any to ariſe, I take ſhame to myſelf juſtly; having formerly had power over that ſpirit, in judgment and diſcerning, wherever it was; which darkneſs came over me through want of watchfulneſs and obedience to the pure eye of God, and diligently minding the reproof of life, which condemns the adulterous ſpirit. So the adverſary got advantage, who ceaſes not to ſeek to devour; and being taken captive from the true light, I was walking in the night where none can work, as a wandering bird fit for a prey. And if the Lord of all my mercies had not reſcued me, I had periſhed; for I was as one appointed to death and deſtruction, and there was none could deliver me. And this I confeſs, that God may be juſtified in his judgment, and magnified in his mercies without end, who did not forſake his captive in the night, even when his ſpirit was daily provoked and grieved; but hath brought me forth to give glory to his name for ever. And it is in my heart to confeſs to God, and before men, my folly and offence in that day: yet

were there many things formed againſt me in that day to take away my life, and bring ſcandal upon the Truth, of which I am not guilty at all; as that accuſation, as if I had committed adultery with ſome of thoſe women who came with us from Exeter priſon, and alſo thoſe who were with me at Briſtol the night before I ſuffered there; of both which accuſations I am clear before God, who kept me in that day both in thought and deed, as to all women, as a child, God is my record. And this I mention in particular (hearing of ſome who ſtill ceaſe not to reproach therewith God's Truth and people), that the mouth of enmity might be ſhut from evil ſpeaking; though this toucheth not my conſcience.

'And that report, as though I had raiſed Dorcas Erbury from the dead carnally, this I deny alſo, and condemn that teſtimony to be out of the Truth; though that power that quickens the dead, I deny not, which is the word of eternal life. And this I give forth, that it may go as far as the offence againſt the Spirit of Truth hath gone abroad, that all burdens may be taken off with the Truth, and the Truth cleared thereby, and the true light, and all that walk therein, and the deeds of darkneſs be condemned; and that all that are in darkneſs, may not act in the night, but ſtay upon God, who dwells in the light, who with the workers of iniquity hath no fellowſhip; which had I done, when firſt darkneſs came upon me, and not been led by others, I had not run againſt that rock to be broken, which ſo long had borne me, and of whom I had ſo largely drank, and of which I now drink in meaſure; to whom be the glory of all, and to him muſt every tongue confeſs, as Judge and Saviour, God over all, bleſſed for ever.'

The author adding to this an exhortation to the reader, how to behave himſelf, if at any time he came to be tempted to ſin; and alſo a warning not to rely too much on gifts, wiſdom, and knowledge, concludes thus:

'This I have learned in the deeps, and in ſecret, when I was alone; and now declare openly in the day of thy mercy, O Lord. Glory to the Higheſt for evermore, who

hath thus far ſet me free, to praiſe his righteouſneſs and his mercy; and to the eternal, inviſible, pure God, over all, be fear, obedience, and glory for evermore. Amen.

'James Nayler.'

He writ another paper, wherein he related at large, how by unwatchfulneſs he came to fall, after having once obtained much victory over the power of Satan, by the grace of God, when he daily walked humbly in his fear, having for ſome years laboured faithfully in the miniſtry of the goſpel. But what is remarkable, though wherever he did uſe to come, he went with great boldneſs through all oppoſition, yet coming to the city of London, he entered into it with the greateſt fear that ever he came into any place with, in ſpirit foreſeeing (as he relates) ſomewhat to befal him there, but not knowing what it might be: 'Yet had I,' (thus he ſaith) 'the ſame preſence and power as before, into whatever place or ſervice I was led of the Spirit; in that life I never returned without victory in Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord thereof. But not minding in all things to ſtand ſingle and low to the motions of that endleſs life, by it to be led in all things within and without; but giving way to the reaſoning part, as to ſome things which in themſelves had no ſeeming evil, by little and little it drew out my mind after trifles, vanities, and perſons, which took the affectionate part, by which my mind was drawn out from the conſtant watch, and pure fear, into which I once was begotten. Thus having in a great meaſure loſt my own guide, and darkneſs being come upon me, I ſought a place where I might have been alone to weep and cry before the Lord, that his face I might find, and my condition recover. But then my adverſary, who had long waited his opportunity, had got in, and beſtirred himſelf every way, ſo that I could not be hid: and divers meſſages came to me, ſome true, ſome falſe, as I have ſeen ſince. So I knowing ſome to be true, to wit, how I had loſt my condition, with this I let in the falſe meſſage alſo; and ſo letting go that little of the true light which I had yet remaining in myſelf, I gave up myſelf wholly to be led by others; whoſe work was then to divide me from the chil-

dren of light, which was done; though much was done by divers of them to prevent it, and in bowels of tender love many laboured to have ſtayed me with them. And after I was led out from them, the Lord God of my life ſent divers of his ſervants with his word after me, for my return; all which was rejected; yea, the provocation of that time of temptation was exceeding great againſt the pure love of God; yet he left me not; for after I had given myſelf under that power, and darkneſs was above, my adverſary ſo prevailed, that all things were turned and perverted againſt my right ſeeing, hearing, or underſtanding; only a ſecret hope and faith I had in my God, whom I had ſerved, that he would bring me through it, and to the end of it, and that I ſhould again ſee the day of my redemption from under it all; and this quieted my ſoul in my greateſt tribulation.'

The author moreover ſeriouſly exhorting others, who alſo might come to fall into great temptation, concludes with theſe words:

'He who hath ſaved my ſoul from death thus far, and lifted my feet up out of the pit, even to him be immortal glory for ever, and let every troubled ſoul truſt in him; for his mercy endureth for ever.

'James Nayler.'

That he came to a perfect recovery from his having been in a maze, ſeems to appear plainly by the following thankſgiving to God for his mercies, which he publiſhed after his fall:

'It is in my heart to praiſe thee, O my God; let me never forget thee, what thou haſt been to me in the night, by thy preſence in the day of trial, when I was beſet in darkneſs, when I was caſt out as a wandering bird, when I was aſſaulted with ſtrong temptations, then thy preſence in ſecret did preſerve me, and in a low ſtate I felt thee near me. When the floods ſought to ſweep me away, thou didſt ſet a compaſs for them how far they ſhould paſs over. When my way was through the ſea, and when I paſſed

under the mountains, there waſt thou preſent with me. When the weight of the hills was upon me, thou upheldeſt me, elſe had I ſunk under the earth. When I was as one altogether helpleſs; when tribulation and anguiſh was upon me day and night, and the earth without foundation; when I went on the way of wrath, and paſſed by the gates of hell; when all comforts ſtood afar off, and he that is mine enemy had dominion; when I was caſt into the pit, and was as one appointed to death; when I was between the mill-ſtones, and as one cruſhed with the weight of his adverſary; as a father, Thou waſt with me, and the rock of thy preſence. When the mouths of lions roared againſt me, and fear took hold of my ſoul in the pit, then I called upon thee in the night, and my cries were ſtrong before thee daily; who anſweredſt me from thy habitation, and deliveredſt me from thy dwelling-place; ſaying, I will ſet thee above all thy fears, and lift up thy feet above the head of oppreſſion.' I believed and was ſtrengthened, and thy word was ſalvation. Thou didſt fight on my part when I wreſtled with death; and when darkneſs would have ſhut me up, then thy light ſhone about me, and thy banner was over my head. When my work was in the furnace, and as I paſſed through the fire, by thee I was not conſumed, though the flames aſcended above my head. When I beheld the dreadful viſions, and was amongſt the fiery ſpirits, thy faith ſtayed me, elſe through fear I had fallen. I ſaw thee, and believed, ſo the enemy could not prevail.

'When I look back into thy works, I am aſtoniſhed, and ſee no end of thy praiſes. Glory, glory to thee, ſaith my ſoul, and let my heart be ever filled with thankſgiving. Whilſt thy works remain, they ſhall ſhew forth thy power. Then didſt thou lay the foundation of the earth, and lead me under the waters, and in the deep didſt thou ſhew me wonders, and thy forming of the world. By thy hand thou ledſt me in ſafety, till thou ſhewedſt me the pillars of the earth. Then did the heavens ſhower down, they were covered with darkneſs, and the powers thereof were ſhaken, and thy glory deſcended; thou filledſt the lower parts of the earth with gladneſs, and the ſprings of the valleys were opened, and thy ſhowers deſcended abundantly; ſo the earth

was filled with virtue. Thou madeſt thy plant to ſpring, and the thirſty ſoul became as a watered garden: then didſt thou lift me out of the pit, and ſet me forth in the ſight of my enemies. Thou proclaimedſt liberty to the captive, and calledſt mine acquaintance near me: they to whom I had been a wonder, looked upon me, and in thy love I obtained favour in thoſe who had forſook me. Then did gladneſs ſwallow up ſorrow, and I forſook all my troubles; and I ſaid, how good is it that man be proved in the night, that he may know his folly; that every mouth may become ſilent in thy hand, until thou makeſt man known to himſelf, and haſt ſlain the boaſter, and ſhewed him the vanity that vexeth thy ſpirit.

'James Nayler.'

This plainly appears to be a poetical piece; for the author all along makes uſe of allegorical ſayings, to ſignify the great anguiſh and tribulation he had been under.

The hatred of his enemies was the fiercer, becauſe he had undiſguiſedly and clearly demonſtrated their duty to the rulers, and preachers, and lawyers: for in a certain book, publiſhed by him in the year 1653, to exhort men to repentance, he writes thus to the rulers:

'O you rulers of the people, who are ſet up to judge between a man and his neighbour, ought not you to judge for God, and not for man? Ought not you to be men fearing God, and hating covetouſneſs, not judging for gifts and rewards? Ought not you to countenance and encourage them that do well, and to be a terror to them which do evil? Juſtice is ſo. And he that is of God, and bears his ſword, turns the edge of it againſt all ſin and wickedneſs, injuſtice and oppreſſion; and ſo ſets up juſtice and judgment in the gates, that the poor may be delivered from him that is too mighty for him, and that the cauſe of the fatherleſs, widow, and ſtranger may not fall; but hath an ear open to the cries of the poor and helpleſs, who hath but little money, and few friends; that a poor man may not be afraid to appear in a good cauſe, againſt the greateſt oppreſſor in the nation.

'And ought not you to judge without reſpect to perſons, or without ſeeking reſpect to your own perſons, worſhip or honour from men; but only to advance juſtice, equity, and righteouſneſs, which is of God; that ſo you may be honoured by the Lord; for true humility is honour, and he that honours the Lord, him will He honour; and ſuch have been honoured in all ages, though they never ſought it from men.'

This and much more he writ to the rulers; and to the preachers thus:

'And you who ſay you are the teachers of the nation, how long will it be ere you look at your own ways? Is not all manner of filthineſs amongſt you, which you ſhould lead the people out of? Is there not among you drunkenneſs, gluttony, whoredom, and ſporting, ſitting down to eat and to drink, and riſing up to play; ſwearing, lying, backbiting, falſe accuſing, railing, ſlandering, contention, ſtrife, and envy? Yea, are not the beſt of you given to pride and covetouſneſs, which is idolatry; fullneſs of bread, and abundance of idleneſs? Are not you hirelings, and teach for the fleece? Do not you contend for money with your own hearers, and ſue them at law for it; yea, although they cannot ſatisfy your demands, without ſinning againſt the light in their own conſcience, and ſo ſin againſt God? Are you not bitter, and perſecutors of any that come to diſcover your lewdneſs, crying out to the magiſtrate to uphold you in your beaſtly ways, and to ſtop the mouths of all thoſe whom God hath ſent to witneſs againſt you? And many more works of this nature is amongſt you, which the pure all-ſeeing God hath ſhewed unto his people, to be amongſt you, and therefore it is that they come out from you, leſt they partake with you of your ſins and plagues. But are not you blind leaders of the blind, when you neither ſee theſe to be the works of darkneſs, nor thoſe that follow you. Wo unto you that devour ſouls for money and gain, the day of your account is at hand. O repent, the blood of ſouls is upon you,' &c.

The lawyers in the ſame writing had a ſtroke alſo thus:

'And you lawyers, ought not you to plead the cauſe of equity, between man and man for equity ſake, without reſpect to yourſelves or others, but only to truth itſelf; that a juſt cauſe may be owned in whomſoever it concerns? But is not the juſteſt cauſe ſure to fall, if the party have not money to ſatisfy your demands; which are many times very unreaſonable? And you who ſhould inſtruct people in the ways of truth and peace, do not you by your wiſdom teach them lies and ſtrife? Do not you adviſe your plaintiffs, as you call them, to declare in bills, things that are not true, and make ſmall offences ſeem very great by falſe gloſſes? For ſay you, we may declare what we will, and prove what we can; ſo that you, and they whom you act for, know before-hand, that ſcarce one thing of ten can be proved, neither is true? Is this the way to make up the breach, and preſerve peace and truth amongſt people? O miſerable fall from God, when that law which ſhould before preſerve in peace, is uſed to aggravate offences beyond truth, and ſo make differences greater. And do not you delight to fiſh in troubled waters; and the greater diſſenſion amongſt the people, the more is your gain? Are not your purſes filled, and your eſtates raiſed in the ruins of the people? And are not thoſe laws which ought to be uſed to preſerve people from oppreſſion, by abuſing, made the undoing of whole families, impoveriſhing towns and countries? The law, as it is now uſed, is ſcarce ſerviceable for any other end, but for the envious man, who hath much money to revenge himſelf of his poor neighbours, which, may be, never did him wrong. Is there any appearing for the poor againſt the rich, although his cauſe be juſt; but by deceit, delays, and expences, the remedy is worſe than the diſeaſe?'

Much more he wrote to the lawyers, to ſtir them up to do juſtice, and then addreſſed himſelf to the people in general, in theſe words:

'And you people of the nation, that have ſeen the hand

of God againſt the prince and people for theſe and the like abominations, and you yourſelves are eſcaped, as brands plucked out of the fire; have you at all turned to him who hath ſmitten you; or are you bettered by correction; or have you made your peace with the Almighty? Although you have ſeen war, and the ſword reaching to the very ſoul, are you not every one, to your own power, gathering fuel to that fire which hath been burning in the land, and hath conſumed thouſands; which ſhould have been as a warning unto you who are eſcaped, to return to the Lord from the evil of your doings? But are not you ſtill making the breach wider between God and the nation, as though you were left for no other end, but to fill up the meaſure of iniquity that is yet behind, that the juſt God may ſweep the land with the beſom of deſtruction? O when will you ceaſe to provoke the Lord by your ſins? Where is your Redeemer you have profeſſed ſo long in words and forms? Can you witneſs him in your works? And what hath he redeemed you from? For ſaith he, "Why call you me Lord, and do not the things which I ſay?" Is He your Lord, and you ſervants to all manner of filthineſs? And notwithſtanding that you have ſeen his wonders in the nation, yet do not you exceed all that ever went before you, in pride, covetouſneſs, drunkenneſs, ſwearing, envying, quarrelling, backbiting, ſlandering, falſe accuſing, ſelf-love, and deceit in all manner of merchandize and trading; falſe weights and meaſures, ſayings, proteſtings one towards another, in your bargaining, ſpeaking things that are not true, and hereby to over-reach your brethren, and get diſhoneſt gain. How many falſe oaths, and idle words are ſpent about every bargain in your markets, and open ſtreets, without bluſhing, or being aſhamed? Yea, it is able to break the hearts of any who know the pure God, to know it, and hear it; for it is come to ſuch a height of deceit, that none can truſt his brother; for lying, ſwearing, and forſwearing, it abounds in the nation; and yet you will profeſs yourſelves to be the members of Jeſus Chriſt: and had Jeſus Chriſt ever ſuch a body as this? Nay, all that are members of him, are of one heart, and one ſoul.

'And you talk of a communion of ſaints: had ever the ſaints ſuch a communion as this, to defraud one another for money; and profeſs a Redeemer, and are ſervants to the devil, and your own luſts, in all the motions and temptations thereof, and are led captive at his will? But what redemption is this you witneſs? So long as ſin, the partition wall, is between God and you, ſtands ſtill whole in your wills, you will be drunk, ſwear, lie, and commit adultery, diſſemble, and ſatisfy your luſts in all things, and ſay we are redeemed; yet commit all theſe abominations, and live in them, under a pretence of a profeſſion, and going to the idols temple once a week. Did ever Jeſus Chriſt redeem ſuch a people, or dwell in ſuch a people? Thoſe whom he hath redeemed, he hath freed from the ſervitude of ſin, by ſeparating them from ſin, and reconciling them to God, from whence they are fallen by ſin: for God and ſin cannot dwell in one. And to ſuch he ſaith, "Be ye holy, for I am holy:" and as he is the "Lamb of God who taketh away the ſins of the world." Now ſee, how is your ſins taken away, when the kingdom of darkneſs doth wholly rule in you, and leads you into works and ways of darkneſs? Are you reconciled to God, and have you fellowſhip with him? Are not you yet ſtrangers to him, and worſhip an unknown God? "For he that commits ſin, hath not ſeen him, neither known him," and ſo worſhip they know not what, in formal and ſuperſtitious worſhips.'

Thus J. Nayler wrote: but I now break off that I may not be tedious.

So zealous was he before his fall; which was wholly of another nature than the common ſins and tranſgreſſions; for by the wiles of Satan, he accepted the idolatrous honour that ſome perſons gave him, inſtead of which he ought to have reproved them; and thus was he ſo ſtupified in his underſtanding, that he imagined the bowing and kneeling before him, was not done on account of his perſon, but for Chriſt: and with this falſe opinion he blinded himſelf for a time, till it pleaſed God to pity him, and to give him light again; after he had ſuffered ſuch an unheard of puniſhment for his tranſgreſſion, as is already related in

this hiſtory. And becauſe his freedom of ſpeech againſt unrighteouſneſs of all ſorts, and his preaching, ran very ſharp upon all, ſeveral were angry with him, became his enemies, and took occaſion from his crime to revenge themſelves fiercely upon him, by making him ſuffer a cruel puniſhment, which was no ways proportionable to his tranſgreſſion. But herein barbarous cruelty played its part ſo much, that the ſobereſt inhabitants did deteſt it, and therefore a petition was preſented to the parliament, deſiring a diſcharge of part of the puniſhment, of which, the firſt ſubſcriber was colonel Scroop, who was governor of Briſtol.

While he lay in the houſe of correction, he writ ſeveral papers to manifeſt his regret and repentance for his crime; ſome of which are already inſerted in this hiſtory. Since, is come to my hand a letter to his friends, being written with his own hand, to this purport:

'Dear brethren,

'My heart is broken this day for the offence that I have occaſioned to God's truth and people, and eſpecially to you, who in dear love followed me, ſeeking me in faithfulneſs to God, which I rejected; being bound wherein I could not come forth, till God's hand brought me, to whoſe love I now confeſs: and I beſeech you, forgive wherein I evilly requited your love in that day. God knows my ſorrow for it, ſince I ſee it, that ever I ſhould offend that of God in any, or reject his counſel; and now that paper you have ſeen lies much upon me, and I greatly fear farther to offend, or do amiſs, whereby the innocent Truth, or people of God ſhould ſuffer, or that I ſhould diſobey therein.

'Unleſs the Lord himſelf keep you from me, I beſeech you let nothing elſe hinder your coming to me, that I might have your help in the Lord: in the mercies of Chriſt Jeſus this I beg of you, as if it was your own caſe, let me not be forgotten of you.

'And I entreat you, ſpeak to Henry Clarke, or whoever elſe I have moſt offended; and by the power of God, and in the ſpirit of Chriſt Jeſus, I am willing to confeſs the

offence, that God's love may ariſe in all hearts, as before, if it be his will, who only can remove what ſtands in the way; and nothing thereof do I intend to cover: God is witneſs herein.

He alſo writ ſeveral other confeſſions of his faults about this time, in one of which, amongſt others, I find theſe words:

'And concerning you, the tender plants of my Father, who have ſuffered through me, or with me, in what the Lord hath ſuffered to be done with me, in this time of great trial and temptation; the Almighty God of love, who hath numbered every ſigh, and put every tear in his bottle, reward it a thouſand fold into your boſoms, in the day of your need, when you ſhall come to be tried and tempted; and in the mean-time fulfil your joy with his love, which you ſeek after. The Lord knows, it was never in my heart to cauſe you to mourn, whoſe ſuffering is my greateſt ſorrow that ever yet came upon me, for you are innocent herein.'

When he had finiſhed that letter, and ſet his name, he wrote as follows:

'I beſeech you (all that can) to receive it, even as you would be received of the Lord; and for the reſt, the Lord give me patience to ſuffer, till he make up the breach.'

While he was in Bridewell, he writ to the parliament, who had puniſhed him as a blaſphemer, to let them know what his true opinion concerning Jeſus Chriſt was.

'Chriſt Jeſus, (the Immanuel, of whoſe ſufferings the Scriptures declare) him alone I confeſs before men; for whoſe ſake I have denied whatever was dear to me in this world, that I might win him, and be found in him, and not in myſelf; whoſe life and virtue I find daily manifeſt in my mortal body (which is my eternal joy and hope of

glory); whom I alone ſeek to ſerve in ſpirit, ſoul and body, night and day (according to the meaſure of grace working in me), that in me he may be glorified, whether by life or death; and for his ſake I ſuffer all things, that he alone may have the glory of my change, whoſe work alone it is in me: even to that eternal Spirit be glory, and to the Lamb for ever.

'But to aſcribe this name, power, and virtue, to James Nayler (or to that which had a beginning, and muſt return to duſt), or for that to be exalted, or worſhipped, to me is great idolatry, and with the Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus in me it is condemned; which Spirit leads to lowlineſs, meekneſs, and long-ſuffering.

'So having an opportunity given (with readineſs) I am willing, in the fear of God the Father (in honour to Chriſt Jeſus, and to take off all offences from every ſimple heart), this to declare to all the world, as the truth of Chriſt is in me, without guile or deceit, daily finding it to be my work to ſeek peace in truth with all men in that ſpirit.

'James Nayler.'

After this, hearing that ſome had wronged him about that which he had ſpoken to the committee of the parliament, and underſtanding how men had perverted his words, he writ a paper, declaring himſelf farther concerning his belief of Chriſt, and his ſufferings, and death, &c. Alſo he complained of things that ſome had publiſhed, under the title of James Nayler's recantation, wherein they had much perverted him; and he declared:

'And as touching the printing of that paper (called J. N's recantation) it was not done by me, nor with my knowledge in the leaſt, nor do I yet at all know the man that hath done it; but out of the Truth, and againſt the Truth he hath done it, and for evil towards me, whoever it was; the Lord God of my life, who hath kept me alive in all diſtreſs, turn it for good, and forgive the evil: and though he that hath done it, hath not done it in Truth, nor love to it, yet what of truth there is in the paper, I ſhall own, as ſtands on Truth's behalf: for thus it was, that

after I was put into the hole at Bridewell, I heard of many wild actions done by a ſort of people who pretended that they owned me; and theſe were earneſtly ſtirred up at that day, with much violence, and many unſeemly actions, to go into the meetings of the people of the Lord called Quakers, on purpoſe to hinder their peaceable meetings; and yet would take that holy and pure name of God and Chriſt frequently in their mouths, whereby the name of the Lord was much diſhonoured, and his pure Spirit grieved, and much diſorder they cauſed in many places of the nation, to the diſhonour of Chriſt Jeſus, for which I felt wrath from God; which when I underſtood that they had any ſtrength through me, I uſed all means I could to declare againſt that evil ſpirit, which under the name of God and Chriſt, was againſt God and Chriſt, his Truth and people; and ſomething I did give forth about a year and a half ſince, in denial of theſe ſpirits, which it ſeems to me, he that hath done this, hath got a ſight of, and hath added to it the thoughts of his own heart, and ſo hath brought out this darkneſs, that people know not what to make of it.

'Therefore, ſo far as it teſtifies againſt thoſe unclean ranting ſpirits, and all the actions wherein the holy name of God hath been diſhonoured, and his Spirit grieved, ſo far I own it; but in that it is turned as though I denied the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his truth, which hath called me out of the world, or his people, whom he hath called into light, in that I own it not; for in the patience and tribulation of Chriſt Jeſus, and with thoſe who have the power this day to teſtify therein, againſt all the evils of this preſent world, I am one in heart and ſoul to the utmoſt of my ſtrength, till the coming of the Lord Jeſus over all; and the throne of meekneſs and truth, be ſet on the top of enmity and deceit; in which faith and power I am given up to live or die, ſuffer or rejoice, as God will, even ſo be it, without murmuring.

'James Nayler.'

This is certain, that James Nayler came to very great ſorrow, and deep humiliation of mind; and therefore, be-

cauſe God forgives the tranſgreſſions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and remembereth them no more, ſo could James Nayler's friends do no other than forgive his crime, and thus take back the loſt ſheep into their ſociety. He having afterwards obtained his liberty, behaved himſelf as became a Chriſtian, honeſt, and blameleſs in converſation; and patiently bore the reproach of his former crimes.

When king Charles the Second had aſcended the throne, one Richard Blome publiſhed a book, entitled, The Fanatick Hiſtory, which was ſaid to be publiſhed with the approbation of orthodox divines (ſo called), and dedicated by him to the king. This book ſtruck chiefly againſt the Quakers, and was ſtuft with a multitude of lying ſtories, and the fall of J. Nayler was not concealed in it. He being then alive, took up the pen, and anſwered the falſities contained in it, relating to himſelf: and becauſe R. Blome in his dedication, ſaid, 'That if his majeſty put not forth his royal hand of power ſuddenly, to reſtrain us, we are ſo numerous, and ſeducing, that we will (in a little time) diffuſe our poiſon over the better part of his kingdom, which none but a regal authority can ſtifle.'

'I ſay then, what is become of your ſpiritual weapons? Have not your teachers told people of the ſtrength of truth, and the power of godlineſs? Have you loſt both (may wiſdom ſay), and run you now to the arm of fleſh, to get errors ſtifled (as you call them), or elſe your hope is loſt, and your faith fails you? Did ever any of Chriſt's miniſters leave their ſpiritual weapons, to run to the arm of fleſh, or a carnal weapon to ſtop ſeducers? I ſay, no. This they never did; but with ſpiritual weapons they wreſtled, and overcame ſpiritual wickedneſs, and with them cut down hereſies, blaſphemies, and falſe worſhips, and cleared the churches of Chriſt of them, and drove them down before them in the world: for none could reſiſt the ſpirit by which they ſpoke, of all the falſe prieſts, and falſe worſhippers; but being put to the worſt, they cried (as you do) to rulers and people, Help us, or all will be overrun: for they that turn the world upſide down are come hither (mind your cry). And then the rude multitude

ran on heaps upon them, and made tumults often, and fell upon them with ſtaves and fiſts, and aſſaulted the houſes that entertained them, as you do, and ſo haled them before rulers, who took their part herein, and put them in priſon, and often whipped them; unleſs it were ſome that were ſo noble, as not to heed the cry of the multitude; but would hear their cauſe, and give them leave to ſpeak, before they would ſentence them that were accuſed. And this was the nobility of heathen kings and rulers; and do not you ſeek to make England's rulers worſe than them? Beware leſt heathens riſe up in the day of judgment againſt them who are called Chriſtians, and condemn them.

'And in this your cry for help, againſt ſo contemptible a people (as you count them), you (like ſilly women) do but diſcover your weakneſs and worthleſſneſs; and if God open the eyes of king Charles, he will ſee it. What! have you preached and wreſtled yourſelves out of all hope and faith, that either you muſt have ſudden help from him, or all is loſt and overrun? Surely it may be ſaid, you have been bad watchmen, and idle ſhepherds, who have loſt all, if ſudden help come not from another hand. Now if any had come againſt you with carnal weapons, then had you had ſome excuſe in crying to the earthly powers; but in that nothing but ſpirit comes againſt ſpirit, and yet you have loſt the day. This doth clearly manifeſt, that the power of God you have not in you, but have loſt the kingdom of the Moſt High, and ſo are become unreaſonable men, who would have two weapons againſt one, and another to do your work for you, and yet are unwilling to forego your wages; yea, this advantage you have had divers years, but have not prevailed therewith.

'And whereas thou ſayeſt thy book is of great conſequence; and ſo thou preſumeſt to make king Charles the patron of it: and then aſkeſt pardon for thy preſumption, when thou haſt done.

'I ſay thou haſt need: the ſubſtance of thy book being made up of falſe accuſations, gathered up out of books formerly written againſt us, which have been diſproved by anſwers ſeveral times over: and to theſe thou haſt added ſome new accuſations, as falſe as the old, and ſpied out

the failings of ſome few, who have mourned before God, that ever they ſhould ſin, and give occaſion to the enemy of God ſo to blaſpheme. And many things which were done and ſpoken by others, who are not of us, nor ever were: and of this is thy book made up, as any man may ſee who reads it, and our ſeveral anſwers to the charges therein, many of them of ſeveral years ſtanding, againſt theſe falſe accuſations, which have moſt of them been printed over and over, and preſented to the former powers that have riſen, and as often anſwered: ſo there needed no more to be ſaid, than hath been, were it not for the ſake of ſome who may yet be ſtrangers to your way of dealing towards us, under every power that hath been. Now diſcretion will ſay, that to make another man the father of ſuch a work, to which he is a ſtranger (but eſpecially a king) is preſumption indeed, raſhneſs, and folly, and needs a pardon.

'And whereas you now ſay, that none but a regal authority can ſtifle; it is true, you have tried parliaments and protectors (as you called them) and parliaments again; and to make them then work for you, your prieſts uſed theſe arguments to them, (to wit) That in the late wars they had expoſed lives, liberties, eſtates, and relations, with all other perſonal advantages, in maintaining the juſt proceedings of parliaments, and from them you then claimed our ſtifling, as the price of your prayers, purſes, hazards, loſſes, baniſhment, and blood, as may be read in the Weſtmoreland petition againſt us, which thou haſt printed in page 197 and 198. And was not this power that which you then called the common enemy, in the ſame petition, page 200, which you now cry to, and would put him upon that work againſt us now, as defender of your faith, &c. Ah! faithleſs generation, have you been to God and man, may you not be aſhamed of this work, to print it, and ſend it to king Charles, and call him to defend it, and patronize it: how hath envy bereaved you of your reaſonableneſs? Shall he who defends this, defend either faith or truth? But this is, that you may cover yourſelves with your ſhame and envy, that both king and people, and parliaments, may ſee what a generation you are, that will run under any power to get your bloody

ends: but indeed true to none; for if it was true, that you were ſo faithful to that parliament, with your prayers, purſes, and blood, as there you plead, then is your faith but new, which now you would have defended; but if not true, then how great deceivers, and how little to be truſted, or defended, in your cruel deſigns.

"The king that faithfully judges the poor, his throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever. But, if a ruler hearken to lies, all his ſervants are wicked," Prov. xxix. 12, 14.

'And to thee, who haſt ſet forth this book of miſchief, I ſay with the Scriptures, "Lay not wait, O wicked man, againſt the dwelling of the righteous, ſpoil not his reſting place. For a juſt man falleth ſeven times, and riſeth up again; but the wicked ſhall fall into miſchief," Prov. xxiv. 15, 16. See alſo Mich. vii. 8. J. N.'

In anſwer to the book.

'The day is come that the Scripture is fulfilled, which the Lord ſpoke by his prophet, Iſa. xliv. 25. That he will make the diviners mad; and that the prophets ſhall be aſhamed, every one of his viſion, Zach. xiii. 4. The which doth now evidently appear, and their folly is made manifeſt unto all, that will ſee and behold it, according to 2 Tim. iii. 9. And is not this manifeſt madneſs and folly in them, called orthodox and divines, to preſent unto the king their packet of lies, which have been ſeven years told over, and ſo long ſince diſproved and confuted, as may be ſeen in a book called, Saul's Errand to Damaſcus, &c. printed in the year 1653, and in ſeveral other books ſince. It already hath been, and is now manifeſt unto all men of ſober underſtandings, that theſe men, falſely called orthodox and divines, have had no defence, either to vindicate themſelves, or diſprove the people called Quakers, but this refuge of lies, which they firſt preſented to the parliament ſitting in 1652, and likewiſe to other parliaments which have been ſince that time, and to the two protectors, and now to this preſent king is directed; and you preſumptuouſly charge him to be the patron of it, requiring him to defend thoſe lies which you falſely call the faith. But

this we know, according as it is written, Prov. xxix. 12. 19. that "if a ruler hearken to lies, all his ſervants are wicked; but a wiſe king ſcattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them." Chap. xx. 26.

'Theſe pretended divines are ſuch as have bowed and crouched under every appearance of a power, and by flatteries ſeem to cleave unto them, that they might uphold, maintain, and ſatisfy their God, which is their bellies. Theſe were of them which ſaid, that Oliver Cromwell was the light of their eyes, and the breath of their noſtrils: ſo that now with ſhame they might rather confeſs that they are blind, and dead (from the light and life of God), than to multiply lies in their accuſtomed manner as formerly. Theſe alſo were of them that ſaid, Oliver Cromwell was Moſes, who had led them into a ſight of the good land; and that Richard his ſon was Joſhua, which ſhould lead them into the poſſeſſion. But we, with many more, do ſee that their hope is falſe, and their faith alſo proved vain, and that they are not yet in the land of promiſe, for there no liars come. And thoſe former rulers hearkening to their lies, were deceived by them which was the cauſe of God's judgments, and utter deſtruction coming upon them; which while they put into the prieſts mouths, they cried, peace unto them, calling them Moſes, Aaron, and Joſhua; but when they ceaſed, and could not put into their mouths, then they cried out, that Moſes and Joſhua were tyrants and oppreſſors: and ſo will they do unto the king now, who are ſeeking to cleave unto him by flattery and deceit; which if he deny to be the patron and defender of their lies, will be apt to cry as much againſt him. So that he, or they, are bleſſed, whoſe ears are not open to their clamours, but whoſe hearts are joined to the Truth, and who are led by the Spirit of God as their inſtructor; for ſuch ſhall diſcern hypocrites, and falſe-hearted men, under every pretence of flattery or diſſimulation; for the folly of theſe begins to be manifeſt unto all men, 2 Tim. iii. 9.

'Now in anſwer to the hiſtory concerning John Toldervey, aſſerted by a company of prieſts, as Brooks, Cocking, Goodwin, Jenkins, Jacomb, Alderry, Tombs, and Pool,

who themſelves ſay, that they have but peruſed a part, as page 99, and yet pretend to witneſs the whole; whoſe witneſs is diſproved and denied by the ſaid John Toldervey, both by his own book given forth from him, and by his life and converſation, being now (ſince his return from his outgoing) a living witneſs, not againſt, but for the way, doctrine, principle, and practice, which the people called Quakers do live in, againſt thoſe lies publiſhed abroad concerning him.

'And as for thy charge thou haſt againſt J. Nayler, through the everlaſting mercy of my God, I have yet a being amongſt the living, and breath to anſwer for myſelf, though againſt the intents of many cruel bloody ſpirits, who purſued my ſoul unto death (as much as in them lay) in that day of my calamity, when my adverſary was above, and wherein I was made a ſign to a backſliding generation, who then would not ſee nor hear what now is coming upon them; but rejoiced againſt this piece of duſt, and had little pity towards him that was fallen into their hands; wherein God was juſt in giving me up for my diſobedience, for a little moment, as a father to correct; yet ſhould not they have ſought to aggravate things againſt me, as thou doſt; for it was a day of deep diſtreſs, and lay ſore upon my ſoul, and the merciful God ſaw it; who, though he was diſpleaſed for a time, yet his thoughts were not to caſt off for ever (but extend mercy) as it is at this day; glory be to his name, from my delivered ſoul, eternally.

'And in that day there were many ſpirits flocked about me, and ſome whom (while the candle of the Lord ſhone upon my head) I ever judged and kept out from me, who then got up and acted, and ſpoke ſeveral things not in the light and Truth of God, by which they, who ſought occaſion againſt me, were then ſtrengthened to afflict this body, and he that watches for evil, in thee and ſome others, makes uſe of ſtill againſt God's Truth and innocent people; whoſe mouths the God of my mercy ſtop, and ſo finiſh the trouble of my heart as to that thing; for my ſoul hath long dwelt among lions, even among them that are ſet on fire, whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows, and their tongues a ſharp ſword, ſpeaking miſchievous things to ſhed blood.

'But, O man, or men, whoever you be, whoſe work it is to gather the failings of God's people in the time of temptation, or night of their trial, and aggravate them, and add thereto the wickedneſs and miſchievous lies of your own hearts, as thou haſt done in thy book, and then come out with thoſe, againſt God's everlaſting holy Truth, it to reproach; I ſay, you are ſet on work by an evil ſpirit, and you do but ſhew yourſelves to be enemies to God and his children; and it is our ſorrow, that any of us ſhould give occaſion to blaſpheme; and it hath been trouble of ſoul to all the people of God, that have ever loved righteouſneſs, when they have thus occaſioned the joy of the wicked, or to feed the man that watches for iniquity, and feeds on miſchief: yet know this, you that are of that brood, God will not caſt off his people; though he be ſometimes provoked to correct them, even before their adverſaries (which is a ſign to them) yet is his anger but for a moment, and his favour ſhall return as ſtreams of life; then ſhall the food be taken out of the mouth of the viper, and the prey from between the teeth of the devourers; and God will feed them with their own vomit, and the poiſon that hath long lain under their tongues, ſhall be bitter in their own bowels. Thus will God certainly plead with Zion's enemies, as he bends her ſons for himſelf, and God will make up her breaches: and this hath my ſoul ſeen, Jacob's captivity reſtored, and the diggers of the pit are fallen therein; neither hath he ſmitten him as he ſmote them that ſmote him, nor is he ſlain according to the ſlaughter of them that are ſlain by him; but this is all, his fruit to purge away his ſin.

'So he that hath long watched for my faultering, then got advantage againſt me; yet had I then power to bear his utmoſt envy, through Chriſt Jeſus, whom I then confeſſed before men, who then was my ſupport in all, and under all, and who is over all, bleſſed for ever of all who have proved him in the depth.

'But that which was, and is the ſorrow of my heart, is the advantage the enemy then took againſt the name of Chriſt, his Truth, and his deſpiſed people, in that time of temptation, which is that which thou art now

purſuing with hatred and lies, as that I was ſuſpected to have a woman in bed with me, the night before I ſuffered at Briſtol, when there were ſix or ſeven perſons in the room that night, and a man (to wit), Robert Rich, in bed with me. But this, and ſeveral other falſe things, thou haſt written in thy book, of which I am clear before the Lord, ſo they touch me not at all; nor ſhall I here mention them againſt thee in particular; but to God alone I look, in his time to be cleared from all offences in his ſight, who only knows my heart in this thing, in whoſe preſence I can ſay, that nothing is more odious and burdenſome to my ſoul, than that any of the glory or worſhip which belongs to God or to Chriſt, ſhould be given to fleſh and blood, in myſelf, or others: and how it was with me at that day many talk of, but few know; ſo the judgment of ſuch I bear; deſiring that none in judging me, might have condemned themſelves in God's ſight; whoſe counſels are a great deep, and the end of his work paſt finding out, till he himſelf reveal them; but in the end he will be juſtified of all, and in all he doth, that all fleſh may be ſilent before him.

'And however myſelf, or any others, may be left to themſelves, to be tried in the night; yea, ſhould any utterly fall, or whatever may be acted by any man or woman, that is not juſtifiable in God's ſight, yet in vain doſt thou, or you, gather up ſin, or watch for iniquity, to caſt upon the light, which condemns it in every enlightened conſcience, and there will clear himſelf to be no author nor actor therein; and I know by the Spirit of Jeſus, which I have received, and which worketh in me, that this is not his work, nor his ſeed; nor in him that loves his enemies, thou art not; but the old accuſer of the brethren it is that worketh ſtrongly in thee; and in the light which thou reproacheſt, art thou ſeen to be the man that makes lies, and carries tales to ſhed blood.' Ezek. xxii. 9. 12.

Thus much and more J. Nayler writ to anſwer the falſehoods whereof he was accuſed, and to apologize for the doctrine of which he had made profeſſion, and to ſhew that the fault of his crime muſt no ways be attributed to

the ſame, as many envious perſons in thoſe times aſſerted, to wit, that his fall was a conſequence of the doctrine that men muſt take heed to the ſaving grace, the inward anoiting, or the light wherewith every man coming into the world is enlightened from God.*

Yet to proceed farther with J. Nayler: he wrote after his recovery, many papers and edyfying letters: he alſo anſwered two letters, which when the perſecution in New England burnt ſo fierce, were ſent over from thence in defence of that fact; one under the name of John Endicot, governor of Boſton, and the other in that of Richard Billingham. All the arguments for the perſecution of the Quakers to be lawful and neceſſary, he anſwered at large, and ſhewed how little agreement their crime of purſuing perſecution had with the name wherewith they had called themſelves, for a diſtinction from other perſuaſions, namely, Independents, by which they would have it known, that they were independent from all, except the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, on whom they pretended alone to be dependent: and yet nevertheleſs it now appeared manifeſtly that it was the fleſhly arm whereby they ſupported themſelves. He

* J. Nayler was a man who had been highly favoured of God with a good degree of grace, which was ſufficient for him, had he kept to its teachings; for while he did ſo, he was exemplary in godlineſs and great humility, was powerful in word and doctrine, and thereby inſtrumental in the hand of God, for turning many from darkneſs to light, and from the power of ſatan to the power of God. But he, poor man, became exalted above meaſure, through the abundance of revelation; and in that exaltation did depart from the grace and Holy Spirit of God, which had been his ſufficient teacher. Then blindneſs came over him, and he did ſuffer himſelf to be accounted of above what he ought: here he ſlipped and fell, but not irrecoverably; for it did pleaſe God of his infinite mercy, in the day of his affliction, to give him a ſight and ſenſe of his outgoings and fall, and alſo a place of repentance. And he, with the prodigal, humbled himſelf for his tranſgreſſion, and beſought God with true contrition of ſoul, to pardon his offences through Jeſus Chriſt. God, I firmly believe, forgave him, for he pardons the truly penitent. His people received him with great joy, for that he who had gone aſtray from God, was now returned to the Father's houſe, and for that he who had ſeparated himſelf from them through his iniquity, was now through repentance and forſaking of it, returned into the unity of the faith, and their holy fellowſhip in the goſpel of Chriſt. And I do hereby teſtify, that I do eſteem it a particular mark of God's owning his people, in bringing back into unity with them, a man who had ſo dangerouſly fallen, as did James Nayler. And here let none inſult, but take heed leſt they alſo, in the hour of their temptation, do fall away. Nor let any boaſtingly ſay, Where is your God? Or blaſphemouſly ſuppoſe his grace is not ſufficient for man in temptation, becauſe the tempted may go from, and neglect the teaching of it. David and Peter, as their tranſgreſſion came by their departing from this infallible guide, the Holy Spirit, ſo their recovery was only by it. Joſ. Wyeth's Anguis Flagel.

wrote alſo ſome papers to the parliament, and the rulers, to check the vanities that were publickly committed, and to mend their faults; to eaſe the oppreſſed, and to take care for the maintenance of liberty.

At length * he died in Huntingdonſhire, in the latter end of the year 1660, about the 44th year of his age. About two hours before his death, he ſpoke, in the preſence of ſeveral witneſſes, theſe words:

'There is a ſpirit which I feel, that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to endure all things, in hope to enjoy its own in the end. Its hope is to out-live all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itſelf. It ſees to the end of all temptations. As it bears no evil in itſelf, ſo it conceives none in thoughts to any other: if it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and ſpring is the mercies and forgiveneſs of God. Its crown is meekneſs, its life is everlaſting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with entreaty, and not with contention, and keeps it by lowlineſs of mind. In God alone it can rejoice, though none elſe regard it, or can own its life. It is conceived in ſorrow, and brought forth without any to pity it; nor doth it murmur at grief and oppreſſion. It never rejoiceth but through ſufferings; for with the world's joy it is murdered. I found it alone, being forſaken. I have fellowſhip therein with them who lived in dens, and deſolate

* He was a man of great ſelf-denial, and very jealous of himſelf, ever after his fall and recovery.—At laſt, departing from the city of London, about the latter end of the Eighth month, 1660, towards the North, intending to go home to his wife and children at Wakefield in Yorkſhire, he was ſeen by a friend of Hertford (ſitting by the way-ſide in a very awful weighty frame of mind), who invited him to his houſe, but he refuſed, ſignifying his mind to paſs forward, and ſo went on foot as far as Huntingdonſhire, and was obſerved by a friend, as he paſſed through the town, in ſuch an awful frame, as if he had been redeemed from the earth, and a ſtranger on it, ſeeking a better country and inheritance. But going ſome miles beyond Huntingdon, he was taken ill (being, as it is ſaid), robbed by the way, and left bound: whether he received any perſonal injury, is not certainly known, but being found in a field by a countryman toward evening, was had, or went, to a friend's houſe at Holm, not far from King's Rippon, where Thomas Parnel, a doctor of phyſick dwelt, who came to viſit him; and being aſked if any friends at London ſhould be ſent for to come and ſee him: he ſaid 'Nay,' expreſſing his care and love to them. Being ſhifted, he ſaid, 'You have refreſhed my body, the Lord refreſh your ſouls;' and not long after departed this life, in peace with the Lord, about the Ninth month, 1660, and the 44th year of his age, and was buried in Thomas Parnel's burying-ground at King's Rippon aforeſaid. J. W's. account.

places in the earth, who through death obtained this reſurrection, and eternal holy life.*

'James Nayler.'

This was J. Nayler's laſt teſtimony, or dying words; and thus he gave proof, that though he had erred, yet with great confidence he hoped for a happy reſurrection.

So I conclude the ſtory of J. Nayler, and leaving him now, time calls me to New England.

It was in the month called July, of this preſent year, when Mary Fiſher and Ann Auſtin arrived in the road before Boſton, before ever a law was made there againſt the Quakers; and yet they were very ill treated; for before they came aſhore, the deputy-governor, Richard Billingham, (the governor himſelf being out of town) ſent officers aboard, who ſearched their trunks and cheſts, and took away the books they found there, which were about one hundred, and carried them aſhore, after having commanded the ſaid women to be kept priſoners aboard; and the ſaid books were, by an order of the council, burnt in the market-place by the hangman. Afterwards the deputy-governor had them brought on ſhore, and committed them by a mittimus to priſon as Quakers, upon this proof only, that one of them ſpeaking to him, had ſaid thee, inſtead of you: whereupon he ſaid, he needed no more, for now he ſaw they were Quakers. And then they were ſhut up cloſe priſoners, and command was given that none ſhould come to them without leave; a fine of five pounds being laid on any that ſhould otherwiſe come at, or ſpeak with them, though but at the window. Their pens, ink, and paper were taken from them, and they not ſuffered to have any candle-light in the night ſeaſon; nay, what is more, they were ſtripped naked, under pretence to know whether they were witches, though in ſearching, no token was found upon them but of innocence: and in this ſearch they were ſo barbarouſly miſuſed, that modeſty forbids to men-

* N. B. There is a paſſage in the book called, The complete Hiſtory of England, vol. III. page 201. which ſays that J. Nayler died with no fruits, nor ſo much as ſigns of repentance. How the author came by ſuch information, we cannot tell, but that it is a manifeſt miſtake we doubt not but the impartial reader is by this time abundantly convinced.

tion it; and that none might have communication with them, a board was nailed up before the window of the gaol. And ſeeing they were not provided with victuals, Nicholas Upſhal, one who had lived long in Boſton, and was a member of the church there, was ſo concerned about it, liberty being denied to ſend them proviſion, that he purchaſed it of the gaoler at the rate of five ſhillings a week, leſt they ſhould have ſtarved. And after having been about five weeks priſoners, William Chicheſter, maſter of a veſſel, was bound in one hundred pounds bond to carry them back, and not to ſuffer any to ſpeak with them, after they were put on board; and the gaoler kept their beds, which were brought out of the ſhip, and their bible, for his fees.

Such was the entertainment the Quakers firſt met with at Boſton, and that from a people who pretended, that for conſcience-ſake, they had choſen the wilderneſs of America, before the well-cultivated Old England; though afterwards, when they took away the lives of thoſe called Quakers, they, to excuſe their cruel actions, did not ſtick to ſay, that at firſt they had uſed no puniſhment againſt the Quakers.

Scarce a month after the arrival of the aforeſaid women at Boſton, there came alſo Chriſtopher Holder, Thomas Thirſtone, William Brend, John Copeland, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbens, Mary Whitehead, and Dorothy Waugh; they were locked up in the ſame manner as the former, and after about eleven weeks ſtay, ſent back; Robert Lock, a maſter of a ſhip, being compelled to carry theſe eight perſons back on his own charge, and to land them no where but in England; having been impriſoned till he undertook ſo to do.

The governor, John Endicot, whoſe blood-thirſtineſs will appear in the ſequel, being now come home, bid them 'Take heed ye break not our eccleſiaſtical laws, for then ye are ſure to ſtretch by a halter.' And when they deſired a copy of thoſe laws, it was denied them; which made ſome of the people ſay, 'How ſhall they know then when they tranſgreſs?' But Endicot remained ſtiff, having ſaid before, when, at Salem, he heard how Ann Auſtin and Mary

Fiſher had been dealt with at Boſton, 'If I had been there, I would have had them well whipped.' Then a law was made, prohibiting all maſters of ſhips to bring any Quakers into that juriſdiction, and themſelves from coming in, on penalty of the houſe of correction. When this law was publiſhed, Nicholas Upſhal, already mentioned, could not forbear to ſhew the perſecutors the unreaſonableneſs of their proceedings: warning them to take heed that they were not found fighting againſt God, and ſo draw down a judgment upon the land. But this was taken ſo ill, that though he was a member of their church, and of good repute, as a man of an unblameable converſation, yet he was fined in twenty-three pounds, and impriſoned alſo for not coming to church, and next they baniſhed him out of their juriſdiction. This fine was exacted ſo ſeverely, that Endicot ſaid, 'I will not bate him one groat.' And though a weakly old man, yet they allowed him but one month's ſpace for his removal, ſo that he was forced to depart in the winter.

Coming at length to Rhode Iſland, he met an Indian prince, who having underſtood how he had been dealt with, behaved himſelf very kindly, and told him, if he would live with him, he would make him a warm houſe. And farther ſaid, 'What a God have the Engliſh, who deal ſo with one another about their God!' For it ſeems Upſhal was already looked upon as one that was departing from his church-membership. But this was but a beginning of the New England perſecution, which in time grew ſo hot, that ſome of the Quakers were put to death on the gallows, as will be related in its due time.

Now I return to Old England, where we left G. Fox at Exeter, from whence he went to Briſtol. Here he had a great meeting in an orchard; and ſince ſome thouſands of people were come thither, and many very eager to ſee him, he ſtepped upon a great ſtone that ſtood there, and having put off his hat, ſtood a pretty while ſilent, to let people look at him. A Baptiſt was there named Paul Gwyn, who began to find fault with G. Fox's hair, and at laſt ſaid to the people, 'Ye wiſe men of Briſtol, I ſtrange at you, that ye will ſtand here, and hear a man ſpeak, and

affirm that which he cannot make good.' Hereupon G. Fox aſked the people whether they ever heard him ſpeak before, or ever ſaw him before? And he bid them take notice what kind of man this Gwyn was, who ſo impudently ſaid, that he ſpake and affirmed that which he could not make good; and yet neither Gwyn nor they ever heard him, or ſaw him before; and that therefore it was a lying, envious, and malicious ſpirit that ſpoke in him. Then G. Fox charging Gwyn to be ſilent, began to preach, which laſted ſome hours, without being diſturbed.

After this meeting, G. Fox departed from Briſtol, and paſſing through Wiltſhire, Marlborough, and other places, he returned to London; and when he came near Hyde Park, he ſaw the protector coming in his coach; whereupon he rode up to the coach ſide, and ſome of his life-guard would have put him away; but the protector forbade them. Then riding by his coach ſide, he ſpoke to him about the ſufferings of his friends in the nation, and ſhewed him how contrary this perſecution was to Chriſt and his apoſtles, and to Chriſtianity. And when they were come to the gate of James's Park, G. Fox left Cromwell, who at parting deſired him to come to his houſe. The next day Mary Sanders, afterwards Stout, one of Cromwell's wife's maids, came to G. Fox's lodging, and told him, that her maſter coming home, ſaid he would tell her ſome good news; and when ſhe aſked him what it was, he told her G. Fox was come to town; to which ſhe replied, that was good news indeed. Not long after, G. Fox and Edward Pyot went to Whitehall, and there ſpoke to Cromwell concerning the ſufferings of their friends, and directed him to the light of Chriſt, who had enlightened every man that cometh into the world. To which Cromwell ſaid, This was a natural light: but they ſhewed him the contrary, ſaying that it was divine and ſpiritual, proceeding from Chriſt, the ſpiritual and heavenly man. Moreover, G. Fox bid the protector lay down his crown at the feet of Jeſus. And as he was ſtanding by the table, Cromwell came and ſat upon the table's ſide by him, and ſaid he would be as high as G. Fox was. But though he continued to ſpeak in a light manner, yet afterward was ſo

ſerious, that when he came to his wife and other company, he ſaid that he never parted ſo from the Quakers before.

G. Fox having viſited the meetings of his friends in and about London, departed thence, and travelled almoſt through all England, not without many occurrences, which for brevity's ſake I paſs by. At length he returned to London again, this year being now come to an end.

In the parliament which Cromwell had called, a law was made, whereby Charles Stuart's title of king was rejected, and the year 1657 being come, ſubſidies were granted to Cromwell, and there was a contrivance underhand to make him king, of which, though he expreſſed his diſlike, yet he ſeemed not altogether averſe to it; for ſpeaking once with general Fleetwood, and colonel Deſborough, he began to droll with them about the word monarch, and ſaid, it was but a feather in a man's cap; and therefore he wondered that men would not pleaſe the children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But they not obſcurely ſignified to him, that this buſineſs did diſpleaſe them; and told him, that thoſe who put him upon it, were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin upon himſelf. Now, though he would not openly oppoſe them, yet he did not ſtick to tell them, they were a couple of ſcrupulous fellows, and ſo left them. It is related alſo, that major-general Lambert told Cromwell, that if he accepted the crown, he could not aſſure the army to him. The deſign thus miſcarrying, and Cromwell having now ſeen that the matter would not go ſo cleverly, he refuſed the title of king; and the parliament confirming him in his title of protector, it was agreed that the parliament henceforth ſhould conſiſt of a lower houſe, and another houſe; and that the protector ſhould name a ſucceſſor in the government. Now he was ſolemnly veſted in his authority, a throne for that purpoſe being erected in Weſtminſter Hall, and he being clothed in a purple robe lined with ermins, and the ſceptre and ſword being preſented him, took the oath to rule faithfully. Cromwell having called a new parliament, it conſiſted of two houſes, viz. a houſe of commons, and another houſe, as they called it. And many

excluded members having taken place again in the houſe of commons, it was believed that more than an hundred of the members were enemies to Cromwell; and the authority of the upper houſe began to be called in queſtion by ſome, becauſe it was filled up with many of his creatures, ſome of them of low rank. And this matter was ſo carried on in the houſe of commons, that Cromwell diſſolved the parliament; and he alſo made major-general Lambert ſurrender his commiſſion.

Edward Burrough, who often writ to Cromwell, having heard of the deſign of making him king, writ a letter to him, wherein I find, that after having told the protector, that he had had many warnings from the Lord, he thus ſpeaks to him:

'I, as one that hath obtained mercy from the Lord, and unto whom his word is committed, being moved of him, do hereby in his preſence yet once more warn thee, that thou fear before him, and diligently hearken to him, and ſeek him with all thy heart, that thou mayeſt know his will and counſel concerning thee, and mayeſt do it, and find favour in his ſight, and live. Now is the day that his hand is ſtretched forth unto thee, to make thee a bleſſing, or to leave thee a curſe for ever; and the days of thy viſitation are near an end, when God will no more call unto thee, nor hear thee, when in the day of thy trouble thou calleſt to him. And if thou rejecteſt the counſel of the Lord, and followeſt the deſires of thine own heart, and the wills of men, and wilt not have the light of the world, Chriſt Jeſus, only to rule thee, and to teach thee, which condemns all evil, then ſhall evil ſurely fall upon thee, if thou loveſt not the light in thee, which condemns it; and the judgments of God, nor the day of his laſt viſitation with vengeance, thou mayeſt not eſcape. Therefore conſider, and mark my words, and let this counſel be acceptable unto thee; let it move thee to meekneſs, to humbleneſs, and to fear before the Lord; aſſuredly knowing that it is he that changeth times and things, and that bringeth down, and ſetteth up whomſoever he will; and how that thou waſt raiſed from a low eſtate, and ſet over

all thine enemies. And in that day when thou waſt raiſed up, when the fear of the Lord was before thy face, and thy heart was towards him, and thou waſt but little in thine own eyes, then was it well with thee, and the Lord bleſſed thee. And it was not once thought concerning thee, that the hands of the ungodly would have been ſtrengthened againſt the righteous under thee, or that ſuch grievous and cruel burdens and oppreſſions would ever have been laid upon the juſt, and acted againſt them in thy name, and under thy dominion, as unrighteouſly have come to paſs in theſe three years: and this thy ſuffering of ſuch things is thy tranſgreſſion, and thou haſt not requited the Lord well for his goodneſs unto thee, nor fulfilled his will in ſuffering that to be done under thee, and in thy name, which the Lord raiſed thee againſt, and to break down, hadſt thou been faithful to the end.

'Again, conſider, and let it move on thy heart, not to exalt thyſelf, nor to be high-minded, but to fear continually, knowing that thou ſtandeſt not by thyſelf, but by another, and that he is able to abaſe thee, and give thee into the will of thy enemies whenſoever he will; and how the Lord hath preſerved thee ſometimes wonderfully, and doth unto this day, from the murderous plots, and crafty policy of evil men, who ſeek thy evil, and would rejoice in thy fall, and in the deſolation of thy family and countries: how have they, and do they, lay ſnares for thy feet, that thou mayeſt be cut off from amongſt men, and die unhappily, and be accounted accurſed? And yet to this day he hath preſerved thee, and been near to keep thee, though thou haſt hardly known it; and the Lord's end is love to thee in all theſe things, and yet a little longer to try thee, that thou mayeſt give him the glory.

'O that thy heart were opened to ſee his hand, that thou mighteſt live unto him, and die in him, in peace. And beware leſt hardneſs of heart poſſeſs thee, if thou ſlight his love, and ſo be ſhut up in darkneſs and given to the deſires of thine enemies, and left to the counſels of treacherous men, who may ſeek to exalt thee by flattery, that they may the better caſt thee down, and deſtroy thee, and blot out thy name in reproach, and make thy poſterity

a people miſerable. But now, O conſider, and let it enter into thy heart, for thou haſt not anſwered the Lord, but been wanting to him for all this, and haſt choſen thy own way and glory, rather than his, and not fulfilled his counſel in raiſing thee; for the bonds of cruelty are not looſed by thee, and the oppreſſed are not altogether ſet free; neither is oppreſſion taken off from the back of the poor, nor the laws regulated, nor the liberty of pure conſciences altogether allowed: but theſe dominions are filled with cruel oppreſſions, and the poor groan every where under the heavy hand of injuſtice; the needy are trodden down under foot, and the oppreſſed cry for deliverance, and are ready to faint for true juſtice and judgment. The proud exalt themſelves againſt the poor, and the high-minded and rebellious contemn the meek of the earth; the horn of the ungodly is exalted above the Lord's heritage, and they that are departed from iniquity, are become a prey to oppreſſors; and the cruel-hearted deal cruelly with the innocent in theſe nations. Many are unjuſtly, and wofully ſufferers, becauſe they cannot ſwear on this, or that occaſion, though in all caſes they ſpeak the truth, and do obey Chriſt's commands; even ſuch are trodden upon, by unjuſt fines charged upon them; and this is by the corruptneſs of ſome that bear rule under thee, who rule not for God as they ought, but turn the ſword of juſtice. Some ſuffer long and tedious impriſonments, and others cruel ſtripes and abuſes, and danger of life many times, from wicked men, for reproving ſin, and crying againſt the abominations of the times (which the Scriptures alſo teſtify againſt), in ſtreets, or other places; ſome having been ſent to priſon, taken on the highway, and no evil charged againſt them; and others committed, being taken out of peaceable meetings, and whipped, and ſent to priſon, without tranſgreſſion of any law, juſt, or unjuſt, wholly through the rage and envy of the devil, and ſuch who have perverted judgment and juſtice; and ſome in priſons have ſuffered ſuperabundantly from the hands of the cruel gaolers and their ſervants, by beatings and threatenings, and putting irons on them, and not ſuffering any of their friends to viſit them with neceſſaries; and ſome have died in the priſons,

whoſe lives were not dear to them, whoſe blood will be reckoned on account againſt thee one day. Some have ſuffered hard cruelties, becauſe they could not reſpect perſons, and bow with hat or knee; and from theſe cruelties canſt thou not altogether be excuſed in the ſight of God, being brought forth in thy name, and under thy power. Conſider, friend, and be awakened to true judgment, let the Lord ſearch thy heart; and lay theſe things to mind, that thou mayeſt be an inſtrument to remove every burden, and mayeſt at laſt fulfil the will of God.—O be awakened, be awakened, and ſeek the Lord's glory, and not thine own; leſt thou periſh before the Lord and men; nay, if men would give thee honours, and high titles, and princely thrones, take it not; for that which would exalt and honour thee in the world, would betray thee to the world, and caſt thee down in the ſight of the world: and this is God's word to thee: what! ſhall the whole nation be perjured men, and thou the cauſe of it? And wilt thou tranſgreſs by building again that which thou haſt deſtroyed? Give heed unto my words, and underſtand my ſpeech: be not exalted by man, leſt man betray thee. Deal favourably, and relieve the oppreſſed; boaſt not thyſelf, though the Lord hath uſed thee in his hand; but know that when he will, he can caſt thee, as a rod, out of his hand into the fire; for in his hand thou art. If thou wilt honour him, he will honour thee; otherwiſe he can, yea, and will confound thee, and break thee, and make thee weak as water before him. His love through my heart breathes unto thee; he would thy happineſs, if thou wilfully contemn it not, by exalting thyſelf, and ſeeking thy own glory, and hardening thy heart againſt the cry of the poor. This I was moved in bowels of pity to lay before thee, who am thy friend, not in flattery, but in an upright heart, who wiſhes well unto thee in the Lord.'

'E. Burrough.'

That which E. Burrough mentions in the fore-part of this letter, of the grievous burdens and oppreſſions laid upon the juſt, ſeems chiefly to regard the tithes which the prieſts extorted from the Quakers, ſo that many thereby

were reduced to poverty; and the heinouſneſs of this was not unknown to Cromwell; for when he was about to give battle to his enemies, near Dunbar in Scotland, he ſaid in his prayer to God, that if the Lord would be pleaſed to deliver him at that time, he would take off that great oppreſſion of tithes. But this promiſe he never performed, but ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by the flatteries of his teachers; and therefore it was not without great cauſe that E. Burrough laid this grievous oppreſſion before him. A copy of the ſaid letter, of which but a part is inſerted here, to ſhun prolixity, was given into the hands of Oliver Cromwell, then protector, in the Third month of this year. In the next month E. Burrough ſpoke with him about it, and Cromwell told him in effect that all perſecution and cruelty was againſt his mind, and ſaid that he was not guilty of thoſe perſecutions acted unjuſtly upon Burrough's friends. This made E. Burrough write again to him, and bid him, 'Conſider what the cauſe is, that what thou deſireſt not to be done, is yet done: is it not that thou mayeſt pleaſe men; making it appear thou art more willing to do the falſe teachers of this nation, and wicked men, a pleaſure, than to own the people of God, in relieving them, and eaſing them of their cruel burdens and oppreſſions, laid upon them by unjuſt men? For a word of thy mouth, or a ſhew of thy countenance, in diſlike of theſe cruel and unjuſt perſecutions, would bind the hands of many blood-thirſty men. Therefore conſider: thou canſt not be cleared in the ſight of the Lord God from them, being acted under thee, and in thy name: for there ſeems rather to be a favouring of them in thee, by forbearance of the actors of cruelty, by which their hands are ſtrengthened, than any diſlike ſhewed by thee, in bearing thy witneſs, as thou oughteſt to do, againſt them. For thou knoweſt of ſome in this city, and elſewhere, whom we know to be juſt men, who ſuffer impriſonment, and the loſs of their liberties, becauſe for conſcience-ſake they cannot ſwear; and many others in this nation, ſuffering cruel things upon the like, or ſame ground; even for well-doing, and not for evil; which oppreſſion might be removed, and their unjuſt ſufferings taken off by thee,

by a word from thy mouth or pen; and this makes that thou canſt not be clear in the ſight of God in theſe things, becauſe not helped by thee, who haſt the power to help it.

'And as concerning the light of Chriſt, at which thou ſtumbleſt, by which every man that cometh into the world is enlightened, in ſhort, this I ſay: this light to thee is given of God, and thou muſt own it to be thy only teacher, to receive by it from the Father, and to be guided by it in all things, if ever thou inheriteſt God's kingdom.

'The kingdom of Chriſt is ſetting up by his own power, and all muſt bow and become ſubject thereto; he needeth none of thy policy, nor the ſtrength of thy arm to advance it; yet would he have thee not to prove thyſelf an open enemy thereof, by doing, or ſuffering to be done, cruelty and injuſtice againſt them whom the Lord is redeeming out of this world, into ſubjection unto that kingdom; leſt thou be ſuch a one, as will not enter thyſelf, nor ſuffer others to enter, and ſo deſtruction come upon thee. Wherefore ariſe as out of ſleep, and ſlumber not in this world's glory and honour; be not overcome by the pleaſures of this world, nor the flattering titles of men: wink not at the cruelty and oppreſſion acted by ſome, who ſhelter under thee, and make thy name a cloke for miſchief againſt the upright.

'Conſider, I ſay, conſider, and be thou changed in thy mind and heart; leſt thou having forgotten God, and his many deliverances, be ſhut up, and numbered for deſtruction. I deſire the Lord may give thee a more perfect underſtanding of his ways and judgments, and that the crown immortal thou mayeſt ſtrive for, by meekneſs and righteouſneſs, through relieving the oppreſſed, and ſhewing mercy to the poor, and removing every burden which lies upon the innocent; and this is the deſire of him who is thy friend, and would not have thee crowned with diſhonour, through ſuffering the people of God to be oppreſſed in thy name, which will be thy overthrow abſolutely, if thou removeſt it not, by turning, and eaſing the oppreſſed.

'E. Burrough.'

This letter was delivered to O. Cromwell, in the Fourth month, and in the month following E. Burrough wrote again to him, that the good name PROTECTOR, by the great oppreſſion acted in his name, was abuſed, and ſubverted; and that inſtead of protection by it, great injuſtice was acted under it, and covered with it. Beſides, that ſeveral juſtices of the peace, and other officers, in truſt under him, when they had owned the people called Quakers, had been caſt out of their places; though they had not denied to ſerve him and the commonwealth, neither had unfaithfulneſs to their truſt been proved againſt them.

In September, E. Burrough writ another letter to Cromwell, wherein he ſignified to him, that he had many enemies, ſome of which endeavoured to deſtroy him, by any means, without regarding any danger that might be in the attempt. And that he going on in oppreſſing through tyranny, or ſuffering it, perhaps the Lord might raiſe up the wicked to be a plague to wickedneſs, and ſuffer the oppreſſors to overthrow oppreſſions. That there were others, viz. the Fifth Monarchy men, who, though not ſo bad as the former, yet ſecretly murmured againſt him, and envied him, not being friends to his government, ſome of them being caſt out and rejected, without juſt cauſe as they ſuppoſed. 'And as to us, how can we (ſaid he) mention thee in our prayers to God, except it be to be delivered from thee, who are daily unjuſtly ſufferers by thee, or becauſe of thee? Or how can we be friends to that government, under which we daily ſuffer ſuch hard and cruel things, as the loſs of our liberty and eſtates, and are in danger of life alſo?'

It was about the beginning of this year, that Chriſtopher Birkhead came to Zealand, having been before at Rochelle in France; where having ſpoken and written againſt the popiſh religion, he was impriſoned, and examined by the biſhop: and ſome would have had him burnt, but the criminal judge abſolved him. It was in the latter end of the month called February, when he came to Middleburgh in Zealand; and going to the Engliſh congregation there, after the preacher, William Spanke, had preached about

three quarters of an hour, he ſaid, 'Friends, the apoſtle ſaith, that we may all propheſy one by one; that two or three prophets may ſpeak, and the others judge; and if any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace.' This ſpeaking cauſed a great ſtir in the congregation, and the rather becauſe he ſtood in the place where the women uſed to ſit: ſo he was apprehended by order of the magiſtrates, and examined in the preſence of ſome of the publick preachers. When he was aſked what his name was? He anſwered, that his name, according to the fleſh, was Chriſtopher Birkhead. Then it was aſked him, whether he had yet another name? And his anſwer was, 'Yes, written in the Lamb's book of life.' Being enquired, what that name was? He made anſwer, 'None knows it but he that hath it.' To which was ſaid, 'Why, if you have it, tell it us.' 'No,' replied he, 'read it, if ye have ſeen the book of the Lamb opened: it is forbidden me to tell it.' Then the Engliſh teacher, Spanke, aſked, whether he had ſeen the book of the Lamb opened? And he anſwered, 'Yea.' The next queſtion was, whether he had opened it? 'No,' ſaid Birkhead, 'it was the Lamb that did it.' Then Spanke aſked, whether his name in the book of the Lamb was not Jeſus. 'No, quoth Birkhead, 'that is the name of the Lamb.' More other queſtions to enſnare him, Spanke put to him: and being examined by the magiſtrates concerning the place of his abode, his calling or trade, &c. Spanke was aſked, what he had to ſay againſt him? Who then related what had happened in the congregation. Concerning this, ſeveral queſtions were aſked of Birkhead, but ſince he underſtood not Dutch, and the French tongue but imperfectly, he complained that he could not fully anſwer for himſelf ſo as he wiſhed. He was aſked alſo, whether any body elſe alſo came along with him? And he was charged to ſpeak the truth. To which he ſaid, that God did not permit him to lie. One of the preachers then ſaid, that all men were liars. To this Birkhead replied, that though all men were liars, yet he knew a deliverance from lying. Then Spanke bid him, not to add to the Scriptures: for Birkhead had accuſed him a little

before, that he had added his meaning to the Scriptures. And it being ſtrongly aſſerted, that all men were liars, Birkhead took occaſion from thence, to aſk Spanke whether he was a liar? Who without heſitation anſwering 'Yes,' Birkhead bluntly told him, 'Then thou art of thy father the devil.' Now the matter of J. Nayler having cauſed ſtrange reports of the Quakers every where, and Birkhead for want of the language not being able to anſwer ſo plainly every objection, his offence, without queſtion, was aggravated the more; and the concluſion was, that he was ſentenced to be confined in the houſe of correction. But after ſome time he was releaſed, at the interceſſion of the Heer Newport, ambaſſador of the ſtates-general in England.

In this year it was, I think, that one George Baily coming into France, was taken into cuſtody, and died in priſon there; he having zealouſly teſtified againſt popery, and ſpoken boldly againſt worſhipping of images.

William Ames returning this year to Amſterdam, and one Humble Thatcher (whom I could never learn to have been truly in communion with the Quakers) coming with him, it cauſed ſome jealouſy: for Ames, who formerly had been in military employment, was an extraordinary bold man; and about this time it ſeems, a paper was put on the door of the Engliſh meeting-houſe, though Ames declared he knew nothing of it, or who was the author. About this time alſo, the ſtrange buſineſs of J. Nayler being noiſed abroad, by a book that was publiſhed in print at Amſterdam, and ſome other pamphlets, ſtuft with ſeveral untruths, and abominable lies; it was not to be wondered at, that the magiſtrates, fearing ſome miſchief, ſent for Ames and Thatcher to appear before them, and commanded them to depart the town within twenty-four hours: but they being perſuaded of their own innocency, did not obey this command. The next day appearing again before the magiſtrates, and not putting off their hats, it ſeems they were looked upon as ſuch as did not own magiſtrates; (for this the Quakers ſtood charged with in publick print, and were compared to the tumultuous crew of Anabaptiſts, or Fifth Monarchy men, at Munſter, in the foregoing age:)

and ſo they were kept in cuſtody for ſome days, and then at night were led through the Regulars gate, and ſo baniſhed out of the town. But W. Ames judging that he had committed no evil, came again the next day into the city, and paſſed the great market-place, called the Dam. It is reported, that ſome of the magiſtrates ſeeing him out of the windows of the town-houſe, walking along the ſtreet, ſaid, 'Lo, there's the Quaker; if we had a mind now to make martyrs, here would be an opportunity for it.' But it ſeems not without reaſon, that it was looked upon to be moſt ſafe to wink at this; for though ſtrange reports were ſpread up and down of the Quakers, yet there was no proof of their evil carriage here. Mean-while Ames ſtaid ſome time in town, and the doctrine he preached found a little entrance, even with ſome of the collegians.

It was about this time, that my parents, viz. Jacob Williamſon Sewel, of Utrecht, free citizen and Surgeon at Amſterdam, and his wife, Judith Zinſpenning, born in this town, both members of the Flemiſh Baptiſts church there, were convinced of the Truth preached by W. Ames; ſhe having before had immediate openings, that if ever ſhe would become a child of God, ſhe muſt give heed to this light, which reproved for ſin. They, with two or three more, were the firſt orthodox Quakers in Amſterdam; orthodox I ſay, becauſe I very well remember what a ſtrange and odd ſort of people about that time, did flock to the Quakers in this country. But theſe whimſical people not being ſincere in heart; but more inclined to novelties, than to true godlineſs; perceived in time that they were not regarded by them: and they were alſo contradicted by Ames and others; ſo that at length, after many exorbitancies, they left the Quakers.

In the fore-part of this year, William Caton came alſo to Amſterdam. Before he left England, he had had a meeting at the eaſt ſide of Suſſex, on the day called Shrove Tueſday, where there had never been any of his friends before. But the people being on that day more rude than ordinary, came up to the houſe with a drum, in ſuch a deſperate manner, as if they would have pulled the houſe down. Caton ſtepping out, aſked what they wanted;

they anſwered, Quakers; at which he told them he was one. And he ſpoke ſo plainly to them, and with ſo much power, that fear falling upon them, they withdrew with ſhame and confuſion.

Not long after he went to London, and from thence to Holland; and being ſafely arrived at Rotterdam, he repaired to Amſterdam; where he came in due time to ſtop the unrulineſs of ſome froward ſpirits, among which, one Anne Garghil, an Engliſh woman, was not one of the leaſt; whoſe rudeneſs grew in time to that degree, that ſhe would not ſuffer W. Ames to preach peaceably in the meeting, but laid violent hands on him; ſo that at length to be rid of her, he bade an Engliſh ſeaman that was preſent, to take her away, which was done accordingly: and how haughty ſhe was, and continued, I well remember ſtill. W. Caton procured alſo ſome books to be printed at Amſterdam, to prevent evil and malicious reports concerning the Quakers; and he went with W. Ames to Zutphen in Guelderland; where meeting with nothing but oppoſition, he returned to Amſterdam, and from thence by Leyden and the Hague, to Rotterdam; from which place he went to Zealand, where he writ the book called 'The Moderate Enquirer Reſolved,' both in Latin and Engliſh, which was afterwards tranſlated indifferently into Dutch. After ſome ſtay, Caton returned again to England, and came to London, where the ſociety of his friends was in a thriving condition, and many were added to the church.

In this city we left G. Fox: he writ there ſeveral papers for the opening of the underſtandings of people, and for the edification of his friends. From thence he travelled into Kent, Suſſex, and Surry; and coming to Baſingſtoke, though the people were rude there, yet he had a quiet meeting in the place: in the inn he had ſome trouble with the innkeeper, who was a drunkard. Afterwards he came to Portſmouth, Exeter, Briſtol, and into Wales, where many came to him. At Brecknock (where he was accompanied by Thomas Holmes, who, firſt of the Quakers in Wales, had preached the doctrine of the inward light; and by John-ap-John, who three years before

had been ſent by a prieſt out of Wales into the North, to enquire what kind of people the Quakers were); he had a great meeting in the ſteeple-houſe yard, where was a prieſt, and one Walter Jenkin who had been a juſtice, and another juſtice. Here he preached ſo effectually, that many were convinced: and after the meeting, he went with Jenkin to the other juſtice's houſe, who ſaid to him, 'You have this day given great ſatisfaction to the people, and anſwered all the objections that were in their minds.' At Leominſter he had a great meeting, where prieſt Toms made ſome oppoſition, by ſaying, that the light G. Fox ſpoke of, was but a natural light: but G. Fox aſſerted the contrary, and ſaid, that he had ſpoken of no other light than John bore witneſs to, viz. "The word which was in the beginning with God, and which word was God; and that was the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

G. Fox coming from this place to Tenby, as he rode in the ſtreet, a juſtice of peace came out and deſired him to alight, and to ſtay at his houſe, which he did; and on the Firſt-day of the week had a meeting there, whither the mayor and his wife, and ſeveral others of the chief of the town came. John-ap-John, who was then with G. Fox, left the meeting, and went to the ſteeple-houſe, and was by the governor caſt into priſon. The next morning the governor ſent one of his officers to the juſtice's houſe, to fetch G. Fox; which grieved the mayor and the juſtice, and ſo they went up to the governor, and a while after G. Fox went with the officer, and coming in, ſaid, 'Peace be unto this houſe;' and before the governor could examine him, he aſked, why he had caſt his friend into priſon? And the governor anſwered, 'For ſtanding with his hat on in the church.' 'Why?' reſumed G. Fox, 'had not the prieſt two caps on his head, a black one, and a white one? And if the brim of the hat, which was but to defend from the weather, had been cut off, then my friend would have had but one cap.' 'Theſe are frivolous things,' ſaid the governor: 'Why then,' ſaid G. Fox, 'doſt thou caſt my friend into priſon for ſuch frivolous things?' Then the governor aſked him, whether he owned

election and reprobation? 'Yes,' ſaid he, 'and thou art in the reprobation.' This ſo incenſed the governor, that he told G. Fox, he would ſend him to priſon, till he proved it. G. Fox not at all at a loſs, ſaid, 'I will prove that quickly, if thou wilt but confeſs truth:' and then he aſked him, whether wrath, fury, and rage, and perſecution, were not marks of reprobation? For he that was born of the fleſh, perſecuted him that was born of the ſpirit: and Chriſt and his apoſtles never perſecuted nor impriſoned any. This ſpeech of his ſo ſtruck the governor, that he fairly confeſt, that he had too much wrath, haſte, and paſſion in him: which made G. Fox ſay, that Eſau the firſt birth was up in him, not Jacob the ſecond birth. By this the man was ſo reached, that he confeſſed to Truth, and inviting G. Fox to dinner with him, he ſet his friend at liberty. It was with great ſatisfaction that G. Fox departed the town; and in ſeveral other places of Wales he had ſome ſingular occurrences, and though the people were rude, yet ſome were convinced.

At length he came to Lancaſter, where, at the inn, he met with colonel Weſt, who was very glad to ſee him. Next he came to Swarthmore, where he writ ſome epiſtles and other papers. After having ſtaid there ſome days, he went to ſome other places in the North, and to Scotland. Here, travelling from town to town, he met with great oppoſition from ſome prieſts: for in an aſſembly, they had drawn up ſeveral articles, or curſes, to be read in their ſteeple-houſes, the firſt of which was, 'Curſed is he that ſaith every man hath a light within him ſufficient to lead him to ſalvation: and let all the people ſay, Amen.' An Independent paſtor preaching one day againſt the Quakers, and the light, and calling the light natural, curſed it, and ſo fell down as dead in his pulpit: the people carrying him out, and pouring ſtrong waters into him, it brought him to life again; but he was mopiſh, and, as one of his hearers ſaid, he never recovered his ſenſes.

In October G. Fox came to Edinburgh, where he was ſummoned to appear before the council, who though indifferent civil, yet told him, he muſt depart the nation of Scotland by that day ſeven-night: againſt which he not-

only ſpoke, but writ alſo. Whilſt G. Fox was in Scotland, his friends there were brought to a great ſtrait; for, being excommunicated by the Preſbyterian teachers, charge was given, that none ſhould buy or ſell, nor eat nor drink with them. Hence it came to paſs, that ſome having bought bread, or other victuals, of their neighbours, theſe frighted with the curſes of their prieſts, did run, and fetch it from them again. But colonel Aſhton, a juſtice of peace, put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, and being afterwards convinced of the Truth, had a meeting ſettled at his houſe, and declared the Truth, and lived and died in it.

G. Fox now travelled almoſt over all Scotland, and had in ſome places good opportunities to declare the goſpel, being often heard with ſatisfaction by the Engliſh ſoldiers; but the Scotch generally gave little heed. He went alſo among the Highlanders, who were a miſchievous people. Returning at length to Leith, the innkeeper told him, that the council had granted forth warrants to apprehend him, becauſe he was not gone out of the nation after the ſeven days were expired, that they had ordered him to depart in. Some others told him the ſame, to whom he ſaid, 'What do you tell me of their warrants againſt me? If there were a cart load of them I do not heed them; for the Lord's power is over them all.' From Leith he went to Edinburgh again, and went to the inn where he had lodged before, and no man offered to meddle with him. Alexander Parker and Robert Widders being alſo there, he reſolved to go with Parker to Johnſtown, out of which town ſome time before he had been led by ſoldiers; and he came into Johnſtown juſt as they were drawing up the bridges, the officers and ſoldiers never queſtioning him. And coming to captain Davenport's houſe, from which he had been haled before, he found there many officers, who lifting up their hands, wondered that he came again; but he told them, the Lord God had ſent him amongſt them again. Then the Baptiſts ſent him a letter, by way of challenge, that they would diſcourſe with him again the next day. And he ſent them word, that he would meet them at a certain houſe, about half a mile out of the town, at ſuch an hour. For he thought, if he ſhould ſtay in

town to ſpeak with them, they might, under pretence of diſcourſing with him, have raiſed people to carry him out of the town again, as they had done before. At the time appointed he went to the place, captain Davenport and his ſon accompanying him; and there he ſtaid ſome hours, but none of them came; whereby the intent of the Baptiſts were ſufficiently diſcovered. Being thus diſappointed, he went back again to Edinburgh, and paſt through the town, as it were, againſt the canons mouth. The next day, being the firſt day of the week, he went to the meeting in the city, and many officers and ſoldiers came to it, and all was quiet. The following day he went to Dunbar, where, walking with a friend or two of his in the ſteeple-houſe yard, he met with one of the chief men of the town there; and ſpoke to one of his friends to tell him, that about the ninth hour next morning, there was to be a meeting there, of the people of God, called Quakers, of which they deſired him to give notice to the people of the town. To which he ſaid, that they were to have a lecture there by the ninth hour; but that a meeting might be kept there by the eighth hour, if they would. G. Fox thinking this not inconvenient, deſired him to give notice of it. Accordingly in the morning many came, both poor and rich; and a captain of horſe being quartered in the town, came there with his troopers alſo. To this company G. Fox preached, and after ſome time the prieſt came, and went into the ſteeple-houſe; but G. Fox and his friend being in the ſteeple-houſe yard, moſt of the people ſtaid with them; ſo that the prieſt having but few hearers, made ſhort work, and coming out, ſtood a while and heard G. Fox, and then went away. This was the laſt meeting he had in Scotland, and he underſtood afterwards, that his labour had not been in vain, but that the number of believers increaſed. Now he departed from Dunbar, and came to Berwick in Northumberland, and from thence to Newcaſtle, where we will leave him a while, and return again to New England.

We have ſeen before, that a law was made there, to prevent the Quakers coming into that country. The firſt I find that came after that, were Anne Burden, a widow,

whoſe buſineſs was to gather up ſome debts in the country, that were due to her; and Mary Dyer from Rhode Iſland, who, before her coming, knew nothing of what had been done there concerning the Quakers. Theſe two were both impriſoned, which William Dyer, Mary's huſband, hearing, came from Rhode Iſland, and did not get her releaſed without a great deal of pains; becoming bound in a great penalty, not to lodge her in any town in that colony, nor to permit any to ſpeak with her: an evident token that he was not of the ſociety of Quakers, ſo called, for otherwiſe, he would not have entered into ſuch a bond; but then without queſtion, he would alſo have been clapped up in priſon. As for Anne Burden, ſhe was kept in priſon, though ſick, about a quarter of a year. Whilſt ſhe was in this reſtraint, ſome tender-hearted people had procured of her debts to the value of about thirty pounds in goods; and when ſhe at length was to be ſent away, ſhe deſired that ſhe might have liberty to paſs for England, by Barbadoes, becauſe her goods were not fit to England. Now how reaſonable ſoever this requeſt was, yet a maſter of a ſhip was compelled to carry her to England, without her goods, for which ſhe came there, except to the value of about ſix ſhillings, which an honeſt man ſent her upon an old account. And when the maſter of the ſhip aſked who ſhould pay for her paſſage, the magiſtrates bid him take ſo much of her goods as would anſwer it. But he was too honeſt to do ſo, being perſuaded that ſhe would not let him be a loſer, though he could not compel her to pay, ſince ſhe went not of her own will: yet for all that ſhe paid him at London. After ſhe was gone, when he that had the firſt truſt from her huſband, was to convey her goods to Barbadoes, theſe rapacious people ſtopped to the value of ſix pounds ten ſhillings for her paſſage, for which they paid nothing, and ſeven ſhillings for boat-hire to carry her on ſhip-board, though the maſter proffered the governor to carry her in his own boat, but that was not allowed; ſhe being ſent with the hangman in a boat that was preſſed: beſides, they took to the value of fourteen ſhillings for the gaoler, to whom ſhe owed nothing. Now, though this widow had made ſuch a great voyage,

to get ſomething of what was due to her, to relieve her, and her fatherleſs children, yet after three years ſhe had nothing of it come to her hands: and whether ſhe got any thing ſince I never underſtood.

The next of the Quakers that came to Boſton, was Mary Clark, who having left her huſband John Clark, a merchant taylor, with her children, at London, came thither to warn theſe perſecutors to deſiſt from their iniquity: but after ſhe had delivered her meſſage, ſhe was unmercifully rewarded with twenty ſtripes of a whip with three cords, on her naked back, and detained priſoner about twelve weeks in the winter ſeaſon. The cords of theſe whips were commonly as thick as a man's little finger, having each ſome knots at the end; and the ſtick was ſometimes ſo long, that the hangman made uſe of both his hands to ſtrike the harder.

The next that came were Chriſtopher Holder and John Copeland, who had been baniſhed before; and coming to Salem, a town in the ſame colony, Holder ſpoke a few words in their meeting after the prieſt had done; but was haled back by the hair of his head, and a glove and handkerchief thruſt into his mouth, and ſo turned out with his companion; and next day had to Boſton, where each of them received thirty ſtripes with a knotted whip of three cords, the hangman meaſuring his ground, and fetching his ſtrokes with the greateſt ſtrength he could: which ſo cruelly cut their fleſh, that a woman ſeeing it fell down as dead. Then they were locked up in priſon, and the gaoler kept them three days without any food, not giving them ſo much as a draught of water; and ſo cloſe that none might come to ſpeak with them; lying on the boards without bed or ſtraw. Thus they were kept nine weeks priſoners without fire, in the cold winter ſeaſon. And Samuel Shattock of Salem, who endeavoured to ſtop the thruſting of the glove and handkerchief into Holder's mouth, leſt it ſhould have choaked him, was alſo carried to Boſton, and there impriſoned, till he had given bond for twenty pound, to anſwer it at the next court, and not to come at any meeting of the Quakers.

The career of this cruelty did not ſtop here; for

Lawrence Southick and his wife Caſſandra, members of the publick church at Salem, and an ancient and grave couple, having entertained the aforeſaid C. Holder and J. Copeland, were committed to priſon, and ſent to Boſton, where Lawrence being releaſed, his wife was kept ſeven weeks priſoner, and then fined forty ſhillings for owning a paper of exhortation, written by the aforeſaid Holder and Copeland.

The next that came from England, as being under a neceſſity from the Lord to come to this land of perſecution, was Richard Dowdney, who was apprehended at Dedham, and brought to Boſton, having never before been in that country; yet he was not ſpared for all that, but thirty ſtripes were alſo given him in like manner as the former. And after twenty days impriſonment, he was ſent away with Holder and Copeland; after having been threatened with cutting off their ears, if they returned. Theſe cruel dealings ſo affected many inhabitants, that ſome withdrew from the publick aſſemblies, and meeting by themſelves quietly on the Firſt-days of the week, they were fined five ſhillings a week, and committed to priſon. The firſt whoſe lot this was, were the aforeſaid Lawrence and Caſſandra Southick, and their ſon Joſiah, who being carried to Boſton, were all of them, notwithſtanding the old age of the two, ſent to the houſe of correction, and whipped with cords, as thoſe before, in the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year, and had taken from them to the value of four pounds thirteen ſhillings, for not coming to church.

Leaving New England for a while, I will turn another way. It was in this year, about the latter end of the ſummer, that a certain young man, named George Robinſon, felt a motion to travel to Jeruſalem. In order thereunto, he embarked in a ſhip bound for Leghorn in Italy, where having ſtaid about two weeks, being daily viſited by Engliſh, and others, he went with a French ſhip towards St. John d'Aca, formerly called Ptolemais, a city in Aſia, bordering upon the Mediterranean ſea, near Paleſtine, where, having lodged about eight days in a French merchant's houſe, he embarked in a veſſel bound for Japha, or Joppe. What occurred by the way with ſome Turks, who demanded un-

reaſonable tribute of him, I paſs by: but a certain Armenian on that occaſion having ſeen his meek behaviour, ſaid, he was a good Chriſtian, and was very kind to him. Being arrived at Japha, he went to Ramoth, but the friars at Jeruſalem having heard of his coming, gave orders to ſome to ſtop him, which was done accordingly; and after having been locked up about a day, there came an ancient Turk, a man of great repute, who took him into his houſe, and courteouſly entertained him. After four or five days there came an Iriſh friar from Jeruſalem, with whom falling into diſcourſe of religious matters, the friar at firſt behaved himſelf kindly, but told him afterwards, that was not the buſineſs he came about, but that he was ſent from his brethren, the friars, at Jeruſalem, to propound to him ſome queſtions.

1. Whether he would promiſe, when he came to Jeruſalem, that he would viſit the holy places as other pilgrims did?

2. Whether he would pay ſo much money as pilgrims uſed to do?

3. Whether he would wear ſuch a ſort of habit as was uſual with pilgrims?

4. That he muſt ſpeak nothing againſt the Turks laws.

5. And when he came to Jeruſalem, not ſpeak any thing about religion.

Not being willing to enter into a promiſe, he was by the Iriſh friar (with a guard of horſe and footmen he brought with him) carried back to Japha, and embarked in a veſſel bound for St. John d'Aca; whither being come, a French merchant, called Surrubi, took him into his houſe, and lodged him about three weeks. This man entertained him very kindly, and would ſay ſometimes, that it was the Lord's doings; 'For,' ſaid he, 'when my own countrymen come to me, they are little to me, but thee I can willingly receive.' After much trouble, Robinſon got opportunity (by the help of the ſaid French merchant, who was an ancient man), to return by ſea to Japha; from whence he went on his journey a foot, and by the way met three men,

two of them riding upon aſſes, and the other going a foot; and they aſking him for money, one held his gun to his breaſt, and another put his hand into his pockets, and took ſome things out. He ſuffering all this without any oppoſition, the man that took his things from him put them up again; and one of the three taking him by the hand, led him a little on his way, in a friendly manner, and ſo left him. At length Robinſon came to Ramoth, where he was preſently known, and two that belonged to the friars laid hold on him, and hurried him away; but two Turks took him from them, and one leading him by one arm, and the other by the other, they brought him into a moſque, or Turkiſh temple. Thus innocently entering there, many people came flocking in, and alſo ſome of the Mahometan prieſts, who having cauſed him to ſit down, aſked him, whether he would turn to the Mahometan religion? But he refuſing, they preſſed him much, made great promiſes, and ſaid that he had no need to fear what the Chriſtians might do unto him. Nevertheleſs he anſwered he could not turn unto them for all the world. But they continued to ſtrive much with him, and would have him hold up one of his fingers, as a ſign of owning them; and one bid him ſay, 'Chriſt is bad;' but he anſwered, he knew him to be good, and he was his ſervant. Then ſome growing angry, ſaid if he would not turn to their religion, he ſhould die. To which he replying that he would rather die than turn unto them; it was anſwered, he ſhould then die. And ſo by their order, the executioner haled him away to the place where it was expected that he ſhould have been burnt to death with camel's dung. Here he was made to ſit down upon the ground, and was as a ſheep among wolves. Whilſt he was thus ſitting with a retired mind, the Turks began to fall out among themſelves, and whilſt they were at odds, a grave ancient Turk, a man of note, came to him, and ſaid whether he would turn from his religion or not, he ſhould not die. Then he was brought before the prieſts again, who aſked him, 'Will you turn?' And he anſwering 'No,' they recorded in a book, that he was no Roman Catholick, but of another religion; for though he denied

to be ſuch a Catholick, yet he had owned that he was a Chriſtian.

The Turks coming now to be more ſedate, the aforeſaid ancient man ordered his ſervants to conduct Robinſon to his houſe, where he was friendly entertained, and ſoon perceived that the friars had thus plotted againſt him; for he went not into the moſque of his own accord, being led into it; but heaven preſerved him. After having been four or five days in the houſe of the ancient Turk, there came a guard of horſeman, hired by the friars, to carry him to Gaza; for they had pre-informed the baſha of that place againſt him: but Robinſon being come thither, things took another turn than they expected; for the baſha being by ſome Turks made acquainted with the miſchievous deſign of the friars, made them not only pay a conſiderable fine, but alſo commanded them to convey Robinſon ſafely to Jeruſalem. Whilſt he was at Gaza, he was viſited by many Turks, Greeks, and Armenians; the latter of which having heard he was a Chriſtian, and that he choſe rather to die than to turn from his religion, became very loving, as were the Turks, the Jews alſo ſhewed themſelves moderate towards him. Then according to the forementioned order of the baſha, he was carried to Jeruſalem, and there, by the appointment of the friars, brought into their convent, where at firſt they ſeemingly ſhewed love unto him, and one confeſſed, there was now an evident ſign, that he was a good Chriſtian, for he was come through perſecution and ſufferings; and thoſe things which had been ſpoken in his prejudice, were manifeſt to be untrue. Robinſon told the friar, it was he and his brethren that had been the cauſe of his ſufferings, and withſtood his coming to Jeruſalem. To which the other returned, that the Engliſh friar had miſinformed them by his writing, which had cauſed them to do what they had done; and that therefore they deſired he would now paſs by thoſe things, ſeeing he was come through in ſuch a miraculous manner; for (continued the friar) it was the Lord's work, thus to carry him through, and he might praiſe God he was preſerved.

The next morning a friar came to him, and aſked if he

would become an obedient child, and go to viſit the holy places, according to their cuſtom: he anſwered, 'No.' Then the friar ſaid, 'Whereas others give great ſums of money to ſee them, you ſhall ſee them for nothing.' But Robinſon replied, 'I ſhall not viſit them in your manner, for in ſo doing I ſhould ſin againſt God.' This did not pleaſe the friar, yet he ſaid they would honour him as much as ever they honoured any Engliſhman that came thither, if he would conform unto them. But Robinſon continued immoveable, and ſaid he ſhould not conform; and as for their honour, he did not matter it. Then the friar became angry, and ſaid they would make him an example to all Engliſhmen that came thither. To which Robinſon returned, 'I chooſe your diſhonour rather than your honour.' The friar ſeeing he could not prevail, went away in anger, and within a ſhort time came again; and other friars being preſent, one aſked him if he would viſit their church, and the holy ſepulchre, and Bethlehem, with the reſt of the holy places, as other pilgrims did? But he told them, at preſent he had no buſineſs to viſit them; and in their manner he ſhould not viſit them at all, viz. to worſhip them. Then one ſaid to him, 'How can you be a ſervant of God, and will not go to viſit the places where the holy men of God dwelt?' To which he returned, that they, under pretence of doing ſervice to God, in viſiting the places where the holy men dwelt, did oppoſe that way, and reſiſt that life, which the holy men of God lived and walked in. Then one of the friars ſaid, 'What do you preach unto us for?' To which he replied, that he would have them turn from thoſe evil practices they lived in, elſe the wrath of the Almighty would be kindled againſt them. But they did not at all like ſuch diſcourſe, and therefore ſaid, if he would not go and viſit the aforeſaid places, yet he muſt give twenty-five dollars, as was the manner of thoſe that viſited them; for, ſaid they, the Turks muſt be paid, whether he would viſit them, or not; but if he would viſit them, then they would pay it for him. To this he ſignified, that he could not ſubmit to ſuch unreaſonable terms.

Then they brought him before a Turk in authority in

that place, who aſked him divers queſtions, to which he ſoberly gave anſwers; and they diſcourſing about the worſhip of the Chriſtians, the Turk aſked alſo, what was the ground of his coming to Jeruſalem. To which he anſwered, that it was by the command of the Lord God of heaven and earth he came thither; and that the great and tender love of God was made manifeſt in viſiting them; his compaſſionate mercies being ſuch, that he would gather them in this the day of his gathering. This was the meſſage which Robinſon believed he had from the Lord to declare unto them, whether they would hear, or forbear. And afterwards he writ, that having thus cleared his conſcience, he found great peace with the Lord, and therefore he magnified his glorious name, who had gone along with him, and preſerved him in many trials. For the friars, who intended him miſchief, were commanded by the Turks to carry him again ſafe and free of charges, to Ramla. Here I leave him, becauſe I do not find how he came home; but that he returned thither in ſafety, appears to me from the relation he afterwards publiſhed of his travels.

The year being come to an end, I return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Newcaſtle. Whilſt he was there, he, with Anthony Pearſon, viſited ſome of the aldermen; and among theſe one Ledger, who as well as the prieſts, had ſaid the Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the fields like butterflies. G. Fox deſired to have a meeting amongſt them; but they would not yield to it. He therefore aſked Ledger, whether they had not called his friends butterflies, and ſaid they would not come into any great towns? 'But,' ſaid he, 'now we are come into your town, you will not come to us: who are the butterflies now?' Then Ledger began to plead for the ſabbath day; which made G. Fox ſay, they kept markets on that which was the ſabbath day, for that was the ſeventh day of the week; whereas that day which the profeſſed Chriſtians now meet on, and call their ſabbath, was the firſt day of the week. No leave for a publick meeting being obtained, G. Fox got a little meeting among his friends, and ſome friendly people at Gateſide.

Travelling from thence, and paſſing through Nor-

thumberland, and Biſhoprick, he came to Durham, where was a man come down from London, to ſet up a college there, to make miniſters of Chriſt, as they ſaid. G. Fox entering into diſcourſe with this man, ſaid that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the ſeven arts, was not the way to make them miniſters of Chriſt; for the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks that ſpake Greek as their mother tongue, the preaching of the croſs of Chriſt was fooliſhneſs; and to the Jews that ſpake Hebrew as their mother tongue, Chriſt was a ſtumbling-block. And as for the Romans who ſpake Latin, they perſecuted the Chriſtians; and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, ſet Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a top of Chriſt when he crucified him. Thus the languages, which began at Babel, had been ſet above Chriſt, the word. And John the Divine, who preached the word, that was in the beginning, ſaid that the beaſt and the whore had power over tongues and languages, and they were as waters, and in the myſtery Babylon, for they began at Babel; and the perſecutors of Chriſt ſet them over him, when he was crucified by them. 'Doſt thou think,' ſaid G. Fox to the man, 'to make miniſters of Chriſt by theſe natural confuſed languages, which ſprang from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and ſet a top of Chriſt, the life, by a perſecutor?' The man, puzzled a little by this, confeſſed to many things ſpoken by G. Fox. Then it was ſhewed him farther, that Chriſt made his miniſters himſelf, and gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the Lord of the harveſt, to ſend forth labourers: that Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant as to ſchool-learning, preached Chriſt the word, which was in the beginning before Babel was: and that Paul alſo was made an apoſtle, not of man, nor by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, who is the ſame now, and ſo is his goſpel, as it was at that day. This diſcourſe had ſuch effect upon the man, that he became very loving; and having conſidered the matter farther, he never ſet up his intended college.

From Durham G. Fox paſſed to Nottingham, where he gathered again a ſcattered people, that having about eight years before been convinced of the Truth, had been led aſide by one Rice Jones.

From hence he went into Warwickſhire, and paſſing through Northamptonſhire and Leiceſterſhire, he came into Bedfordſhire, and ſo to John Crook's houſe, where a general Yearly Meeting was appointed, which laſted three days: and many of G. Fox's friends from moſt parts of the nation came to it, ſo that the inns in the towns thereabouts were filled. Here was alſo William Caton, who after the meeting was ended, went with Thomas Salthouſe, formerly his fellow-ſervant in the houſe of judge Fell, to Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Swarthmore in Lancaſhire. In the ſaid general meeting G. Fox made a long ſpeech concerning the ſeveral ſtates of man, but more eſpecially for inſtruction of the miniſters of the word, exhorting them at large to be circumſpect in their ſtation.

After the meeting was over, there came a party of horſe with a conſtable, to ſeize upon G. Fox, who then was walking in J. Crook's garden: and though ſomebody, when they came to the houſe, had told them G. Fox was there, yet they were ſo confounded, that they came not into the garden to look for him, but went away without him.

Parting from thence, he came to London, where he heard that a Jeſuit who was come over with an ambaſſador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers, to diſpute with them at the earl of Newport's houſe. G. Fox then let him know by ſome of his friends, that they would meet him: whereupon the Jeſuit ſent word, he would meet with twelve of the wiſeſt learned men they had. A while after he ſent word, he would meet with but ſix; and after that, he ſent word again, he would have but three to come. Then G. Fox went, with Edward Burrough, and one Nicholas Bond, to the aforeſaid houſe, and bade them to go up, and enter the diſcourſe with the Jeſuit, whilſt he would be walking in the yard, and then come up after them. He had adviſed them to ſtate this queſtion, Whether the church of Rome, as it now ſtood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and ſpirit that thoſe believers were in? They having ſtated the queſtion accordingly, the Jeſuit affirmed, that the church

of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church. By this time G. Fox being come in, the Jeſuit was aſked, whether they had the Holy Ghoſt poured out upon them, as the apoſtles had? And he ſaid, 'No.' Then ſaid G. Fox, 'If ye have not the ſame Holy Ghoſt poured forth upon you, and the ſame power and ſpirit that the apoſtles had, then ye are degenerated from the power and ſpirit, which the primitive church was in.' And he aſked the Jeſuit, what Scripture they had for ſetting up cloiſters for nuns, abbies and monaſteries for men, and for their praying by beads and to images, and for making croſſes, for forbidding of meats and marriages, and for putting people to death for religion? 'If,' ſaid he, 'ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us ſee by Scripture, wherever they practiſed ſuch things?' For it was agreed mutually, that both the Jeſuit and the Quakers, ſhould make good by Scripture what they ſaid. Then the Jeſuit ſaid, there was a written, and an unwritten word. Which made G. Fox aſk, what he called his unwritten word? And he anſwered, 'The written word is the Scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apoſtles ſpake by word of mouth, which are all thoſe traditions that we practiſe.' Then G. Fox bid him prove that by Scripture; and the Jeſuit alleged the words of the apoſtle, 2 Theſſ. ii. 5. "When I was with you, I told you theſe things:" 'That is,' ſaid he, 'I told you of nunneries and monaſteries, of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads and to images,' &c. This he affirmed to be the unwritten word of the apoſtles, which they told then, and had ſince been continued by tradition, unto theſe times. Then G. Fox deſired him to read that Scripture again, that he might ſee how he had perverted the apoſtles words, ſince that which the apoſtle ſaid there he had told them before, was not an unwritten word, but was written down there; namely, that the man of ſin, the ſon of perdition, ſhould be revealed before that great and terrible day of Chriſt, which he was writing of, ſhould come. And therefore this was not telling them any of thoſe things the church of Rome practiſed. Beſides, the apoſtle in the third chapter

of the ſaid epiſtle told the church of ſome diſorderly perſons he heard were amongſt them, buſy bodies, who did not work at all; concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them, that if any would not work, neither ſhould he eat; which now he commanded them again in his written words in this epiſtle, 2 Theſſ. iii.

The Jeſuit now finding no other ſcriptural proof for the tradition of the church of Rome, let that point fall, and came to the ſacrament of the altar, to prove the reality of which, he began with the paſchal lamb, and the ſhew bread, and ſo came to the words of Chriſt, "This is my body," and to what the apoſtle writ to the Corinthians, concluding from thence, that after the prieſt had conſecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, and that he who received it, received the whole Chriſt. To this G. Fox ſaid, that the ſame apoſtle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread and wine in remembrance of Chriſt's death, that they were reprobates if Chriſt was not in them. But that if the bread they eat was Chriſt, he muſt of neceſſity have been in them, after they had eaten it. Beſides, if the bread and wine which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Chriſt's body, how then (continued he) hath Chriſt a body in heaven? And he alſo ſignified to him, that both the diſciples at the ſupper, and the Corinthians afterwards were to eat the bread and drink the wine in remembrance of Chriſt, and to ſhew forth his death till he came; which plainly proved that the bread and wine which they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had been come, and was then there preſent; and it would have been improper to have done ſuch a thing in remembrance of him, if he had been then preſent with them; as he muſt have been, if that bread and wine, which they ate and drank, had been his real body. And as to the words of Chriſt, "This is my body," G. Fox told him, 'Chriſt calls himſelf a vine and a door, and is called in Scripture a rock: is Chriſt therefore an outward rock, door or vine?' 'O, ſaid the Jeſuit, the words are to be interpreted.' 'So,' ſaid G. Fox, 'are thoſe words of

Chriſt,' "'This is my body." And having thus ſtopped the Jeſuit's mouth, he made this propoſal: that, ſeeing he ſaid the bread and wine was immortal and divine, and the very Chriſt, and that whoſoever received it, received the whole Chriſt; a meeting might be appointed between ſome ſuch Papiſts as the pope and his cardinals ſhould appoint, and ſome of thoſe called Quakers: 'And then,' ſaid he, 'let a bottle of wine, and a loaf of bread be brought, and divided each into two parts, and let them conſecrate which of thoſe parts they will; and then let the conſecrated and unconſecrated bread and wine be ſet in a ſafe place, with a ſure watch upon it; and let trial then be made, whether the conſecrated bread and wine will not loſe its goodneſs, viz. the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and ſour, as well and as ſoon as that which was unconſecrated; for by this means the truth of this matter may be made manifeſt. And if the conſecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their ſavour and goodneſs, this may be a means to draw many to your church. But if they change, decay, and loſe their goodneſs, then ought you to confeſs and forſake your error, and ſhed no more blood about it, as hath been done, eſpecially in queen Mary's days.' To this the Jeſuit made this reply: 'Take a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon king David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment ſhall wear away as well as the other.' 'Is this,' ſaid G. Fox, 'thy anſwer?' 'Yes,' ſaid the Jeſuit. 'Then,' ſaid G. Fox, 'by this the company may all be ſatisfied, that your conſecrated bread and wine is not Chriſt. Doſt thou now ſay that the conſecrated bread and wine, which you have told people was immortal and divine, and the real body and blood of Chriſt, will wear away, or decay as well as the other? Then I muſt tell thee, Chriſt remains the ſame to-day as yeſterday, and never decays; but is the ſaints heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life.' To this the Jeſuit replied no more, but let the thing fall; for he perceived that thoſe which were preſent ſaw his error, and that he could not defend it.

Then G. Fox aſked him, why the church of Rome did

perſecute, and put people to death for religion? and he anſwered, it was not the church did it, but the magiſtrates. G. Fox aſked, whether thoſe magiſtrates were not counted and called believers and Chriſtians? 'Yes,' ſaid he. 'Are they not members of your church?' aſked G. Fox. 'Yes,' ſaid the Jeſuit. Then G. Fox left it to the people to judge, whether the church of Rome did not perſecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus they parted; the Jeſuit's ſubtilty being comprehended by the ſimplicity of G. Fox, and his friends.

Whilſt G. Fox was at London, his friends, both in England and Ireland, were under great ſufferings, which made him write to the protector about it: and there being then much talk of making Cromwell king, he went to him, and warned him againſt it, becauſe of the dangers that would attend it; and which, if he did not avoid, would bring ſhame and ruin upon him and his poſterity. Which counſel Cromwell ſeemed to take well, and thanked him for it: yet G. Fox wrote alſo concerning the ſame thing to him in this manner:

'O Protector,

'Who haſt taſted of the power of God, which many generations before thee have not ſo much, ſince the days of apoſtacy from the apoſtles, take heed that thou loſe not thy power; but keep kingſhip off thy head, which the world would give to thee; and earthly crowns under thy feet, leſt with that thou cover thyſelf, and ſo loſe the power of God. When the children of Iſrael went from that of God in them, they would have kings as other nations had, as tranſgreſſors had; and ſo God gave them one; and what did they do then? and when they would have taken Chriſt, and made him a king, he hid himſelf from them; he was hid from that which would have made him a king, he who was the king of the Jews inward. O Oliver, take heed of undoing thyſelf, by running into things that will fade, the things of this world that will change. Be ſubject and obedient to the Lord God.

'George Fox.'

About this time G. Fox wrote alſo another letter to O. Cromwell, wherein he ſignified to him, that if he had been faithful, and thundered down deceit, he would yet have done many mighty things. And he alſo adviſed him, not to ſlight ſober men, and true hearts; but to mind the law of God, and his fear and dread; to take heed of flatteries, and to prize his time now he had it.

The lady Claypole, Cromwell's moſt beloved daughter, being ſick, and much troubled in mind, ſo that none that came could adminiſter any comfort to her, G. Fox viſited her with the following letter:

'Friend,

'Be ſtill and cool in thy own mind and ſpirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God, to turn thy mind to the Lord God, from whom life comes; whereby thou mayeſt receive his ſtrength, and power to allay all bluſtering ſtorms and tempeſts. That is it which works up into patience, into innocency, into ſoberneſs, into ſtillneſs, into ſtayedneſs, into quietneſs, up to God with his power. Therefore mind, that is the word of the Lord unto thee, that the authority of God thou mayeſt feel, and thy faith in that, to work down that which troubles thee: for that is it which keeps peace, and brings up the witneſs in thee, which hath been tranſgreſſed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou art in the tranſgreſſion of the life of God in thy own particular, the mind flies up in the air, and the creature is led into the night, and nature goes out of its courſe, and an old garment goes on, and an uppermoſt clothing; and thy nature being led out of its courſe, it comes to be all on a fire, in the tranſgreſſion; and that defaceth the glory of the firſt body. Therefore be ſtill a while from thy own thoughts, ſearching, ſeeking, deſires, and imaginations, and be ſtayed in the principle of God in thee, that it may raiſe thy mind up to God, and ſtay it upon God, and thou wilt find ſtrength from him, and find him to be a God at hand, a preſent help in the time of trouble, and of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been tranſ-

greſſed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble, God will teach his way, which is peace, and ſuch he doth exalt. Now as the principle of God in thee hath been tranſgreſſed, come to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God; and deny thyſelf, and from thy own will, that is the earthly, thou muſt be kept: then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its courſe, and give thee to ſee the glory of the firſt body. And there the wiſdom of God will be received (which is Chriſt, by which all things were made and created) to be thereby preſerved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt come to receive and feel the Phyſician of value, who clothes people in their right mind, whereby they may ſerve God, and do his will. For all diſtractions, unruli-neſs, and confuſion, is in the tranſgreſſion: which tranſ-greſſion muſt be brought down, before the principle of God, which hath been tranſgreſſed againſt, be lifted up; whereby the mind may be ſeaſoned and ſtilled, and a right underſtanding of the Lord may be received; whereby his bleſſings enter, and are felt, over all that is contrary, in the power of the Lord God, which raiſeth up the principle of God within, and gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion. Therefore keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord God unto thee; for all theſe things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of thoſe concerned for thee, to make you know yourſelves, and your own weakneſs, and that ye may know the Lord's ſtrength and power, and may truſt in him. Therefore let the time that is paſt be ſufficient to every one, who in any thing hath been lifted up in tranſ-greſſion, out of the power of the Lord: for he can bring down and abaſe the mighty, and lay them in the duſt of the earth. Therefore all keep low in his fear, that thereby ye may receive the ſecrets of God and his wiſdom, and may know the ſhadow of the Almighty, and ſit under it in all tempeſts, ſtorms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Moſt High rules in the children of men. So then, this is the word of the Lord God unto you all, What the light doth make manifeſt and diſcover, as temp-tations, diſtractions, confuſions, do not look at the tempta-

tions, confuſions, corruptions, but at the light which diſcovers them, and makes them manifeſt. And with the ſame light you may feel over them, to receive power to ſtand againſt them. The ſame light which lets you ſee ſin and tranſgreſſion, will let you ſee the covenant of God, which blots out your ſin and tranſgreſſion, which gives victory and dominion over it; and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at ſin, and corruption, and diſtraction, ye are ſwallowed up in it: but looking at the light which diſcovers them, ye will ſee over them: that will give victory, and ye will find grace and ſtrength; and there is the firſt ſtep to peace. That will bring ſalvation, and by it ye may ſee to the beginning, and the glory that was with the Father before the world began; and ſo come to know the ſeed of God, which is the heir of the promiſe of God, and of the world which hath no end, and which bruiſes the head of the ſerpent, who ſtops people from coming to God. That ye may feel the power of an endleſs life, the power of God, which is immortal, which brings the immortal ſoul up to the immortal God, in whom it doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, God Almighty ſtrengthen thee.

'G. F.'

The paper being read to the aforeſaid lady, it ſtaid her mind ſomewhat; but ſhe lived not long after, ſo that O. Cromwell met with almoſt continual trouble: for diſcontent againſt him increaſed more and more.

Now ſince the Proteſtants in the valley of Lucern, and elſewhere, were much perſecuted, there came forth a declaration from the protector to keep a faſt, and one alſo for a collection for the relief of diſtreſſed Proteſtant churches. On this occaſion, G. Fox to ſhew what kind of faſt it was that God requires and accepts, wrote the following paper:

To the heads and governors of this nation, who have put forth a declaration, for the keeping of a day of ſolemn faſting and humiliation, for the perſecution (as you ſay) of divers people beyond the ſeas, profeſſing the reformed

religion, which, (ye ſay) hath been tranſmitted unto them from their anceſtors.

'A profeſſion of the reformed religion may be tranſmitted to generations, and ſo holden by tradition; and in that, wherein the profeſſion and tradition is holden, is the day of humiliation kept; which ſtands in the will of man, which is not the faſt that the Lord requires, to bow down the head like a bulruſh for a day, and the day following be in the ſame condition as they were the day before. To the light of Chriſt Jeſus in your conſciences do I ſpeak, which teſtifieth for God every day, and witneſſeth againſt all ſin and perſecution; which meaſure of God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the faſt which the Lord requires, which is, "To looſe the bonds of wickedneſs, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppreſſed go free,' Iſa. lviii. 6, 7. This is the faſt the Lord requires; and this ſtands not in the tranſmiſſion of times, nor in the traditions of men: but this ſtands in that which was before times were, and which leads out of time, and ſhall be, when time ſhall be no more. And theſe that teach for doctrine the commandments of men, are they that ever perſecuted the life and power when it came. And whereas ye mention a decree, or edict, that was made againſt the ſaid perſecuted Proteſtants; all ſuch decrees, or edicts, proceed from the ground of the pope's religion and ſupremacy; and therein ſtands his tyranny and cruelty, acted in that will, which is in that nature, which exerciſeth lordſhip, over one another, (as you may read, Mark x. 42. Luke xxii. 25.) as all the heathen do, and ever did; and in the heatheniſh nature is all the tyranny and perſecution exerciſed, by them that are out of the obedience to the light of Chriſt Jeſus in the conſcience, which is the guider and leader of all who are tender of that of God in the conſcience. But who are not led by this, know not what it is to ſuffer for conſcience ſake.

'Now, whereas ye take into your conſideration the ſad perſecution, tyranny, and cruelty exerciſed upon them, whom ye call your Proteſtant brethren, and do contribute and adminiſter to their wants outwardly; this is good in

its place, and we own it, and ſee it good to adminiſter to the neceſſities of others, and to do good to all: and we who are ſufferers by a law derived from the pope, are willing to join, and to contribute with you, to their outward neceſſities. "For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulneſs thereof;" who is good to all, and gracious to all, and willing that all ſhould be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth. But in the mean-time, while ye are doing this, and taking notice of others cruelty, tyranny, and perſecution, turn your eye upon yourſelves, and ſee what ye are doing at home. To the light of Chriſt Jeſus in all your conſciences I ſpeak, which cannot lie, nor cannot err, nor cannot bear falſe witneſs; but doth bear witneſs for God, and cries for equity, and juſtice, and righteouſneſs to be executed. See what ye are doing who profeſs the Scriptures, which were given forth by the ſaints in light, who dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For them who do now witneſs the ſame light, the ſame life, and the ſame power which gave forth the Scriptures, which ye in words profeſs, them ye perſecute, them ye hale out of your ſynagogues and markets; them ye beat, ſtock, and impriſon. Now let that of God in your conſciences, which is juſt and righteous, and equal, examine and try, whether ye have any example or precedent to exerciſe this perſecution, which now many in this nation ſuffer under, who are a people harmleſs and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye account the way of Truth they walk in, hereſy; yet therein do they exerciſe themſelves to have always a conſcience void of offence towards God and man, as ye may read the ſaints of old did, (Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16), not wronging any man, neither giving any juſt cauſe of offence; only being obedient to the commands of the Lord, to declare, as they are moved by the Holy Ghoſt; and ſtanding for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, ſpeaking the truth in Chriſt, their conſciences bearing them witneſs that they lie not: for this do they ſuffer under you, who in words profeſs the ſame thing for which they ſuffer.

'Now ſee if any age or generation did ever perſecute as ye do: for ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus who reveals the

Father, and perſecute them that witneſs the revelation of the Father by Chriſt Jeſus unto them. Ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus, who is the light of the world, "that enlightens every one that cometh into the world;" and yet perſecute them that bear witneſs, and give teſtimony to this light. Ye profeſs that the word is become fleſh; and yet perſecute them that witneſs it ſo. Ye profeſs, that whoſoever confeſſeth not that Jeſus Chriſt is come in the fleſh, is an antichriſt; and yet perſecute them that do confeſs him come in the fleſh, and call them antichriſts and deceivers. Ye profeſs that the kingdom of Chriſt is come; and yet perſecute them that witneſs it come. Ye profeſs Chriſt Jeſus the reſurrection and the life; and yet perſecute them that witneſs him to be ſo. If ye ſay, 'How ſhall we know that theſe people who ſay they witneſs theſe things, do ſo, or no?' I anſwer, turn your minds to the light which Chriſt Jeſus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if ye walk in the light, ye ſhall have the light of life, and then ye will know and ſee what ye have done, who have perſecuted the Lord of glory (in his people) in whom is life, and the life is the light of men. To no other touchſtone ſhall we turn you, but into your own conſciences, and there ſhall ye find the truth of what we have declared unto you, and of what we bear teſtimony to, according to the Holy Scriptures. And when the books of conſciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then ſhall ye witneſs us to be of God, and our teſtimony to be true, though now ye may ſtop your ears, and harden your hearts, "while it is called to-day." But then ye ſhall know what ye have done, and whom you have tranſgreſſed againſt; and then ye will ſee that no perſecutors in any age or generation that ever went before you, did ever tranſgreſs againſt that light and meaſure of God made manifeſt, in ſuch a manner as ye have done. For though Chriſt and the apoſtles were perſecuted in their times, the Jews, for the moſt part of them, did not know that he was the Chriſt, when he came, notwithſtanding that they had the Scriptures, which propheſied of him; neither did they believe that he was riſen again, when the apoſtles preached his reſurrection. But ye ſay, ye believe he is come; and ye ſay, ye believe

his reſurrection, and yet ye perſecute thoſe that witneſs him come in the fleſh, thoſe that are buried with him in baptiſm, thoſe that are conformable to his death, and know the power of his reſurrection; thoſe ye perſecute, thoſe ye hale before magiſtrates, and ſuffer to be beaten in your ſynagogues; thoſe ye cauſe to be whipped and ſtocked, and ſhamefully entreated, and into priſon caſt, and kept: as many gaols in this nation, at this day teſtify to your faces.

'Therefore honeſtly conſider what ye are doing, while ye are taking notice of other cruelties, leſt ye overlook your own. There is ſome difference in many things between the Popiſh religion, and that which ye call the Proteſtant; but in this perſecution of yours there is no difference: for ye will confeſs, that the foundation of your religion is grounded upon the Scriptures; and yet now ye are perſecuting thoſe, that be in the ſame life which they were in who ſpake forth the Scriptures; yourſelves being the mean-while under a profeſſion of the words they ſpake; and this ye ſhall one day witneſs. So ye have a profeſſion and form, and perſecute them that are in the poſſeſſion, life, and power. Therefore know aſſuredly, that ye muſt come to judgment; for he is made manifeſt to whom all judgment is committed. Therefore to the light of Jeſus Chriſt in your conſciences, which ſearcheth and trieth you, turn your minds, and ſtand ſtill, and wait there to receive the righteous law, which is according to that of God in the conſcience, which is now riſing, and is bearing witneſs againſt all ungodlineſs and unrighteouſneſs of men; and they whom ye perſecute, are manifeſt to God, and that of God in all conſciences ſhall bear witneſs for us, that we are of God: and this ye ſhall one day witneſs, whether ye will hear, or forbear. Our rejoicing is in the teſtimony of our conſciences, that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity (not with fleſhly wiſdom, but by the grace of God), we have had our converſation in the world; not handling the word of God deceitfully, but, in the manifeſtation of the Truth, commending ourſelves to every man's conſcience in the ſight of God; and if our goſpel be hid, it is hid to them that are loſt: and for

the witneſſing the holding the myſtery of faith in a pure conſcience, do we ſuffer, and are ſubject for conſcience ſake. This is thank-worthy, if a man for conſcience ſake endure griefs and ſuffering wrongfully. And in this is our joy and rejoicing, having a good conſcience, that whereas we are evil ſpoken of, as evil doers, they may be aſhamed, that falſely accuſe our good converſation in Chriſt; which is not only the putting away of the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt. And this we witneſs made manifeſt (eternal praiſes to the living God) and bear teſtimony to that which ſpake it in the apoſtle in life and power: and therefore do we bear witneſs, and teſtify againſt thoſe, who being got into a form and profeſſion of it, do perſecute the life and power.

'Therefore to the eternal light of Chriſt Jeſus, the ſearcher and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, and ſee what ye are doing, leſt ye overturn your foundation and bottom whereon ye pretend to ſtand, while ye are profeſſing the Scriptures, and perſecuting the life, light, and power, which they were in, who gave them forth. For the ſtone cut out of the mountain without hands, is now ſtriking at the feet of the image, the profeſſion which is ſet up, and ſtands in the will of man. Now is that made manifeſt, unto which all muſt anſwer, and appear before the judgment ſeat of Chriſt; that every one may receive the thing done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we perſuade men; but we are made manifeſt unto God, and ſhall be made manifeſt in all your conſciences, which ye ſhall witneſs.

'G. F.'

Divers times when a faſt was proclaimed, G. Fox writ on that ſubject; and ſince commonly ſome miſchief was then contrived againſt the Quakers, no wonder that he would ſay, that theſe faſts were like unto Jezebel's.

Many of his friends being at this time in priſons and dungeons, ſeveral others of them went to the parliament, and offered to lie in the ſame priſons where their brethren

lay; that ſo thoſe that were in priſon, might not periſh in ſtinking dungeons, and their perſecutors thereby bring innocent blood upon their own heads. But this could not be obtained; for ſome of the parliament would threaten theſe compaſſionate men that thus attended them, with whipping, if they did not deſiſt. And becauſe the parliament then ſitting, conſiſted moſtly of ſuch who, pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed great perſecutors of thoſe that were truly religious, G. Fox could not let this hypocriſy go unreproved, but writ the following lines to them:

'O friends, do not cloke and cover yourſelves; there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He ſeeth your way: 'Woe be to him that covereth, but not with my Spirit,' ſaith the Lord. Do ye contrary to the law, and then put it from you? Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what was ſpoken againſt ſuch: my Saviour ſpake againſt ſuch: "I was ſick, and ye viſited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in; I was in priſon, and ye viſited me not." But they ſaid, "When ſaw we thee in priſon, and did not come to thee?" "Inaſmuch as ye did it not unto one of theſe little ones, ye did it not unto me." Friends, ye priſon them that be in the life and power of Truth, and yet profeſs to be the miniſters of Chriſt: but if Chriſt had ſent you, ye would bring out of priſon, and out of bondage, and receive ſtrangers. Ye have lived in pleaſure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nouriſhed your hearts as in a day of ſlaughter: ye have condemned and killed the juſt, and he doth not reſiſt you. 'G. F.'

It was not G. Fox alone who was grieved with the ſaid hypocriſy, but others of his friends alſo declared zealouſly againſt it. A certain woman came once into the parliament with a pitcher in her hand, which ſhe breaking before them, told them, ſo ſhould they be broken to pieces; which came to paſs not long after. And becauſe, when the great ſufferings of G. Fox's friends were laid before

O. Cromwell, he would not believe it, this gave occaſion to Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearſon, to go through all, or moſt of the gaols in England, and get copies of their friends commitment under the gaolers hands, to lay the weight of the ſaid ſufferings upon O. Cromwell, which was done; but he, unwilling to give order for their releaſe, Thomas Aldam took his cap from off his head, and tearing it to pieces, ſaid to him, 'So ſhall thy government be rent from thee and thy houſe.'

About the beginning of this year, E. Burrough writ a letter to O. Cromwell, and his council, complaining of, and warning them againſt perſecution, as being what would draw down God's anger againſt them.

Several copies of the ſaid letter were delivered to Oliver, and his council; and ſome months after E. Burrough writ the following letter to him.

To the Protector.

'Friend,

'The ſalutation of my life wiſheth well unto thee in the Lord, and moſt eſpecially that thy precious ſoul may be redeemed out of death to God, and live, that thou mayeſt have a reſt and habitation in him, when this world is no more.

'Now whereas it is a general outcry among the teachers and people of this nation, and alſo is doubted; and hath been ſometimes objected by thyſelf, that the people called Quakers, are deluded and deceived, and in error, and ſuch like: and now, if it be poſſible, that thyſelf and others may be reſolved concerning us; put therefore all thy objections and doubtings into plain poſitions, or let the wiſeſt of thy teachers do it for thee; that whatſoever thyſelf, or any for thee, can object againſt us, or what thou doubteſt of, or ſtumbleſt at, either in reſpect of our doctrines or practice, let the matter be ſtated in plain words, in poſitions, or queries; and if God permit, a ſufficient anſwer thou mayeſt receive, to remove all conſcientious ſcruples, and to confound all ſubtle alledgments and evaſions; whereby hereafter for ever thou mayeſt be altogether inexcuſable of all doubting, or ſpeaking againſt us, or ſuffering evil to be done, or ſpoken againſt us upon that account. And

this I am moved to give forth, and ſend to thee, that thou mayeſt be ſatisfied; and all things tried and made manifeſt in the ſight of all men; and that all raſh judgment, and falſe ſuppoſition, which lodgeth in the hearts of many, may be confounded and brought to nought; and let it be left off, to cry out deceivers, and hereſy, &c. and cauſing any to ſuffer on ſuſpicion thereupon; but bring all things to light, and true judgment; that what is proved to be the Truth may be owned, and not perſecuted any more; for we are willing to be made manifeſt to all men; and if any thing be objected againſt us, which may not be ſufficiently anſwered, and reſolved to ſober men, then our enemies are more free, and have whereof to glory in againſt us; but and if all occaſion of ſtumbling be removed by anſwers, according to the Scriptures, and our principles, practices, and doctrines thereby vindicated, then let all the teachers, and all our adverſaries, ſhut their mouths from biting at us, and railing againſt us, and accuſing of us to thee; and let thy ear be ſhut from believing lies againſt the innocent; and let none ſuffer in thy dominion under the cruelty of men, upon ſuch a ground. Hereof I ſhall be glad to receive an anſwer, and to join iſſue in this cauſe; and in the mean time, and always, am a lover of thy ſoul, but a witneſs againſt all oppreſſion.

'E. B.'

This was delivered to his hands at Hampton Court, in the Fourth Month, 1658.

I never underſtood that any thing of moment followed upon this: but about two months after he writ another letter to Cromwell, which was delivered to him at Hampton Court, in the ſixth month.

To the Protector.

'Friend,

'Know that there is a God that doth whatſoever he will. All power is in his hand, and he bringeth to paſs the council of his own heart, and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and bringeth down and ſetteth up; he killeth and maketh alive; and he changeth times, and ſeaſons, and

governments, and bringeth to nought the counſels of men; for all power in earth and in heaven is in him, and all his doings are right, and his ways are equal; and thou and all mankind are as clay in the hand of the potter, he can honour and exalt as he pleaſeth, and he can mar, and break to pieces, and diſhonour whenſoever he will; wherefore be humble and low in heart before him, for he is the higheſt power, that ſubdueth all things under his feet. If he wound, who can heal? And if he kill, there is none can make alive; and know thou, it is the Lord God Almighty that doth this, in whoſe hands are the iſſues of life and death; and he it is who can break thee down, and build thee up; who can wound thee, and reſtore thee; and bring thee to deſtruction, and ſay unto thee return; and to know him that doth this, belongs to thy eternal peace, &c.

'Be thou faithful in what the Lord calleth thee to, and thou ſhalt have thy reward; and ſeek his honour, and he will honour thee; and let thy mind be to the Lord in all things, and feel his word, and power, and preſence in thee, to quench all that which is contrary, and then thou wilt be bleſſed in this life, and in the life to come; but if thou continueſt in thy oppreſſion, the Lord will ſuddenly ſmite thee.

'By a friend unto thee in the Lord,
'E. B.'

That the Lord, according to this prediction, did ſuddenly ſmite Cromwell, time verified; for he lived but about a month after the receipt of the ſaid letter. And that E. Burrough tenderly loved him, appears to me from ſeveral circumſtances: and the ardent deſire he had for his eternal welfare, occaſioned this plain language to him.

G. Fox alſo wrote to him, that it was not improbable, that becauſe of his wickedneſs, the Lord might once raiſe the royaliſts againſt him, to be inſtruments of executing his wrath; as once Cromwell himſelf had been an inſtrument to their overthrow. And a very ſhort time before his death, G. Fox went to Hampton Court, to ſpeak with him about the ſufferings of his friends. With this intention, he met him riding into Hampton Court park, and before

he came at him (according to his relation), he perceived a waft of death go forth againſt him; and coming to him, he looked like a dead man. So after G. Fox had laid the ſufferings of his friends before him, and had warned him, Oliver bid him come to his houſe; whereupon G. Fox went to Kingſton, and the next day came to Hampton Court again; but there he underſtood that the protector was ſick; and Dr. Harvey told him, that the doctors were not willing that he ſhould ſpeak with the protector. So he paſſed away, and never ſaw Oliver Cromwell any more: who, ſince the death of his daughter, the lady Claypole, had been diſtempered, and troubled with a malignant humour in his foot; which when his phyſicians endeavoured to diſperſe, they drove upward (as was ſaid) to his heart; and being ſeized with a violent fever, he grew weaker and weaker; yet his preachers endeavoured to conceal the danger he was in: and it is reported that Dr. Goodwin, one of his chaplains, in a prayer during the time of his ſickneſs, made uſe of this expreſſion, 'Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou haſt already granted, and aſſured us of; but for his ſpeedy recovery.' Whilſt the protector was ſick, E. Burrough writ the following letter to his wife and children, &c.

'Friends,

'Remember, that by the Lord you were raiſed from a low ſtate, and when he will he can abaſe you, and bring you down; he gave you the palace of princes, and threw out them before you.

'O, remember this every one of you, and come to the witneſs of God in you, and be humble, and meek, and lowly, and let the Lord's fear be in your hearts; and be of a tender ſpirit, having your minds exerciſed in purity, in holineſs, and in righteouſneſs; and exalt not yourſelves, nor be lifted up in your hearts in the pride, and vain-glories, and honours of this world, leſt the Lord caſt you down, and make your name and poſterity a reproach, as he hath done many before you; and if you walk in the ſame ſteps, and do the ſame things, and become guilty of the ſame abominations, and ſuffer the children and ſervants

of the Lord to be perſecuted (as many are at this day, ſome until death) ſhall the Lord ſpare you? Nay, he will cauſe you to feel his hand of judgment, and bring you down with ſorrow, and he will vex you in his wrath, and ſmite you with his rod more and more, till you learn his fear, and depart from all your iniquities; and the Lord will deface your glory, and pull down your crown; and he will make you know, that he is Lord, that doth whatſoever he will.

'Wherefore humble yourſelves under the hand of God, and ſearch your own hearts, and caſt out the abominations that vex the Spirit of the Lord; and ſuffer not the people of the Lord's precious flock to be devoured, and made a prey to the wicked; for becauſe of this the rod of affliction cometh upon you, and may ſuddenly break you to pieces: but mind the ſeed of God in you, which is oppreſſed, and wait to know the power of the Lord, which will redeem you out of ſin and death, and reconcile you to God, and bring you into fellowſhip with himſelf, to enjoy peace and reſt for your ſouls, that you may be made heirs of the inheritance of an endleſs life: and this would make you truly honourable, and will be more ſatisfaction to you, and joy, and content, and true rejoicing, than all worldly crowns and worldly glories: which will waſte and conſume away, and leave you miſerable. And remember that you are now warned from the Lord God, by whom I am moved to write this unto you, in dear and tender love to you all; and one day you ſhall witneſs it.

'And as concerning the Quakers, ſo called, who are accounted as vile in the ſight of men, and are caſt out of all power and place in the nation, being deſpiſed of all; and alſo are reproached, perſecuted, and impriſoned, and all manner of evil and injuſtice unrighteouſly done and ſpoken againſt them, by wicked and corrupt men in authority; yet are they the children and ſervants of the living God, and greatly beloved of him, and are as dear to him as the apple of his eye, and his power and preſence is with them; and the time is at hand that the Lord will make their perſecutors fall, and their enemies bow and tremble, though now they ſuffer unjuſtly, and are trodden down,

as not deſerving a place on the earth; yet it is for righteouſneſs ſake, and becauſe they ſhew forth the image of the Father, and not for evil doing: and will not their ſufferings lie upon you? For many hundreds have ſuffered cruel and great things, and ſome the loſs of life (though not by, yet in the name of, the protector); and about an hundred at this preſent day lie in holes, and dungeons, and priſons, up and down the nation; and ſome at this time are ſick, nigh unto death, whoſe ſufferings cry for vengeance, and the Lord heareth the cry. Wherefore ſave yourſelves, and let the innocent be delivered, and the cruel bonds of oppreſſion broken, and the exerciſe of a pure conſcience go free, without perſecution; and then the Lord will turn away his anger, and ceaſe to ſmite you with his rod, which hath been upon you; and he will give you peace, and make you bleſſed, if you come to be led by his Spirit into all Truth.

'And though theſe innocent lambs of Chriſt ſuffer thus under this preſent power, yet are they not enemies to you, but are friends to your perſons and families, and pity you, and love you, and deſire well for you in the Lord; that you may repent and be healed, and even that your hearts may be opened to receive refreſhments to your ſouls; and that you may be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs and truth over all your enemies, and may not be confounded, nor your poſterity brought into reproach, which is haſtening upon you: and though our love be deſpiſed, and we accounted hateful in your ſight, and looked upon with deriſion, yet we bear all things in patience, truly deſiring your returning and repentance, and not your deſtruction. But if theſe doleful ſufferings of the Lord's poor lambs be continued by this preſent power, it will deſtroy you, and undo you, and break you, and confound you; and the Lord will not ceaſe to ſmite you with his rod of ſharp rebukes; and he will make you know his people's cauſe ſhall not be unpuniſhed. Oh, did you but know how hundreds have and do ſuffer! How the bodies of ſome have been tortured by ſtocks and cruel whippings! And how ſome lie ſick in ſtinking holes and dungeons, on the ground, or a little ſtraw at beſt; ten, or often more, in a priſon

together, and ſometimes their own friends not ſuffered to come to viſit them with neceſſaries! Oh, did but your eyes behold, or your hearts perceive the greatneſs of the cruelty, which ſome of the Lord's dear ſervants, and your faithful friends, undergo, it would make your hearts ach, and your ſpirits to tremble! And all this is done in the name, and under the authority of (protector;) therefore how ſhould the Lord but lay it to your charge, and afflict him and his family? He will make you know there is a God that can do whatſoever he will, and that life and death are in his hands, and all creatures are as clay in the hand of the potter; and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and putteth down one, and ſetteth up another, according to his pleaſure: but if the love of God be withholden from you, it is becauſe of diſobedience to him, and your tranſgreſſion. Wherefore be obedient to him, and love his ways and judgments, that he may make you more happy with a crown immortal, that never fades away. And remember once more the Lord hath warned you, by a friend unto you in the Lord.

'E. Burrough.'

Written the 1ſt Day of September, 1658.

Cromwell was ſnatched away by death at unawares; however the day before his deceaſe this letter was delivered to his relations. It was not but in the laſt period of his life that he named his ſon Richard to be his ſucceſſor. And when death looked in his face, remorſe did not ſtay behind; for, according to what Ludlow relates, he ſeemed above all concerned for the reproaches (he ſaid) men would caſt upon his name, in trampling on his aſhes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon, on the 3d of September, at the age of about fifty-five years. The news of his death being brought to thoſe who were met together to pray for him, one Sterry ſtood up, and ſaid, 'This is good news; becauſe if he was of great uſe to the people of God when he was amongſt us, now he will be much more ſo, being aſcended to heaven, there to intercede for us.' O horrid flattery! Thus I call it, if he had been the

greateſt ſaint on earth; which he came much ſhort of, though he was once endued with ſome eminent virtues. His dying-day was remarkable by a moſt grievous tempeſt, not only in England, but alſo in the Low Countries, where trees were torn out of the ground by the violence of the wind, and many ſhips foundered. 'He was,' ſaith Edward Earl of Clarendon, 'one of thoſe perſons whom even his enemies could not vilify without praiſing him.' And I have heard impartial men ſay, that in the beginning of his atchievements, he was indeed an excellent man; but being come to a high ſtation, he ſoon loſt that zeal for the publick welfare, by which at firſt he ſeemed to be animated.

The body of the deceaſed was laid in Somerſet Houſe, in an apartment enlightened only with wax tapers, the corpſe being richly adorned.

After his death, Richard, eldeſt ſon to Oliver, was proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth; to whom E. Burrough writ a letter, ſuperſcribed to Richard Cromwell, choſen to be protector and chief magiſtrate, &c. wherein he gave him ſome account of the moſt cruel ſufferings of his friends; and ſpeaking of the rulers, he ſaith thus:

'As for magiſtracy, it was ordained of God to be a dread, and terror, and limit to evil doers, and to be a defence and praiſe to all that do well; to condemn the guilty, and to juſtify the guiltleſs; but the exerciſe thereof at this day in theſe nations is degenerated, and ſome that are in authority are greatly corrupted, and regard not the juſt and pure law of God, to judge only thereby; but oppreſs the poor by injuſtice, and ſubvert the good laws of God and men to a wrong end and uſe, abuſing authority, and turning the ſword againſt the juſt, whereby true judgment is turned backward, and the innocent made unjuſtly to ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake, through the corruption of men in authority; and didſt thou but know what we know in this particular, it would pierce thy heart: Why? It is frequent among ſome of the judges and magiſtrates, to commit a man to priſon, and impoſe ſome great fine

upon him, and to caſt him into a dungeon, or hole, among thieves and murderers, for a long ſeaſon; for no other offence, or breach of any law, but becauſe he cannot put off his hat to them, and reſpect their perſons, by the hat or bowing their knee: and many others that fear God, and for conſcience ſake cannot ſwear upon a book, by kiſſing it, and laying hands upon it, becauſe Chriſt ſaith, "Swear not at all;" though they deny not to ſpeak and do the truth in all things, as in the preſence of God and all men: and many others, that becauſe they are moved to cry againſt ſin, and declare againſt the iniquities of the times, in teachers, rulers, and people, that highly abound; perhaps in a market or ſteeple-houſe, or highway, or other places, as they are moved of God: and many others, becauſe for conſcience ſake they cannot pay tithes, nor give money and wages to maintain a prieſt, or falſe teacher, that they receive no profit by; or to maintain a ſteeple-houſe, where the world worſhips in vain traditions, and not in the Spirit and power of God; and many have been taken out of peaceable meetings, where they were waiting upon the Lord; and ſome out of their inns and friends' houſes; and many have been taken on the way, travelling about their lawful occaſions; and ſome from their callings and labours; and for theſe cauſes, through the envy of wicked men, and without any juſt conviction of the breach of any law, or any lawful trial or examination, have hundreds of juſt men, being wholly innocent, been ſent to priſon, and lain many months, and ſome for years; or whipped, or put in the ſtocks, and grievouſly abuſed by cruel executioners of wicked mens' envy and injuſtice; and upon ſuch grounds only, and for ſuch cauſes mentioned, and without the tranſgreſſion of any juſt law, have and do at this day many hundreds of faithful ſubjects ſuffer hard and cruel things, long and ſore impriſonment, and cruel and ſharp whipping, and ſtocking, and unjuſt baniſhment out of towns and cities; yea, friend, it is hard to be expreſſed, and large to be declared, how many of the Lord's ſervants do, and have ſuffered great injuſtice in theſe nations, through the abuſe of good government, and

degeneration of magiſtracy from its perfect ſtate and place, whereunto it was ordained of God in the beginning,' &c.

This remonſtrance, how powerful and large ſoever, had not its due effect; but perſecution continued, without being ſtopped by him: for the churchmen fawned upon him, calling him not only their Joſhua, but the preachers of Suffolk ſaid in their addreſs to him, 'Though our ſun is gone down, yet no night enſued.' *Sol occubuit, nox nulla ſecuta eſt.*

About this time was given forth a paper, called, The Church Faith; and G. Fox having got a copy of it before it was publiſhed, writ an anſwer to it; and when the book of the church faith appeared, his anſwer was alſo in print. This ſo incenſed ſome of the parliament men, that one of them told G. Fox, they muſt have him to Smithfield. To which he anſwered, that he was over their fires, and feared them not: and farther aſked, whether all people had been without a faith theſe ſixteen hundred years, that now the prieſts muſt make them one? And ſince Chriſt Jeſus was the author of the apoſtles faith, and of the church's faith in the primitive times, and of the martyr's faith; ſhould not all people look unto him to be the author and finiſher of their faith, and not unto the prieſts. Nothing material was anſwered to this; but the prieſts called G. Fox's friends, houſe-creepers, becauſe they met together in houſes, and would not maintain the prieſts temples. One major Wiggan, that was preſent when G. Fox diſcourſed with the parliament men, ſaid, Chriſt had taken away the guilt of ſin, but had left the power of ſin remaining in us. G. Fox told him that this was ſtrange doctrine; for Chriſt came to deſtroy the devil and his works, and the power of ſin, and ſo to cleanſe men from ſin.

Now there was great perſecution, both by impriſonment and breaking up of meetings; and many died in priſons: for the prieſts ſpeaking evil of the Quakers, it did kindle the inſolence of the rabble not a little, ſo that they did not ſtick to throw ſquibs into the meetings, to caſt rotten

eggs on thoſe that were met, to beat on drums and kettles, and ſo to make a hideous noſe, and to abuſe people moſt grievouſly with blows and violent puſhes.

One day there being a meeting appointed near London, they beat and abuſed about eighty perſons that came out of the city to meet there, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs, and throwing them into ditches and ponds. The next Firſt-day of the week after this, G. Fox, though at that time very weak, went thither, and preaching with the bible in his hand, he ſhewed the rude people their, and their teachers' fruits, and how diſagreeable theſe mad actions were to the doctrine contained in the Holy Scriptures. Many of his impriſoned friends were now brought up to London to be tried by the committee; where ſir Henry Vane, being chairman, would not ſuffer them to come in, except they would put off their hats. But ſince many of them had been impriſoned upon contempts (as the not putting off hats before the magiſtrates was called) others ſignified that it muſt not be expected that now they ſhould comply; and ſo through the mediation of ſome that perſuaded Vane, they were at length admitted; where they ſo well defended their cauſe, that ſeveral were ſet at liberty.

Sufferings now growing very ſharp, G. Fox, to encourage his friends, writ the following lines to them:

'My dear friends, every where ſcattered abroad, in priſon, or out of priſon, fear not, becauſe of the reports of ſufferings; let not the evil ſpies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you the walls are high, and that there be Anakims in the land; for at the blowing of the ram's horns did the walls of Jericho fall down; and they that brought the evil report, periſhed in the wilderneſs. But dwell ye in the faith, patience, and hope, having the word of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and having the oath of God, his covenant, Chriſt Jeſus, which divides the waters aſunder; and makes them to run all on heaps; in that ſtand, and ye will ſee all things work together for good, to them that love God; and in that triumph when ſufferings come, whatever they

be: your faith, your ſhield, your helmet, your armour you have on; ye are ready to ſkip over a mountain, or a wall, or an hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be heaps upon heaps: for the evil ſpies of the good land may preach up hardneſs, but Caleb, which ſignifies an heart, and Joſhua, a ſaviour, triumph over all.

'G. F.'

There was at that time great diſcord among thoſe that were at the helm of government; and G. Fox relates, that he did then foreſee the king's coming in again; and that therefore when ſome forward ſpirits, who frequented the meetings of his friends, would have bought Somerſet Houſe to keep meetings in, he diſſuaded them from it. There came alſo a woman to him, who having (as ſhe ſaid) had a revelation concerning the reſtoring of king Charles, three years before he came in, ſaid, ſhe muſt go to him to declare it: but G. Fox adviſed her to keep this revelation to herſelf, ſince if ſhe went on ſuch a meſſage, it would have been counted treaſon.

How the corpſe of Oliver Cromwell was laid in Somerſet Houſe to be ſeen, hath been ſaid already; but afterwards an image of him lying there in ſtate, was accompanied with trumpeters, who ſounded over the ſaid image. This vanity ſo grieved G. Fox, that he writ the following lines to the authors thereof:

'Oh friends, what are ye doing! And what mean ye to ſound before an image! Will not all ſober people think ye are like mad people? Oh, how am I grieved with your abomination! Oh, how am I wearied! 'My ſoul is wearied with you,' ſaith the Lord, 'will I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations? Oh, how have ye plucked down, and ſet up! Oh, how are your hearts made whole, and not rent; and how are ye turned to fooleries! Which things in times paſt ye ſtood over: therefore how have ye left my dread,' ſaith the Lord. O, therefore fear, and repent, leſt the ſnare and the pit take you all. The great day of the Lord is come upon all your abominations, and the ſwift hand of the Lord is turned againſt

them all. The ſober people in the nation ſtand amazed at your doings, and are aſhamed, as if you would bring in popery.

'G. F.'

Sometime after this, the funeral of O. Cromwell was ſolemnized with very great pomp, not at all agreeable to that condition he was once in; for the time was when he would have abhorred ſuch an idolatrous honour as was now paid to his image. On the day of this pompous funeral, which was the 23d of November, it happened that Edward Burrough came riding from Kingſton into London, not knowing any thing of what was done there. As he entered at Charing-croſs, he beheld a great multitude of people thronging exceedingly, the ſtreets being filled as far as he could ſee, and abundance gazing at the windows, and upon the balconies, and houſe tops. There were alſo guards of horſe and foot, that ſtopped his horſe, and it was told him, that he might not paſs that way. Yet he did not know what was the matter; but at length he perceived that Cromwell's image, richly adorned, was to be carried that way towards Weſtminſter. The conſideration of this, was like an arrow which pierced his breaſt: and becauſe of this idolatry, he felt ſuch a fire kindled in him, that he was, as it were, filled with the indignation of the Lord, whoſe fury ran through him, to cry, Plagues, plagues, and vengeance againſt the authors of this abomination. Nay, ſo ardent was his zeal, that if he had been moved to it, and it had been poſſible to have done it, he could (not at all minding his own life) have ridden through the guards and multitude, to have ſounded the judgments of God againſt the idolaters. And conſidering that all this ſinful idolatry was about the funeral of Oliver Cromwell: 'Alas, for him,' ſaid Burrough with himſelf, 'who was once a great inſtrument in the hand of the Lord, to break down many idolatrous images! Did not the Lord once ſtir up his heart againſt all ſuch things? And did not once his children, officers, ſoldiers, and army, pull down all the images and croſſes, and all ſuch like popiſh ſtuff, wherever they met with it? What grievous

and abominable work is this? Have they now made a coſtly image of him? And are ſuch as were once his ſoldiers now guarding it, and watching over it, and his children and officers following it, and multitudes of the inhabitants of London wondering and gazing after an image of him? This is ſad, and great pity: what a change is this in ſo ſhort a time?'

This zealous teſtimony E. Burrough cauſed to be printed, whereby he raiſed to himſelf a more laſting monument, than by the erecting of a ſtatue was made to his quondam friend O. Cromwell. Now, ſince the perſecution of E. Burrough's friends (notwithſtanding that he had written to Richard Cromwell) did not ceaſe, and that all exhortations and warnings were rejected, E. Burrough in the month December, writ the following lines to Richard and his council:

'To the Protector, and his council.

'The Lord God will ſhortly make you know that we are his people; though we be accounted as ſheep for the ſlaughter, yet our king of righteouſneſs will break you to pieces, if you harden your hearts, and repent not. And though that love will not draw thee, neither the gentle leadings of our God have any place in you, yet judgments ſhall awaken you, and his heavy hand of indignation ſhall lie upon your conſciences, and you will be ſcattered and diſtracted to pieces.

'E. Burrough.'

How ſoon this prediction was fulfilled, we ſhall ſee in the next year; for it was but a few months after the delivering of this letter, when Richard laid down the government.

In the mean-while we will take again a view of the perſecution in New-England. There was, as hath been ſaid already, a fine ſettled of five ſhillings a week to be paid for not coming to church, as it was called. And thus from time to time occaſion was found to uſe cruelty againſt the inhabitants, though none of thoſe called Quakers came from abroad. William Shattock, a ſhoe-maker at Boſton,

being on a Firſt-day of the week, found in his houſe, inſtead of coming to the publick worſhip, was haled to the houſe of correction; where, at his firſt entrance, he was cruelly whipped, and then kept to work, whilſt his wife and innocent children were in want becauſe of his abſence. In the mean-time the deputy-governor, Richard Bellingham, did not ſtick to ſay to William's wife, that ſince he was poor, and could not pay five ſhillings a week for not coming to church, they would continue him in priſon. Thus was verified that ſaying of Solomon, "cruel are the mercies of the wicked." Bellingham alſo endeavoured to perſuade this woman, that what her huſband had done, was to be rid of her, and therefore adviſed her to diſown him. Now theſe perſecutors began to have abundance of buſineſs; and taking away of goods, and cruel whippings became almoſt daily work, which was performed without regard of age or ſex; all which to relate would exceed my limits.

Two women, named Sarah Gibbons, and Dorothy Waugh, being come to Boſton, and having in the publick meeting-place, after the lecture was ended, ſpoken a few words, were brought to the houſe of correction, and three days before their being whipped, and three days after, were kept from victuals, though they had offered to pay for them. And when Sarah afterward aſked the governor, John Endicot, whether this was juſtice or equity; adding, that by this all might ſee that God was with them, that they were thus preſerved without food; and if they periſhed, their blood would fall heavy on thoſe that were the occaſion thereof; he anſwered, that he mattered it not.

Not long after, Hored Gardner, an inhabitant of Newport, in Rhode Iſland, came with her ſucking babe, and a girl to carry it, to Weymouth: from whence, for being a Quaker, ſhe was hurried to Boſton, where both ſhe and the girl were whipped with a threefold knotted whip. After whipping, the woman kneeled down, and prayed the Lord to forgive thoſe perſecutors: which ſo reached a woman that ſtood by, that ſhe ſaid, ſurely ſhe could not have done this, if it had not been by the Spirit of the Lord.

But when ſhould I have done, if I would deſcribe all the whippings inflicted on the Quakers, ſo called, in thoſe parts? For now a law was made, which furniſhed continual work to the perſecutors there. The contents thereof were, that whoſoever of the inhabitants ſhould directly or indirectly cauſe any of the Quakers to come into that juriſdiction, he ſhould forfeit an hundred pounds to the country, and be committed to priſon, there to remain till the penalty ſhould be ſatisfied. And whoſoever ſhould entertain them, knowing them to be ſo, ſhould forfeit forty ſhillings to the country for every hour's entertaining or concealment; and be committed to priſon till the forfeiture ſhould be fully paid and ſatisfied. And farther, that all and every of thoſe people that ſhould ariſe among them there, ſhould be dealt withal, and ſuffer the like puniſhment as the laws provided for thoſe that came in, viz. That for the firſt offence, if a male, one of his ears ſhould be cut off, and be kept at work in the houſe of correction, till he ſhould be ſent away on his own charge. For the ſecond, the other ear, and be kept in the houſe of correction, as aforeſaid. If a woman, then to be ſeverely whipt, and kept as aforeſaid, as the male for the firſt; and for the ſecond offence, to be dealt withal as the firſt. And for the third, he or ſhe ſhould have their tongues bored through with an hot iron, and be kept in the houſe of correction, cloſe at work, till they be ſent away on their own charge.

In the latter part of the Fifth month, it came to paſs, that William Brend and William Leddra, having been at Salem, came to Newbury; where, at the houſe of one Robert Adams, they had a conference with the prieſt, in the preſence of captain Geriſh, who had promiſed that they ſhould not ſuffer; but after the conference was ended, the captain would not let them go, but on promiſe preſently to depart the town; which being loth to comply with, as they were on their way, they were ſent for back, and captain Geriſh riding after them, commanded them to return: which they refuſing, he compelled them thereunto, and ſent them with a conſtable to Salem; where, being brought before the magiſtrates, they were aſked whether they were Quakers; to which they anſwered, that they

were ſuch that were in ſcorn called ſo. Next it was objected to them, that they maintained dangerous errors. They aſking what theſe were, it was told them, that they not only denied that Chriſt at Jeruſalem had ſuffered on the croſs, but alſo that they denied the Holy Scriptures. They boldly contradicted this, and ſaid they owned no other Jeſus but he that had ſuffered death at Jeruſalem, and that they alſo owned the Scriptures.

Now, although nothing could be objected againſt this, yet they were carried to the houſe of correction, as ſuch who, according to the law made at Boſton, might not come into thoſe parts. Some days after they were carried to Boſton, where in the next month they were brought into the houſe of correction, to work there. But they unwilling to ſubmit thereto, the gaoler, who ſought his profit from the work of his priſoners, would not give them victuals, though they offered to pay for them. But he told them, it was not their money, but their labour he deſired. Thus he kept them five days without food, and then with a three-corded whip gave them twenty blows. An hour after he told them, they might go out, if they would pay the marſhal that was to lead them out of the country. They judging it very unreaſonable to pay money for being baniſhed, refuſed this, but yet ſaid, that if the priſon-door was ſet open, they would go away.

The next day the gaoler came to W. Brend, a man in years, and put him in irons, neck and heels ſo cloſe together, that there was no more room left between each, than for the lock that faſtened them. Thus he kept them from five in the morning, till after nine at night, being the ſpace of ſixteen hours. The next morning he brought him to the mill to work, but Brend refuſing, the gaoler took a pitched rope about an inch thick, and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms, with as much force as he could, ſo that the rope untwiſted; and then, going away, he came again with another rope, that was thicker and ſtronger, and told Brend, that he would cauſe him to bow to the law of the country, and make him work. Brend judged this not only unreaſonable in the higheſt degree, ſince he had committed no evil; but he was alſo altogether unable to work; for he wanted ſtrength for

want of food; having been kept five days without eating, and whipt alſo, and now thus unmercifully beaten with a rope. But this inhuman gaoler relented not, but began to beat anew with his pitched rope on this bruiſed body, and, foaming at his mouth like a madman, with violence laid fourſcore and ſeventeen blows more on him, as other priſoners that beheld it with compaſſion, have told; and if his ſtrength, and his rope had not failed him, he would have laid on more; he threatened alſo to give him the next morning as many blows more. But a higher power, who ſets limits even to the raging ſea, and hath ſaid, "hitherto thou ſhalt come, but no farther," alſo limited this butcherly fellow: who was yet impudently ſtout enough to ſay his morning prayer. To what a moſt terrible condition theſe blows brought the body of Brend, (who becauſe of the great heat of the weather, had nothing but a ſerge caſſock upon his ſhirt) may eaſily be conceived; his back and arms were bruiſed and black, and the blood hanging as in bags under his arms; and ſo into one was his fleſh beaten, that the ſign of a particular blow could not be ſeen; for all was become as a jelly. His body being thus cruelly tortured, he lay down upon the boards, ſo extremely weakened, that the natural parts decaying, and ſtrength quite failing, his body turned cold: there ſeemed as it were a ſtruggle between life and death; his ſenſes were ſtopped, and he had for ſome time neither ſeeing, feeling, nor hearing; till at length a divine power prevailing, life broke through death, and the breath of the Lord was breathed into his noſtrils.

Now, the noiſe of this cruelty ſpread among the people in the town, and cauſed ſuch a cry, that the governor ſent his ſurgeon to the priſon to ſee what might be done; but the ſurgeon found the body of Brend in ſuch a deplorable condition, that, as one without hopes, he ſaid, his fleſh would rot from off his bones, ere the bruiſed parts could be brought to digeſt. This ſo exaſperated the people, that the magiſtrates, to prevent a tumult, ſet up a paper on their meeting-houſe door, and up and down the ſtreets, as it were to ſhew their diſlike of this abominable, and moſt barbarous cruelty; and ſaid, the gaoler ſhould be

dealt withal the next court. But this paper was ſoon taken down again upon the inſtigation of the high prieſt, John Norton, who, having from the beginning been a fierce promoter of the perſecution, now did not ſtick to ſay, 'W. Brend endeavoured to beat our goſpel ordinances black and blue, if he then be beaten black and blue, it is but juſt upon him; and I will appear in his behalf that did ſo.' It is therefore not much to be wondered at, that theſe preciſe and bigoted magiſtrates, who would be looked upon to be eminent for piety, were ſo cruel in perſecuting, ſince their chief teacher thus wickedly encouraged them to it.

In the mean-while it pleaſed God, even miraculouſly to heal W. Brend, and to keep him alive; but as if the hearts of theſe perſecutors were more hardened thereby, to ſhew themſelves obedient followers of their teacher, they made an order, that the gaoler, if the Quakers that were in his cuſtody refuſed to work, ſhould whip them twice a week, the firſt time with ten laſhes, the next time with fifteen, and ſo at each time with three more, till they would work. This was performed on four perſons, two of which were William Leddra and John Rous, who may be mentioned hereafter. And to keep the paſſionate gaoler within due bounds, forſooth, it was ordered that each time he ſhould warn two conſtables to ſee the execution. But how little moderation was truly meant, and that this was more like a jeſt, may appear in that the gaoler the firſt time laid fifteen laſhes a piece on the ſaid perſons, and ſo added five ſtripes to the firſt number of ten.

It happened about this time, that ſome of the people called Quakers that lived there, being had before the magiſtrates, it was demanded by one of them, how they might know a Quaker; to which Simon Broadſtreet, one of the magiſtrates, anſwered, 'Thou art one, for coming in with thy hat on.' Which made the other reply, it was a horrible thing to make ſuch cruel laws, to whip and cut off ears, and bore through the tongue, for not putting off the hat. Then one of the bench ſaid, that the Quakers held forth blaſphemies at their meetings. To which one of the others deſired him to make ſuch a thing appear, if

it were ſo, that they might be convinced: and farther, that they ſhould do well to ſend ſome to their meetings, that they might hear, and give account of what was done and ſpoken there; and not conclude of a thing they knew not. 'But,' ſaid major-general Denniſon, 'if ye meet together, and ſay any thing, we may conclude that ye ſpeak blaſphemy.' A very ſtrange ſyllogiſm indeed. No better (to prove perſecution lawful) was the argument of Charles Chanſey, chief teacher at the univerſity, who in a ſermon at Boſton, argued thus: 'ſuppoſe you ſhould catch ſix wolves in a trap, and ye cannot prove that they killed either ſheep or lambs; and now ye have them they will neither bark nor bite; yet they have the plain marks of wolves, and therefore ye knock them down.' A baſe expreſſion, thus to compare man to a beaſt; for God ſaid in plain terms to Noah, "Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed." But theſe perſecuters thought there was ſtreſs enough in it, to call the Quakers wolves; and to make one paſs for a Quaker, they counted it a ſufficient proof, when they ſaw he did not put off his hat to men: 'Knock him down, it is a wolf.'

And if the hat was not found fault with, ſomething elſe was thought on; for at Salem twelve perſons were fined forty pounds nineteen ſhillings, for not coming to church: and of others much money was extorted, becauſe their wives abſented themſelves from the publick worſhip. William Marſton, of Hampton, was fined ten pounds for two books found in his houſe, viz. John Lilburn's reſurrection, and W. Dewſbury's Mighty Day of the Lord. Thus theſe people did whatever they would, without any regard to the laws in Old England: and when once ſome priſoners appealed to it, the governor, John Endicot, and his deputy Bellingham cried, 'No appeal to England! No appeal to England.' And they ſeemed to fear nothing for what they did to the Quakers; according to what major-general Deniſon ſaid in open court: 'This year you will go and complain to the parliament; the next year they will ſend ſome to ſee how things go; and in the third year the government will be changed.' Now they not at all caring for Old England, denied alſo the priſoners their requeſt of

being tried according to the laws of that realm, by a jury. And the rulers dealing thus arbitrarily, the gaoler of the houſe of correction did the like; for when ſome of his priſoners ſhewed themſelves not unwilling to work, provided that their families ſhould have ſomething of the gain, he would not allow that, unleſs they paid him eight-pence for every twelve-pence gain: and when they refuſed this, the whipping-poſt was his refuge.

But to go on: in the foregoing year mention was made of John Copeland and Chriſtopher Holder: theſe coming in the Sixth month to Dedham, lodged there one night; but the next day, were taken up by a conſtable, and carried to Boſton, where being brought before the governor, he ſaid in a rage, 'Ye ſhall be ſure to have your ears cut off.' Not long after, John Rous came again to Boſton, but was ſhortly after taken, and committed to priſon. On the 17th of September, he, with Holder and Copeland, were brought before the magiſtrates in the court, where the deputy-governor told them, that they, in contempt of the magiſtrates and miniſters being come there again to ſeduce the people, might know that whatever befel them, whether the loſs of their ears, or of their lives, their blood would be upon their own heads. They denying this, and ſaying, that the Lord had ſent them thither, the governor, Endicot ſaid, 'You are greater enemies to us, than thoſe that come openly; ſince under pretence of peace, you come to poiſon the people.' Being aſked for proof that the Lord had ſent them, they replied, that it was ſome kind of proof the Lord had ſent them, becauſe they met with ſuch an entertainment as Chriſt had told his diſciples, would be meeted to them, for his name ſake, viz. whipping, &c. To this major-general Deniſon ſaid, 'Then when malefactors are whipt, they ſuffer for Chriſt's ſake.' Then John Rous, whoſe father was a lieutenant-colonel in Barbadoes, ſaid, 'If we were evil doers, the judgments of God would be heavier upon us than which we ſuffer by you. To which major Deniſon replied, 'Mr. Rous, (for ſo I may call you, having heard your father is a gentleman,) what judgment of God do you look for greater than is upon you, to be driven from your father's

houſe, and to run about here as a vagabond, with a company of deceivers, except you look for a halter?' To this Rous ſaid, 'I was not driven from my father's houſe, but in obedience to the Lord I left it; and when the Lord ſhall have cleared me of this land, I ſhall return to it again.' Then Endicot called to the ſecretary to read the law, who thereupon read this clauſe in it, that if any that had ſuffered the law, ſhould preſume to return again, they ſhould have one of their ears cut off. Some more words were ſpoken, and among the reſt, Endicot ſaid, 'The Quakers have nothing to prove their commiſſion by, but the ſpirit within them, and that is the devil.' And when one of the priſoners ſaid, 'We have ſeen ſome of your laws, that have many ſcriptures in the margent; but what example have you in Scripture for cutting off ears?' Endicot aſked, 'What Scripture is there for hanging?' To which Deniſon ſaid ſcoffing, 'Yes, they would be crucified.' Then Endicot called the three priſoners by name, and ſaid in great paſſion, 'It is the ſentence of the court, that you three have each of you his right ear cut off by the hangman.' Then they were carried to the priſon, and on the 16th of September, the Marſhal's deputy came thither, letting as many come in as he thought meet; and when the doors were made faſt, the ſaid marſhal read the following order:

'To the marſhal-general, or to his deputy: you are to take with you the executioner, and repair to the houſe of correction, and there ſee him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Chriſtopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers; in execution of the ſentence of the court of aſſiſtants, for the breach of the law, intituled Quakers.

'Edward Rawſon, Secretary.'

Then the priſoners were brought into another room, where John Rous ſaid to the marſhal, 'We have appealed to the chief magiſtrate of England.' To which he anſwered, he had nothing to do with that. Holder ſaid, 'Such execution as this ſhould be done publickly, and not

in private; for this was contrary to the law of England.' But captain Oliver replied, 'We do it in private to keep you from tattling.' Then the executioner took Holder, and when he had turned aſide his hair, and was going to cut off his ear, the marſhal turned his back on him, which made Rous ſay, 'Turn about and ſee it;' for ſo was his order. The marſhal then, though filled with fear, turned, and ſaid, 'Yes, yes, let us look on it.' Rous, who was more undaunted than his perſecutor, ſuffered the like, as well as the third, and they ſaid, 'Thoſe that do it ignorantly, we deſire from our hearts the Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciouſly, let our blood be upon their heads; and ſuch ſhall know in the day of account, that every drop of our blood ſhall be as heavy upon them as a millſtone.' Afterwards theſe perſons were whipt again; but this practice becoming ſo common in New England as if it was but play, I will not detain my reader with it.

Perſecution being now come to the cutting off of ears, did not ſtop there, but went higher, and reſted not, before it came to the taking away of lives. But to compaſs that proved very difficult; for there were many honeſt people who abhorred ſuch a cruelty. Yet John Norton, and the other prieſts, petitioned the magiſtrates, to cauſe the court to make ſome law to baniſh the Quakers, upon pain of death. This gave encouragement to the magiſtrates, for ſince the churchmen puſhed on ſo wicked a buſineſs, no ſcruple was made to go on with this bloody work: and the court of magiſtrates voted it to be put in execution by a country court, which three magiſtrates made up, the majority of which might hang at pleaſure, without trial by a jury; a thing not heard of in Old England: but it ſerved the purpoſe of Norton, and his fellow preachers. The court where this law was made, conſiſted of twenty-five perſons; and when it was put to the vote, it was carried in the affirmative, the ſpeaker and eleven being on the negative, but thirteen on the affirmative, ſo that one vote carried it. This ſo troubled on Wozel, when he heard it, having through illneſs been abſent, that he got to the court, and weeping for grief, that his abſence ſhould

occaſion ſuch a law to paſs, ſaid, if he had not been able to go, he would have crept upon his knees, rather than it ſhould have paſſed. But what he ſaid proved in vain; they had now paſſed the Rubicon, and what was eagerly deſired, was obtained. Yet there was a great difference in the court, and the twelve that had voted in the negative, reſolved to enter their diſſents to that law; which the others ſeeing, and that ſo many difficulties would weaken their law, they admitted this addition, to be tried by a ſpecial jury; though a ſtanding law of the country contained, that none be ſentenced to death and baniſhment, but by a ſpecial jury, and a court of aſſiſtants; and ſuch a court conſiſted of ſeven magiſtrates at the leaſt. But it was now reſolved, to proſecute the Quakers to death; and all this trial, when it came to it, was, but whether they were Quakers? Which they judged by their coming in covered; and that they had been baniſhed out of the country. Now to enter upon this bloody buſineſs, the following act was made at a general court, held at Boſton, the 20th of October, in this year 1658.

An Act made at a general court, held at Boſton, the 20th of October, 1658.

'Whereas there is a pernicious ſect (commonly called Quakers) lately riſen, who by word and writing have publiſhed and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable cuſtoms of our nation, in giving civil reſpect to equals, or reverence to ſuperiors, whoſe actions tend to undermine the civil government, and alſo to deſtroy the order of the churches, by denying all eſtabliſhed forms of worſhip, and by withdrawing from orderly church-fellowſhip, allowed and approved by all orthodox profeſſors of the Truth, and inſtead thereof, and in oppoſition thereunto, frequently meeting themſelves, inſinuating themſelves into the minds of the ſimple, or ſuch as are leaſt affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithſtanding all former laws, made upon the experience of

their arrogant and bold obtruſions, to diſſeminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this juriſdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace, and hazard our ruin.

'For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every perſon, or perſons, of the curſed ſect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within, this juriſdiction, ſhall be apprehended, without warrant, where no magiſtrate is at hand, by any conſtable, commiſſioner, or ſelect man, and conveyed from conſtable to conſtable, to the next magiſtrate, who ſhall commit the ſaid perſon to cloſe priſon, there to remain (without bail) unto the next court of aſſiſtants, where they ſhall have a legal trial: and being convicted to be of the ſect of the Quakers, ſhall be ſentenced to be baniſhed upon pain of death: and that every inhabitant of this juriſdiction, being convicted to be of the aforeſaid ſect, either by taking up, publiſhing, or defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, or the ſtirring up mutiny, ſedition, or rebellion againſt the government, or by taking up their abſurd and deſtructive practices, viz. denying civil reſpect to equals and ſuperiors, and withdrawing from our church aſſemblies, and inſtead thereof frequent meetings of their own, in oppoſition to our church order; or by adhering to, or approving of any known Quaker, and the tenets and practices of the Quakers, that are oppoſite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly, and endeavouring to diſaffect others to civil government, and church orders, or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court againſt the Quakers, manifeſting thereby their complying with thoſe, whoſe deſign is to overthrow the order eſtabliſhed in church and ſtate, every ſuch perſon, upon conviction before the ſaid court of aſſiſtants, in manner as aforeſaid, ſhall be committed to cloſe priſon for one month, and then, unleſs they chooſe voluntarily to depart this juriſdiction, ſhall give bond for their good behaviour, and appear at the next court, where continuing obſtinate, and refuſing to retract and reform the aforeſaid opinions, they ſhall be ſentenced to baniſhment upon pain of death; and any one magiſtrate, upon information given him of any ſuch perſon, ſhall cauſe

him to be apprehended, and ſhall commit any ſuch perſon to priſon, according to his diſcretion, until he come to trial, as aforeſaid.'

Here endeth this ſanguinary act, being more like to the decrees of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, than to the laws of a reformed Chriſtian magiſtracy, conſiſting of ſuch, who themſelves to ſhun perſecution (which was but a ſmall fine for not frequenting the publick worſhip) had left Old England. This act was anſwered by Francis Howgill, and the ſaid anſwer publiſhed in print, wherein was plainly ſhewn, that it ſpoke the language of the ancient perſecuting Jews and heathen. In the ſequel we ſhall ſee the bloody execution of it upon ſome perſons.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

QUAKERS.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

IN the forepart of the year 1659 there was great diſcord, and ſeveral factions among the people in England; for ſome adhered to the protector Richard, and others to the chief members of the long parliament; and the royaliſts made alſo a party. G. Fox being under a concern leſt ſome young or raw people, who ſometimes came amongſt his friends, might be drawn into ſome of thoſe ſeveral intereſts, writ an epiſtle, warning ſuch to be careful, and not at all to meddle with any plotting; but to conſider that their warfare was a ſpiritual one, and not at all wanting the uſe of carnal weapons.

About this time William Caton came again into Holland, and finding at Amſterdam ſome malicious people who endeavoured to bring his fellow-believers there into trouble, and to ſtir up the mob againſt them, that ſo the magiſtrates might take occaſion to look upon the Quakers as rioters, adviſed thoſe of that perſuaſion to be circumſpect, and to avoid as much as poſſibly they could the impending ſtorm. In order thereto it was thought meet that their religious meetings, which on the week-days were kept pretty late at night, on the firſt days of the week ſhould not always be kept in one place, but ſometimes in this, and at other times

in another houſe. Sometimes a meeting was kept in an alley, at the town wall near the Regulars gate, where ſeveral Engliſh people dwelt, from whence it was called the Engliſh Alley, and has that name ſtill: hither came very rude company, committing great inſolence. The time before that W. Caton was in Holland, he met with an extraordinary rude encounter at the ſaid place, inſomuch that he ſeemed in danger of his life; for ſome wicked people, not daring to do their utmoſt in the houſe where he was, puſhed him out of doors; but then a woman pulled him into her houſe, where he was ſafe, though at firſt he knew not whether he was among friends or foes. I yet well remember this fact, being at that time with my parents in the ſaid diſturbed meeting. Now Caton being a diſcreet and judicious perſon, and perceiving that ſome of his friends there had more of a raſh zeal than true wiſdom, adviſed the moſt moderate of them often to change meeting-places. In the beginning a meeting was kept now and then in St. John's-ſtreet, ſo called; and afterwards on Eland's Graff, in an alley, at the houſe of one Richard Langham; and alſo on the Angelier's Graff, in the houſe of my father; and ſome time after in the Engliſh alley aboveſaid; and alſo without the town, near the river Amſtel, in Kuypers Padt, or Cooper's Lane; from whence the meeting was removed in the forepart of this year (if my memory doth not deceive me) into the Verwers Padt, or Dyer's Lane; which was then without the city freedom, and the meeting-place was in a large garret of a tanner's houſe, where oftentimes came abundance of people, and among theſe not a few of the rude rabble. Here the meeting was continued till the year 1663, when that place came into the poſſeſſion of another owner.

W. Caton, after ſome ſtay in Holland, returned again to England. I think it was in this year that William Ames went into Germany, where being come into the Palatinate, he went to Heidelburgh, and came to the court of the prince Elector, Charles Lodowick, who treated him kindly, even at his own table, and ſeemed not to take offence at Ames's hat, which he kept on, though the lords and others that were in the company, ſtood bareheaded. The baron

of Helmont, who alſo was at that court, was wont to tell afterwards, that Ames walking once with his hat on next to the prince in his garden, the courtiers aſked the prince, whether they ſhould queſtion Ames for this incivility: but the prince ſaid, 'No, for I did expect that.' At another time the prince made his chaplain and Ames both dine with him, on purpoſe, as it ſeems, that Ames, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find occaſion to reprove his chaplain; for at meat he ſuffered his jeſter to come, who playing his tricks, the chaplain was ſilent: but Ames, who loved gravity, and was averſe to jeſting, took occaſion from thence to reprove ſuch vain actions; but chiefly he aimed at the chaplain, whom, becauſe of his ſilence at the lewd behaviour of the jeſter, he called a dumb dog; which ſeemed to pleaſe the prince.

Now whilſt William Ames was in the Palatinate, he got acquaintance with the Baptiſts at Crieſheim, a town not far from Worms; and among thoſe people he found ſuch entrance, that ſome families receiving the doctrine he preached, bore a publick teſtimony for it there, and ſo continued till the ſettlement of Pennſylvania in America, when they unanimouſly went thither, not as it ſeemed without a ſingular direction of Providence; for not long after, a war enſued in Germany, where the Palatinate was altogether laid waſte by the French, and thouſands of people were bereft of their poſſeſſions, and reduced to poverty.

But to return to Ames, when ſome in the Palatinate began to give an ear to his preaching, a fine was ſettled upon thoſe that gave him entertainment: but the prince Elector being informed hereof, took off that fine; and though thoſe of the conſiſtory did ſend for Ames, the prince generouſly ordered them not to meddle with him. The prince's ſiſter alſo behaved herſelf very kindly towards him, and received his exhortations favourably.

A year after Ames came again into the Palatinate, with John Higgins, and viſiting the prince Elector, he underſtood from the captain of the prince's guard, that the prince was glad of Ames's return thither. A while after Higgins delivered to the prince Elector a book of G. Fox,

with a letter of Ames to the ſaid prince, who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he bade Higgins to thank Ames on his behalf, ſaying alſo that he took the coming of Ames and Higgins to him and his family very kindly, and really believed that what they ſpoke was in love to their ſouls.

Several years after this, ſome others of Ames's friends from England, viſited the aforeſaid prince Elector, and he always (to his praiſe be it ſaid) received them kindly. W. Ames, who was at ſundry times in Germany, came not only to Hamburgh, but travelled alſo through Bohemia to Dantzick, and from thence to Poland. At Hamburgh and Dantzick he met with ſome that received the Truth he preached; but in Poland people were too rude and haughty, to get entrance among them.

In the forepart of this year, W. Ames being at Rotterdam in Holland, was confined there in Bedlam; which having made a great noiſe, I will give a brief relation of it here. At Moordrecht, a village near Gouda, lived at that time one Martin Martinſon, a cooper by trade; this man approving the doctrine preached by Ames at Rotterdam and elſewhere, began to aſſert it as truth; and ſeeing now and then he with ſome of his ſober neighbours kept a meeting at his houſe, this cauſed a great ſtir in the town, inſomuch that ſometimes he ſuffered rude treatment from the people. Ames coming once there, and keeping a meeting in Martin's houſe, great inſolence was committed by the wicked rabble. And going from thence to paſs over the water to Gouwerek, he was followed by a multitude of riotous people, both young and old, with a hideous cry of 'Quake, Quake, Quake!' And was pelted with ſtone and clods, till he came to the boat that carried him over. The preacher of Gouwerek hearing the noiſe, came to the boat, and aſked what the matter was, why people made ſuch a ſad noiſe? To which Ames anſwered, 'It ſeems the people are not taught better.' To which the preacher returned, 'They are not uſed to make ſuch ado againſt honeſt people; but I believe you be a deceiving wolf, that comes among the ſheep to ſeduce them, and therefore they cry ſo.' 'Prove this,' replied Ames. 'I do not know you,' ſaid the preacher.

'Learn then' returned Ames, 'better manners, than to call one thou knoweſt not, a wolf and deceiver.' And ſo going his way, ſhortly after he wrote from Rotterdam to Martin, and bade him to go to the preacher, and deſire him to appoint a time to prove that Ames was a deceiving wolf. But to this the preacher ſhewed himſelf backward; yet to be rid of Martin, he ſaid at length, 'Come, I will prove it preſently.' But Martin replied, 'I am not come for that; but this muſt be done to Ames;' and inſiſting thereon, 'Well,' ſaid the preacher, 'let him come next Sunday before noon, after ſermon; then I will prove it publickly before all people.'

Of this Martin ſent word to Ames; but things were managed ſo, that this project of proof was quaſhed: for the preacher of Gouwerek went to his colleague at Moordrecht, and conſulted with him what to do in the caſe; and Ames being come to Moordrecht on the 1ſt day of the month called March, and the laſt of the week, though it was late at night, was ſeen and known by ſome; who committed much violence upon the houſe of Martin, where Ames was entered. The next day it was reported that ſome of the ſheriffs men of Gouda were come to Gouwerek to apprehend Ames when he came there; and at Moordrecht the dikegrave's men came to the ſame purpoſe; and ſo they took Ames priſoner, and carried him to Rotterdam, where he was locked up in Bedlam, as a madman. And a week after Martin, for having kept meetings at his houſe, where not above eight perſons were come together, was alſo by the dikegrave's men taken priſoner in his houſe, and carried to Rotterdam, where he was locked up with Ames. Who were the inſtigators of this buſineſs is plain enough, though I do not mention them.

After Ames had been not much above three weeks in Bedlam, the deputy-governor of the houſe, on the 27th of the month, about night, came to him and Martin, and ſaid, 'If I was in your place, I would go out.' Which made Ames aſk, whether he would ſuffer them to do ſo? To which he anſwered, that he ſhould not hinder them. Then Ames returned, 'I will not be reputed as one that

broke priſon.' To which the deputy replied, 'Nay, why ſhould you be reputed ſo? You may go out freely; all is unlocked, and the door will ſtand open for you: for the governors are not minded that you ſhould ſtay here.' Then Ames ſaid, 'Well, I intend to go out to-morrow.' The next day Martin's wife came to ſee her huſband; but the deputy told her, that he had an order in writing from the dikegrave, that rather than to let Martin's wife come to him, he might let him and Ames go out together. The iſſue was, that they were both let out that morning, it being the 28th of the month. But they ſtaid at Rotterdam, intending not to depart the town before they had given notice to the dikegrave of their being let out; leſt occaſion might be given for ſaying that they had broken priſon. And it was not without reaſon they were ſo cautious: for the next day in the morning the deputy came to them, and ſaid, 'I deſire that you will not bring me into trouble, for I am an ancient man; and the dikegrave hath been with me, and aſked for you: to which I anſwered, that you were gone out; but he took this very ill. I deſire therefore that you would ſay that you were gone out without my knowledge.' But this was not to be expected from Ames, whom I knew ſo well, that I truly believe he would rather have died, than to have ſpoken a lie: for in ſuch a caſe he was without queſtion of the ſame mind as formerly Chriſtian Languedul, uncle of my grandmother by the mother's ſide, who, when at Antwerp, he, with others, martyrs, was led to the ſtake to be burnt, cried out undauntedly, 'If we would once but have told a lie, we might have eſcaped this.' But to return to Ames, he told the deputy, that he himſelf intended to go and ſpeak with the dikegrave; and if he was diſpleaſed at their going out, he might put them in again where they had been; for they would not have the name of priſon breakers.

Then they both went to the dikegrave, and told him after what manner they were come out; ſaying alſo that they would not have it ſaid, that they broke out. 'That name,' ſaid the dikegrave, 'you would have had, if you had departed the town; for the deputy hath told me that

you got out by breaking a window.' After ſome other words were exchanged, he further ſaid, 'I have nothing to object againſt your life and converſation, having heard nothing concerning you but a good report; neither do I ſeek to perſecute you. But would you be willing to return to Bedlam?' Ames anſwered, 'Here we ſtand before thee; thou mayeſt do with us according to thy pleaſure. And if thou deſireſt us to return thither, we will do ſo.' The dikegrave ſignifying that this was his deſire, ſaid that they might go and walk in the gallery then, till another order came. And ſo he cauſed his meſſenger to go along with them. Being come thither, they not long retained the liberty to walk in the gallery, but on the 31ſt of the month, they were locked up again, each in a hole by himſelf. Now Ames acquainted the deputy that he heard from the dikegrave, that he had been informed by him, that they were got out by breaking a window. But the deputy denied to have ſaid ſo. They were detained there yet ſome time, and were pretty much viſited, and this often by ſuch as ſought nothing but to ſcoff at them; and among theſe a certain clergyman did not ſtick to ſay to Ames, that he was a deceiver, becauſe he wore pewter buttons, to make people believe they were ſilver ones. Whilſt Ames was confined here, he wrote ſome papers which afterwards he publiſhed, and among theſe a reply to an anſwer of one Jacob Koelman, to eighty-three queries given forth by the ſaid Ames; who now being ſet at liberty, travelled to Germany, as hath been ſaid before, and from thence going back to his native country, after ſome time returned again into Holland, as did alſo William Caton.

But now I turn again to England, where an account was publiſhed in print of the ſufferings of the people called Quakers, which being offered to the parliament, was delivered to the ſpeaker, Thomas Bampfield. This contained a relation of above one hundred and forty perſons, all diſtinguiſhed by their names, who for keeping of meetings, refuſing to ſwear, not putting off their hats, not paying of tithes, and their travelling up and down the country, had been taken up and impriſoned, and many

alſo been deprived of their goods, and one and twenty of theſe died either by ſickneſs in priſon, or by violent abuſes; among whom was Richard Sale, near Weſt Cheſter, who being conſtable, had a miniſter of the people called Quakers brought to him, with a paſs as a vagabond, whoſe converſation ſo convinced the conſtable, that he gave him his paſs and liberty. And becauſe the ſaid Sale judged both prieſts and people to be exceedingly darkened, he entered upon an extraordinary act, to ſhew them by a ſign that they wanted to be enlightened, viz. he came in the day time with a lantern and burning candle into the ſteeple-houſe, during the ſermon. But this was reſented to ſuch a high degree, that by order of the mayor he was put into priſon, and thruſt into a hole called Little Eaſe, which was ſo ſtrait, that it could not well receive his body; but he was thruſt in with ſuch violence, that his body was bruiſed, and he ſpit blood, and ſhortly after grew ſick; and his body ſwelling, occaſioned by the ſqueezing it into the hole, he died in great pain. In the beforementioned account it was alſo ſaid, that in the laſt ſix years, about two thouſand perſons, for being Quakers, had ſuffered in their body and goods. To this was added a paper, ſigned by more than one hundred and ſixty perſons (ſeveral of whom I knew), whereby they offered to the parliament to put themſelves in the ſtead of their brethren, who were confined either in priſons, or houſes of correction, or in dungeons, ſome being fettered, and others lying ſick only on a little ſtraw; wherefore they declared themſelves ready to change places with them, out of true love, that ſo they might go out, and not die by hardſhip, as many had done already; to prevent which, they were willing to take upon themſelves the ſufferings of their brethren, and lay down their lives for them. Under their names they added, 'If we had been of Eſau's race, we ſhould have fainted before this time; and if we had been of Cain's progeny, we ſhould have fought with his weapons; but this never was, neither is it the way of the righteous and choſen, of which we are from the foundation of the world.' It was in the month called April that this paper was delivered to the parliament, but I do not find that

this offer was accepted, or any thing done for releaſing the impriſoned.

About this time alſo Edward Burrough publiſhed a paper, containing a very remarkable prediction of what followed the next year; when king Charles the Second was placed on the throne. In it he ſaith, that as he was travelling in Warwickſhire, in the 1ſt month, his meditations being upon the Lord, and conſidering what unjuſt and woful ſufferings had been inflicted upon the Lord's people within theſe few years, a cry went through him, 'The Lord will be avenged, the Lord will be avenged upon his enemies, and he will avenge the cauſe of his people.' This cry ſtuck cloſe upon him, and his heart was even broken therewith, and his ſpirit melted before the Lord, it being as it were ſaid to him, 'Write unto the rulers, and yet once more warn them of that recompenſe, and of that indignation, which is at hand upon them, even a juſt recompenſe for all their deeds; and as they have done, even ſo ſhall it be done to them; as they have ſought to deſtroy the generation of the righteous, even ſo ſhall they be deſtroyed from off the face of the earth; and as they have unjuſtly judged and condemned the innocent, ſo ſhall they be condemned, and juſtly judged of the Lord; and as they have caſt the bodies of the poor lambs of Chriſt into priſon, and been a ſnare upon them, even ſo ſhall they be inſnared, and into captivity ſhall they go. And as they have cauſed the goods and poſſeſſions of the innocent to be ſpoiled, and made a prey, even ſo in like manner ſhall the curſe of the Lord ſpoil their ſubſtance. And as they have done, ſo ſhall it be done unto them; and as they have met to others, ſo ſhall it be met to them again.' 'And I ſaw a great miſery and deſolation nigh at hand, even the ſword of the Lord; and that it ſhould ſlay them; and I beheld it was made ready for the ſlaughter; and in the ſenſe of theſe things a ſadneſs fell upon my ſpirit, conſidering the deſolation and the judgment that is at hand to be executed upon the cruel oppreſſors.

'Wherefore all ye rulers, and all ye that have trodden down the heritage of God, and ye that have diſregarded

theſe many warnings that ye have had; I ſay unto you all, in the power of the Lord God, in his dominion, and by his Spirit, this is once more a warning to you from the Lord, and that theſe things muſt ſurely come to paſs, and be fulfilled in their ſeaſon, and no man ſhall be able to deliver his brother; but every man ſhall bear his own burthen, and drink his own cup prepared for him: and though it hath been counted a light thing amongſt you, and you have deſpiſed the reproof, and gone on without fear; yet in as much as the Lord hath ſpared you, and not ſpeedily executed judgment upon you, but rather waited for your return; yet the dealing of the Lord towards you, in ſparing of you, you have not accepted; and therefore ſhall his judgments be the greater upon you. For if you do now come to the witneſs in your own conſciences, what evil have this people done? Whoſe ox have they taken, or what have they deſired of you? Or what have they ſought from you? Or wherein have they been a burthen to you? Saving that they have reproved you for your iniquities, and deſired your redemption? Would you but now at laſt come to conſider this, and confeſs the Truth in your conſciences; will not that tell you, that they have patiently ſuffered all things that you have cruelly impoſed upon them? And have not they walked peaceably towards you, and humbly, meekly, and juſtly among their neighbours? And have they not been meek and innocent even as lambs, and as the ſheep before the ſhearers? And have they wrought offences towards any? Have they ſought the overthrow of the government, or have they ſought vengeance againſt their enemies? Or what injury have they done to any man's perſon, or eſtate, ſaving to ſatan and his kingdom? Have they not ſought to reform and reclaim the ungodly from their ways? And have they not pitied and prayed for their enemies: and have they not in all things walked in good conſcience towards the Lord, and towards all men? Yea, my friends, in the day of the Lord, when the witneſs in your conſciences ſhall not be limited, but ſhall ſpeak plainly, and when the impartial judge ſhall appear upon his throne, then ſhall you acknowledge theſe things.

'Wherefore I ſay unto you, receive the judgment of the Lord to purify you, otherwiſe the judgment ſhall deſtroy you: and now come to be more wiſe, that ſome of you may be as a brand plucked out of the fire, and be reſerved from being conſumed; for the viſitation of the Lord is near an end, when his loving-kindneſs will be ſhut from you, and his long ſuffering turned into fury; and he will make you know that we are his people, with whom you have thus dealt; yea, you ſhall ſuddenly know it; the time is not long till he will crown his people in the ſight of his enemies; he will crown them with praiſe and with righteouſneſs, with honour and majeſty, and he will keep them in ſafety, even when ſorrow compaſſes you about; his mercy and loving-kindneſs ſhall extend towards them, even when his wrath and judgments ſmite you, and confound you. O! What ſhall I ſay unto you; for the deep ſenſe thereof remains upon my heart; when I conſider, how that in all ages the Lord did avenge his peoples cauſe, and when the time of their ſuffering was expired, he broke the bonds of iniquity, and ſet them free. Thus did he with his people Iſrael of old, and many times it was his way with his people, to bring them low by ſuffering, and then to raiſe them up again in glory; and he ſuffered their enemies for a ſeaſon to glory over them, that he might bring them down. And thus he did in England, in the caſe between the biſhops and their crew of perſecutors, and the poor people at that day called Puritans: did not he confound that perſecuting crew, and deliver his people? And is not he the ſame to effect the ſame work at this very day? Yea, doubtleſs, and much more will he do, in as much as the manifeſtation of Truth is more clear than it was in their days; and in as much as the rulers and people of this nation have rejected a more clear teſtimony, than either the Papiſts in queen Mary's days, or the biſhops and prelates in their days; even ſo much the more will the Lord God execute his vengeance with more violence, in a more manifeſt way; and all ſhall know, that it is he that doth it, and he will ſet his people free: for he hath regarded their ſufferings, and he hath ſaid it is enough; for he hath tried them, and found them faithful; and all

this hath been ſuffered to prove them, and not to deſtroy them: and like as he hath preſerved them in patience and peace through it all, even ſo will he give them hearts to walk anſwerably to their deliverance; and as they have abounded in patience in their ſufferings, ſo ſhall they abound in praiſes everlaſting in the day of their freedom; and the earth ſhall be glad, and ſhall yield the increaſe and bleſſing; the heavens and earth ſhall rejoice, and the hearts of the righteous ſhall leap for joy; when the Lord hath broken the yoke of the oppreſſed, and ſet his people free, inwardly and outwardly; and then ſhall they ſing to the Lord over all their enemies, who ſhall be tormented and vexed in the Lord's ſore diſpleaſure; for their reward cometh, and their recompenſe ſhall be even as their work, and he will give unto them ſorrow and anguiſh, inſtead of rejoicing.

'But again, when I conſidered the long ſuffering, and patience, and forbearance of the Lord's innocent people under all their ſufferings; and when I looked at their innocency, and at their righteouſneſs, and ſpirit of holineſs, with which the Lord hath bleſſed them, my heart was made glad in the conſideration of this; and the more was my joy, the more I beheld their innocency, and the guiltleſſneſs of their cauſe; whereby the unjuſtneſs of their ſuffering did the more appear; and withal, when I looked and beheld their increaſe under all their ſufferings, and how that the Lord had turned all theſe things to their good, and to the overthrow of all their enemies; how that by that way, wherein their enemies intended to deſtroy them from being a people, even thereby did the Lord moſt wonderfully increaſe them to be a great people; for through all have they grown in life and power, and in ſtrength, and in number, and through it all have they been encouraged to follow the Lord with more zeal and boldneſs. And in the conſideration of this I did rejoice, with magnifying the Lord for ever, that he had brought forth his praiſe, even through the wickedneſs of the wicked, and he had increaſed his people, and exalted them through the cruelty of all their enemies; and that through all oppoſition they were attained unto a happy reſt, and through all the tempeſt of great

trial, they were arrived into the harbour of renown and great glory: and when I conſider this, how that the Lord hath given them dominion, and brought their life to reign over all their enemies, theſe things were a joy unto me; and looking back into ages, ſeeing there was nothing, nor any people for generations, that had grown, and riſen through all oppoſition like unto theſe; wherefore it is a ſign and teſtimony that we are the Lord's, and that theſe things are of him, and from him, and by him alone, that he might be praiſed for ever.

'Again, when I do conſider, how that the Lord had raiſed his people, even out of the duſt; and them that were not a people, are become a people, and the Lord hath provoked nations by them that were not a people within theſe few years; and the Lord hath carried on this work amongſt his people, not by any thing of man, nor by the arm of fleſh; but in pure innocency and ſimplicity hath it been accompliſhed; not by the wiſdom of this world, nor by men in places of honour, and of power in the nations; for all that has been wanting to them; and what they are, it is through the oppoſition of all this; for they have had none of the great men of the earth on their ſide to defend them, and eſtabliſh them, but all have been againſt them; and even oppreſſion and tyranny executed upon them, rather than any approbation, or juſtification from men in outward authority: ſo that truly it may be ſaid, there hath been nothing of man in this work, but all of the Lord, by his own power; and in a contrary way to all the falſe ſects, and falſe churches, hath the beginning and carrying on of theſe things been; for we know that all the falſe ſects in this nation, have riſen and been eſtabliſhed, through the countenance of men in place and power; and upon man, and the wiſdom of this world, and authority of the powers of the earth, hath the riſe and fall of all falſe churches depended; and as the powers of the earth have ſided with them, ſo have they been ſet up; and at the diſpleaſure of authority, have been caſt down. But as for this people, they are raiſed of the Lord, and eſtabliſhed by him, even contrary to all men; and they have given their power only to God,

and they cannot give their power to any mortal men, to ſtand or fall by any outward authority, and to that they cannot ſeek; but to the Lord alone, who heareth their cry, and will avenge their cauſe.

'Wherefore let all the perſecutors bow before the Lord, and let all the ſaints walk humbly in his ſight, and let them continue in that innocent life in which they have begun; and let them never forget the mercies of the Lord, and what he hath brought to paſs, who hath manifeſted great things, and will do more and more to the confounding of all his enemies, and to the praiſe of his elect people. And all ye ſaints upon the earth, have ye the Lord in reſpect continually, and turn you not unto idols, but let the Lord be your joy for evermore.

'E. B.'

Not long after the publiſhing of this paper, to wit, in the month called May, Edward Burrough, and Samuel Fiſher, went from Dover to Dunkirk, where then was an Engliſh garriſon. Being come there, it quickly ſpread over the town. The governor, Lockhart, now not being there, his deputy, colonel Alſop, with the council of officers, ſent for them; and they being come, were aſked, what their buſineſs was there? To which they gave anſwer, and the next morning ſignified in writing, that their coming was to viſit the jeſuits, friars, and prieſts, and other papiſts, to ſhew them the errors of their ways, and the falſeneſs of their worſhip, &c. they being called to preach the everlaſting goſpel to the nations. They were ſome hours in diſcourſe with the ſaid deputy, and the officers, and not unkindly treated; but the deputy however ſaid, that it would be dangerous for them to ſtay in the town; and therefore he deſired them to depart. To which their anſwer was, that if he deſired them, they could not receive any ſuch deſire; and if he commanded them, they could not obey his command in that caſe; becauſe they could not depart the town but in the will of God; according to which will they came thither. After much reaſoning they left them, and the next day went to the capuchin friars, and had ſome diſcourſe with the

chiefeſt of them in their garden, concerning the light of Chriſt, that every man is enlightened withal; and told them, that the mighty day of the Lord was at hand upon them; and that the Lord was come to ſearch and try them; and that he would hew down their idolatrous ways, worſhips and works. The next day Burrough wrote ſome queries to the friars and nuns, in and about that town, which were ſent to them in Latin. The introduction was thus:

'The mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming upon you, and all the world. Awake, awake, ye that ſleep in the earth, for the dreadful God is ariſing to plead with you, and to give unto all the world the cup of his fierce indignation, becauſe of your idolatries, and hypocriſies, and abominations, which have corrupted the earth, and are come up before him, and have provoked him; and the cry of the juſt, who hath been ſmitten, and laid ſlain, is entered into the ears of the Moſt High, and his ſword, which is the word of his mouth, is awakened to wound and deſtroy all his enemies. And the day of your viſitation is now come, wherein the Lord is ſearching you, and trying you, that he may recompenſe you: and this is the word of the Lord to you.

'Wherefore I am moved of the Lord to propound ſome few queries to you, for the trial of your ſpirits and ways; to which I demand your anſwer that all things may be brought to light and true judgment, and that you may be judged juſtly, and by the ſpirit of the Lord cleared or condemned according to your deeds.'

Theſe queries were partly concerning the orders of friars and nuns, whether any ſuch were in the church in the apoſtle's days; and concerning the popiſh worſhip and ceremonies, demanding proof of their lawfulneſs from the Holy Scriptures. After the delivering of theſe queries to the Capuchins, Burrough and Fiſher went alſo to the friars of other orders, and entered into diſcourſe with them; but their plain ſpeeches againſt the idolatrous rites and ceremonies, found no entrance. After ſome ſtay in the town,

they going to the college of the Jeſuits, got into diſcourſe with their chief rector; and after a conference of about three hours, he grew weary, and pretending other buſineſs, would ſtay no longer with them; and ſo they parted, aſking him, whether he would admit more diſcourſe at ſome other time; but he refuſed it. Burrough afterwards writ a letter to him, which began thus:

'Friend, thy wiſdom and thy knowledge is earthly and ſenſual, and thereby canſt thou not know the things of the kingdom of God:' and he concluded with this query: 'What is that whore that hath ſate upon multitudes of people? and what is that golden cup in her hand? and what are the abominations and fornication of which her cup is full, which ſhe hath cauſed the kings and people to drink?' &c.

But neither this query, nor the others were anſwered. Burrough and Fiſher did alſo viſit the nuns; and ſpeaking to them through a grate, they aſked, if they were of the order of thoſe called Quakers; and ſoon perceiving they were ſuch, they ſaid, they might not hear them, and ſo preſently paſſed away; whereby Burrough and Fiſher were deprived of any opportuity to ſpeak to them; only they witneſſed againſt them. E. Burrough wrote alſo ſome propoſitions to the jeſuits, prieſts, and friars, wherein he particularly repreſented the tyranny of the church of Rome in true colours; and theſe propoſitions were ſent to them in Latin. They ſtaid yet ſome days in town, and had divers meetings among the Engliſh ſoldiers: and Burrough alſo wrote to them, and bid them be faithful to the Lord, and not to ſeek themſelves in their ſervice, but the honour of God: he alſo ſhewed them what their duty was in their military ſtation; and (not to give them too rough a bruſh, but to meet them ſomewhat in their own way; following therein the example of John the Baptiſt, when he ſpoke to the ſoldiers, Luke iii. 14.) told them, 'What do you know but the Lord may have ſome good work for you to do, if you be faithful to him?' and he alſo ſignified to them, that ſince the Lord one day would avenge the

innocent blood ſhed in the pope's dominion, and appear againſt Babylon and Rome, the ſeat of the whore, and the kingdom of antichriſt, it ſeemed not improbable to him, that the Lord would make way thereto, by the Engliſh nation. 'It is,' ſaid he, 'the Lord's work, I know, to make men truly religious; but yet he may work by you, to break down the briars and thorns, and the rocks and hills that have ſet themſelves againſt the Lord,' &c. He alſo adviſed them, if ever ſuch a work fell to be their lot, not to be ambitious, nor vain-glorious, but to make it their work to demand the diſannulling of the popiſh inquiſition and cruel laws. And the officers he charged, not to be as tyrants and oppreſſors over the poor ſoldiers, but to be loving and meek, and examples of all goodneſs unto them: to this he added: 'and having no ſin lying upon your conſciences, then ſhall ye face your enemies with courage, and not fear death, but ſhall be ready to lay down your lives in a good cauſe.' But leſt any might think he was for the bearing of arms, and not for harmleſſneſs or non-reſiſtance, he told them alſo, that the Lord had a more honourable work to work after them, viz. to deſtroy the kingdom of the devil, and the ground of wars. And that there was a more honourable victory to be waited for, to wit, the victory over ſin, &c.

Burrough and Fiſher being once ſent for by the governor Lockhart, found many officers with him; and after ſome friendly diſcourſe, they adviſed them to moderation, and the fear of God, and ſo parted from them: and after having performed their ſervice in the town, they returned to England.

Not long after Burrough gave the foreſaid queries out in print, and wrote alſo a paper to the parliament; exhorting thoſe that were members of that aſſembly, to fear God, and not to oppreſs honeſt people, but to free them from oppreſſion and tyranny; leſt the Lord come ſuddenly upon them and break them to pieces.

The power of the protector Richard Cromwell already declining, he was prevailed upon by the officers of the army to diſſolve this parliament, which began to make enquiry how the ſubſidies were employed: and by the direc-

tion of ſome of the chief republicans, the long parliament was called again. This parliament ſet up a committee of ſafety, for apprehending thoſe that diſturbed the peace, and for making an alteration among the military officers, either by caſhiering them, or otherwiſe; and, increaſing in power, erected alſo a council of ſtate; and word was ſent to Richard Cromwell, who was now deprived of all power, to remove from Whitehall, which at length he did, the parliament allowing him two thouſand pounds for the charges of removing, and promiſing to pay his debts contracted for the publick: and his brother Henry, who was lord deputy of Ireland, was called back by the parliament. Thus theſe two brothers were again reduced to the ſtate of private men.

E. Burrough now writ a letter to the parliament, and ſeriouſly exhorted them therein to deſiſt from all perſecution for religion, and to take away that which gave occaſion thereunto. About this time there was an inſurrection in Cheſhire for king Charles, under ſir George Booth; who, having received a commiſſion from that prince, got ſuch numbers of followers, that he ſeized the city of Cheſter. In the mean-while the parliament ſent Edmund Ludlow to Ireland, to be commander in chief of the army there, inſtead of Henry Cromwell, and general Lambert was ſent with an army againſt Booth. Now ſince ſome raſh people that went under the name of Quakers, were for taking up arms under Lambert; and that the committee of ſafety offered great places and commands to ſome of that perſuaſion, thereby to draw them off from the truth they profeſſed; G. Fox writ a paper, wherein he ſhewed the unlawfulneſs of wars and fightings, repreſenting it as a work not at all becoming the followers of Chriſt: and he exhorted his friends not to join with thoſe that took up arms, but to fight only with ſpiritual weapons, which took away the occaſion of the carnal. This he alſo recommended in his preaching, for an harmleſs and an inoffenſive life, was that which he always aſſerted and practiſed.

As for Booth, he was defeated, and endeavouring to make his eſcape in woman's clothes, was diſcovered in an inn, and taken into cuſtody; and being carried to London, by an order of the parliament, he was committed to the

Tower. The officers of the army, of which George Fleetwood was now commander in chief, were very buſy to get the upper hand of the parliament; which cauſed great diviſion and diſtraction in the nation; for it was well known, that if the ſupreme power was offered up to the army, they then could do what they would; and thus the nation would be governed by the ſword. It was alſo freſh in memory, that it was the army by which Cromwell had been advanced ſo as to become protector, and ſupreme ruler of the nation: and therefore many oppoſed the deſign on foot.

About this time alſo the military officers moved the taking off of the burthen of tithes, and to ſettle another maintenance for the national preachers. But being unwilling that the parliament ſhould be maſters of the army, they complained of having been deceived by the parliament; and colonel Deſborough ſaid, that they had not performed any part of the promiſes they had made to the army; that they had taken no care to ſecure a liberty to tender conſciences; and that their intention was to remove the principal officers, and place others in their commands, who were of different principles.

Now the council of officers was for calling a new parliament; but this met with no ſmall oppoſition. In this buſtle the council of officers began to inſinuate with the clergy, and they agreed with them, that their maintenance by tithes ſhould not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain ſhould be ſettled upon them: that ſome proviſion ſhould be made for thoſe who differed in faith and worſhip from the eſtabliſhed church; but that the Quakers, and ſome others, whoſe principles they ſaid tended to the deſtruction of civil ſociety, ſhould not be tolerated at all. In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, when ſome were for, and others againſt, the parliament, ſo that it was hardly well known in whom the ſupreme authority reſided, Edward Burrough writ and publiſhed in print a large ſpeech, which he ſtiled, 'A meſſage to the preſent rulers of England, whether committee of ſafety (ſo called) council of officers, or others whatſoever.' He ſignified by way of introduction, that the contents had been upon him

to deliver by ſpeech and word of mouth, to the men then in power; but no way being made for him ſo to do, he had written what was upon him. And then he begins thus with a majeſtick ſtrain.

'Friends,

'My Maſter is a high, and mighty, and powerful prince, and very honourable; and fear, reverence, reſpect, and ſubjection belongs to him alone, from you and all mankind. He is wiſe, and underſtanding, and of great ſtrength, and his dominion is from everlaſting to everlaſting; and he can do whatſoever he will in heaven and earth, for he rules with his iron rod over the world, and whatſoever he ſaith, it is done; for his word is an everlaſting command. If he ſaith to a man, live, it is ſo; if he ſaith to a man, die, it cometh to paſs; and if he give peace to a man, or a nation, none can make war; and if he make war with a perſon, or in a nation, no man is able to make peace. For why? He hath all power in his hand, and to him all judgment and authority is given; he is the Son of the living God, the everlaſting Creator. He was, and is, and is to come; his eye beholdeth all things, and his arm compaſſeth heaven and earth; and what his purpoſe is, he hath always and will ever bring it to paſs. If he ſet up rulers, they muſt rule; and if he pull them down none can hinder: whom he will, he honoureth; and if it be his pleaſure, he bringeth men to ſhame. If he break a nation down, none can build it up; and if he confound powers and authorities in the kingdoms of men, they all fall as withered graſs before him. Behold, ye men! He is ſo great and mighty, and of ſo great authority, that whatſoever he ſaith, it is done; and whatſoever he willeth, it cometh to paſs; and none is able to reſiſt him, and overcome his power, when his pleaſure is to accompliſh a work. By him all things are that be, and all things live that have life, and through him all things move, and of his fulneſs every creature in heaven and earth receive. And this, my Maſter, is altogether honourable in birth, and otherwiſe, and altogether mighty in all his works; he is juſt and merciful, full of goodneſs, righteouſneſs, and truth; all virtue dwells in him, and his

judgment and mercy, his authority and meekneſs, and his wrath and his love, they are companions: and what are ye before him? Or how ſhall ye be able to reſiſt him, or to turn backward what his purpoſe is concerning you, and this nation? For ye have no being nor breath without him. Behold, ye men! Ye are verily as the duſt before the wind, ſo are ye to him, ſoon blown away, and your place not found; as the graſs before the mower, ſo are ye before him, ſoon cut down, and withered, and your beauty utterly extinguiſhed; as a potter's veſſel under an iron rod, even ſo are you to him, he can immediately break you, never to be bound up: as a drop to the fountain, ſo are you to him, ſoon dried up, and made nothing. Wherefore, ye men, ye mortal creatures, ye ignorant perſons, ſons of a tranſgreſſor, ye duſt and aſhes: for thus you are in compariſon of him, this mighty prince; hearken to his meſſage, which cometh to you from him; hear and fear, and be not ſtout-hearted againſt the Lord God, that is about to ſpeak unto you.

'As for this little iſland of England, wherein your preſent place and being is, it is an iſland which the Lord hath ſhewed great favour unto in ages paſt, and in this preſent time; and I muſt tell you, he hath a purpoſe of love towards it, and to honour it in the view of the world, though through great tribulations: and he hath an intent of great good unto it; for he hath a ſeed, a precious ſeed in it ſcattered abroad, and he hath a people that fear his name, and have walked in his ways, and he hath made them, and elected them, and what they are, it is by him; that he may dwell among them, and have the whole government over them all; yea, he hath a ſpeedy purpoſe verily concerning this nation, and he will purify it in judgment, and refine its inhabitants through the fire of tribulations, that it may be pleaſant to him, and fit to do his will: he hath a purpoſe to work ſome great thing in it, I muſt tell you, as he hath ſaid unto me ſo to do; he will have his name exalted and reverenced in this iſland, and his terror ſhall be ſent out of it through the world, and his branch from it ſhall ſpread over the earth; he doth purpoſe in his ſeaſon to take it into his own hand, and to ſway the

government thereof with his own ſceptre, and to ſet up righteouſneſs alone, and to overthrow all oppreſſors and oppreſſions; and the kingdoms of this world muſt become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Chriſt.

'True it is, ſuch hath been the coming to paſs of time, and of things for many ages by-paſt, that my Maſter hath been, as it were, baniſhed from the nation, and hath not been ſuffered to enjoy his right; but hath been expelled, even, as it were, by the force of ſatan and antichriſt, who hath long uſurped authority over the inhabitants of this nation; and in my Maſter's abſence, lamentable injuſtice, cruelty, unmercifulneſs, tyranny, and oppreſſion hath been exereiſed upon the inhabitants; and the poor creatures have been held in great ſlavery by their rulers, that have ruled by the dragon's power; and been kept in great blindneſs and ignorance, and under great oppreſſion, both in body and ſpirit, by antichriſtian teachers, for this many years; even while the great King hath been abſent, and as it were gone into a far country; even all this time hath antichriſt and the devil ruled and reigned, and have made and executed oppreſſion, and tyrannical laws and decrees, both in church and ſtate; and all the nation hath been out of right order, and laid waſte and barren of good fruit, and it hath been as a wilderneſs by reaſon hereof; and men that have ruled for many years, have not ruled ſingly by my Maſter's authority, but by another power; though not without the knowledge of my Lord, neither as though he had not power to have done otherwiſe; but for his own pleaſure he hath ſuffered it thus to be, and let men go on to rule and govern in their own wills, and after their own luſts; and people have walked wickedly towards him, and towards one another; and all this he hath ſuffered; not as if he gave toleration for it; for his meſſengers now and then, and his witneſs in people's conſciences, have been reproving their ungodly ways; and he hath often ſhewed his diſlike by divers ways, and tokens, and many judgments, and ſtrange overturning, to the way and proceedings of both rulers, prophets, and teachers of this nation; but yet they have gone on againſt his mind, and contrary to his will, notwithſtanding his reproofs and

judgments: not that he had not power to have executed his pleaſure in wrath upon them, and to have deſtroyed them altogether, and have made the nation a heap, and as nothing long before this day; for power was in his hand to have done it; but he hath been long ſuffering and of great patience, and borne all things, and taken the injuſtice, and cruelty, and wickedneſs, and idolatry, and all unrighteouſneſs that hath abounded in the nation, upon himſelf; and ſuffered under it, and borne it for its ſeaſon, while woful and lamentable oppreſſions have been practiſed in civil ſtate, even helliſh laws, and deviliſh executors of them; mercileſs tyrants have borne the ſceptre, and reigned for many years over the inhabitants, and in church and ſtate has been heinous idolatry and ſuperſtitious vanities committed in a high nature and meaſure, and even all men, and ſtates of men, and orders of men of every degree have been abominably corrupted in the ſight of my Lord, even from the prince to the beggar, even rulers and ſubjects, teachers and people, judges and prophets; they have been corrupted both in heart and hand, and they have dealt falſely and wickedly towards him, and towards one another; even to the great diſpleaſure and vexation of him, and his bleſſed ſpirit, and to the high provocation of him to their own deſtruction, if his long ſuffering had not prevailed; and all this while he hath lain as it were aſleep, and at reſt in himſelf; and he hath left men to try them, what they will do, and he hath given them a day; many kings and rulers, he hath let them have a little time, to ſee how they would uſe it, but they have abuſed it and not ruled for him, nor accompliſhed his work, nor fulfilled his will, but acted even in defiance of him, and of his power, and to his great diſhonour.

'Alack! I muſt be plain with you: my Lord hath been utterly exiled, and greatly diſhonoured, and highly provoked and vexed by reaſon of ſuch proceedings, as have been in this nation for this many years, through the corruption of all ſorts of men in place and power, who have not ruled for him, but for the devil to their own corrupted ends: only he hath ſuffered men to go on in their courſe for a ſeaſon; ſome as it were appearing on the ſtage for a

time, and ſuddenly caſt down again for their iniquities ſake; and his hand hath been in all theſe things, though very privately and ſecretly, not known and diſcerned by the ſons of men, yet hath he ruled over the kingdoms of men, and pulled down one, and ſet up another. And to forbear the ſeveral actings and proceedings of many by paſſed ages; and to come to this generation, and to ſpeak of things that have happened within theſe few years, and of the changing and overturning that hath happened in this nation; ſuch was the cruelty, tyranny, oppreſſion and idolatry both in church and civil ſtate, that the people of this nation were held under, in the days of papal power; ſuch, I ſay, was the exceeding height of the cruelty and tyranny of that time, that not any that feared or reverenced my Lord, in any meaſure, could ſcarce live, or have a being in the nation; even againſt every man that did but incline towards him, and deſire the knowledge of his ways, hell's mouth was opened againſt them, and they were ſwallowed, and many of their lives taken from the earth, by the helliſh power that had in that day uſurped authority in this iſland; and when thus it was, then he looked down from heaven, and his bowels of compaſſion were opened, for the ſake of the oppreſſed people that deſired after him, in ſo much that he broke and threw down the power of their oppreſſors in ſome meaſure, as it ſtood in papal authority, and when the iniquity of that power was filled up, he took vengeance upon it; and I muſt tell you, it was he that brought it about, even the deſtroying of that power in this nation, and freeing the nation from it, though the men that were inſtruments in the cauſe were not his ſervants, otherwiſe than as Nebuchadnezzar ſerved him; for he hath a ſecret way to have a ſervice from the wicked, and ſuch is his power, that he can turn the wickedneſs of the wicked to his glory, and he can make a rod to whip his adverſaries, and burn it when he hath done, and he hath often deſtroyed one wickedneſs by another.

'Well, but to leave that, though he did in ſome meaſure, free the nation from much tyranny and cruelty, in the caſting out popiſh authority, yet alack! the nation in a few years was near as much violated by injuſtice and cruelty,

under the ſucceeding power, as ever it was once under the papal power; though before, there had been ſome ſmall reformation and change in outward appearance, though little in ground and nature; yet oppreſſion, and idolatry, and ſuperſtition, in church and ſtate, and all profaneneſs and wickedneſs among people was grown ſo high, like as it had been under the papal power before; and all that deſired after the Lord, and were weary of iniquity, and of the then preſent oppreſſions and idolatries, were perſecuted, and ſlain, and deſtroyed; and injuſtice and cruelty exerciſed upon them, even almoſt to the rooting out of righteouſneſs, and to the grieving of the Lord's ſpirit. Well then, becauſe of the cry of the people, and the oppreſſion of the nation under that authority, my Lord looked down again; and even for his name's ſake, and for his ſeed's ſake, he had compaſſion on this nation, to ſet it free, and to break off its oppreſſions; and in a great meaſure he did deliver the people of this nation in many things, and there was a part of reformation wrought, and much pretended and looked for; and all this came to paſs through him, and my Lord did accompliſh it, however the inſtruments by which he wrought proved deceitful, and became oppreſſors, as others before them; and though there was in this nation a day of great troubles, and wars, and contention, and great ſtrife, and the waſting of much blood, and earthly treaſure; and none of theſe things, I muſt tell you, fell without the ordering of my Maſter's hand; yet ſo it was, and came to paſs, that after this nation was reſtored to peace, though much unrighteouſneſs and injuſtice was removed, yet there was much alſo left behind; and men that he had uſed as inſtruments in his hand, in a good work, and to whom he had given wiſdom and underſtanding, and appeared in much mercy and in great deliverance; yet they even turned to ſeek themſelves, and became corrupted in the ſpoils of their enemies, and when peace and plenty abounded, the Lord was forgotten again; and then the land fell under oppreſſors, and began again to cry out for freedom, even when other horns of the firſt beaſt ſprang up, and went on each of them after his fellow; and though one horn hath ſtriven to break another, yet after one hath

been caſt down, another hath riſen, and made an image to the firſt; and ruled and reigned by the ſame ſpirit, and authority, derived from the dragon's power in cruelty and oppreſſion; and made laws, and executed them to the diſhonour of the Lord, and to the great oppreſſion of his people, and to the filling of this iſland with injuſtice and cruelty, even from one generation to another, until this day: and thus up and down have times and ſeaſons been altered, powers and authorities changed and altered, ſtatutes, laws and decrees, changeable and alterable; for as the iniquity of one power was filled up, that was caſt down, and another had its day, till the meaſure thereof was alſo filled up, that it might partake of the ſame judgments. And in all theſe overturnings, breaking-downs and overthrowings, the very hand of my Lord hath been, though ſecretly, and not diſcerned; yet his power hath brought about, and ſuffered all theſe things to come to paſs; and who ſhall charge him with injuſtice? Or, who ſhall ſay, 'What haſt thou done?' Or, 'Why haſt thou done it?' For, as I have ſaid, he is a high and mighty prince, and can do whatſoever he will; and he is the ſupreme power and authority, which rules and reigns in and over all the kingdoms of men. And what though he hath uſed wicked men as an inſtrument to accompliſh his work, and made the wicked his rod; and even brought it to paſs, that one wickedneſs ſhould deſtroy another, and one oppreſſor break down another, and the kingdom of antichriſt confound itſelf; yet what of all theſe things? All fleſh muſt be ſilent before him, and all people; and the whole earth muſt be ſubject unto him; for the government and dominion over heaven and earth is his, and all power and dominion belongeth to him alone, and all judgment is in his hand, to bring to paſs whatſoever he will, and by whomſoever, as he pleaſeth.

'But now, my friends, though I would not be tedious to you, yet muſt I tell you the truth, and faithfully deliver the Lord's meſſage unto you; and as concerning this laſt overturning, there was ſomething of the hand of my Lord in it; and he can, and will bring forth his own work and praiſe by it; and it ſhall be for the good of all his people,

that wait upon him, though there was much ambition and corrupted ends in the inſtruments, and neither part were perfectly ſingle to the Lord in their proceedings: but their work was tainted with the falſe idolatrous ſpirit of ſelf-ſeeking: yet notwithſtanding, the Lord may bring forth his government, and his pleaſant plant, through and beyond all this, even out of another root, which yet appears not among either of them; and righteouſneſs may ariſe in the nation, contrary to both of them, out of another ſtem, and he will ſet up his kingdom: and in the mean time, leave one potſherd of the earth to break another.

'And as for you, that now ſit on the throne and bear rule, whether committee of ſafety (ſo called) chiefly, though it is not without my Maſter; for he hath the knowledge of it, at leaſt; yet you are not the only men of his choice, truly called of him to the place of government, neither is your government the government of the Lamb, neither muſt it be for ever eſtabliſhed by him; its foundation is not bleſſed, nor can its building be proſperous: for why? Alas, it is but another horn of that fourth beaſt, that hath been made to rule over the world, and upon the earth for many generations, and it is but hitherto a very little refined from the laſt, and is of the laſt, even as the eighth was of the ſeventh, ſpoken of by that ſervant, Rev. xvii. 11. and it may alſo make war with the Lamb and his followers for a little ſeaſon, and it may have a ſmall meaſure of injuſtice and perſecution to bring forth in the land, even till the words of God be fulfilled, and his kingdom be fully come; the way of which is but yet preparing by all theſe overturnings: and this your preſent government originally is leavened with the ſpirit of the old dragon, that hath killed the ſaints, and drunk their blood, and how ſhould the Lord eſtabliſh it? Nay, your kingdom may prove but ſmall and little, and full of uproars and troubles, and little peace, and ſatisfaction and eſtabliſhment in it to yourſelves, nor the people under you; but confuſion will attend it, and fears will compaſs it about: though this I muſt tell you, as you are men, you have your day of trial what you will do, as many others have had before you; and ſomething you may and ought to do, if but to make the whore (the falſe

church) more naked, and to ſcourge her, more than ſome others have done; and indeed my Lord requires ſomething more of you (as ſuch) to do, than others before you could do; and you have a price put into your hands, which you may improve to the Lord's honour, and to the nation's good, and to your own happineſs; which, if you be faithful to the Lord, to do what he requires of you, and if you become meek and humble men, and fear his name, and deny yourſelves, and not ſeek your own honours, nor any earthly advantage to yourſelves; if you do thus, then my Lord will ſhew mercy to you, and you ſhall not ſuddenly fall before your enemies, though many may riſe up againſt you; but your days ſhall be lengthened, and the purpoſe of the Lord may be turned to your longer continuance, and not to your ſudden deſtruction; and if you walk in this way, and rule only for the Lord, then ſhall you be honoured as men, if not as an authority, and you and the nation preſerved in peace, and the force of the wicked ſhall be turned backward, and you ſhall not ſuddenly fall. And the late ſundry overturnings in this nation may be examples to you, that you follow not the ſteps of thoſe that God hath caſt out, leſt you come to the ſame end of confuſion and miſery: for, as concerning that aſſembly of men, that laſt ſate on the throne, ſomething was done by them in their day and time, and in both their aſſemblings, in ſome things they ſerved my Lord, and they were a rod in his hand to ſmite his enemies; yet they were not faithful to the end, till all his enemies were deſtroyed, but rather joined themſelves to fight againſt the Lord and his people, and were haſtening on towards the way of oppreſſion and perſecution; and it was time for the Lord to remove them, and to lay them aſide as an empty veſſel, ſometime uſeful; and to break them as a rod, ſometime of ſervice to be a ſcourge upon his enemies: and when the day of their trial was over, which God gave unto them, being any longer (for preſent) unfit inſtruments for his hands, then he caſt them into the fire; and this his purpoſe came to paſs upon them: ſo that they and the whole nation may be contented, and yield themſelves ſubject to what he hath done concerning them; for they being entering into

the very ſame ſpirit of wickedneſs, of oppreſſion and perſecution, which the Lord had once reproved through them, and caſt out by them; then was a rod raiſed up againſt them, even as they had been againſt others, and they were dealt withal as they had done to others; and this was in the juſtice of my Lord's hand; and what hath mortal man to queſtion his proceedings? And though ſome of you (preſent rulers) be looked upon as great traitors and tyrants in your dealings towards them; and doubtleſs the men of that part will ſeek vengeance againſt you, even by preaching and praying; and they will curſe you in the name of their God, and ſeek continually your deſtruction, as ſuch as have taken away part of their ſtrength, and caſt down their idol; but alas! All this is nothing; for the Lord doth not account as men; for theſe things muſt needs thus come to paſs, for the furtherance of the kingdom and government of Jeſus Chriſt, that it may ariſe through all; and if you were but faithful to what the Lord requires of you, in your proceedings, what you have done unto them ſhould not be reckoned on account againſt you, neither by God, nor good men. But and if you of the army be always treacherous and diſobedient towards him, and abuſe your power, and diſregard your price that God hath given you, and trifle away your hour about places of honour, and ſuch ſelf-ſeeking matters, and the cauſe of God be neglected by you, and his people continued oppreſſed ſufferers under you, as they have long been; even then ſhall you be caſt aſide with ſhameful diſgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord ſhall be upon you in judgment, and you ſhall be ſmitten more than any before you; your eſtates ſhall not be ſpared from the ſpoiler, nor your ſouls from the pit, nor your perſons from the violence of men, no, nor your necks from the axe: for if you be unfaithful, and continually treacherous to the cauſe of God, then ſhall you be left to the will of your enemies, and they ſhall charge treachery and treaſon upon you, and your perſons and eſtates ſhall be given for a prey to your enemies; and you ſhall not deliver yourſelves, neither will the Lord deliver you from the execution of mercileſs men; for my Lord ſhall leave the cruel-hearted to plead with you.

Wherefore that you may be warned, I adviſe you to be faithful, let not the cauſe of God fall, nor the cauſe of his enemies proſper before you; for there is no other way whereby you can be preſerved, nor no other defence ſhall you ever find from the wrath of the Lord, and from the fury of your devouring enemies, than your faithfulneſs in God's cauſe; and therefore relieve the oppreſſed, and take off all oppreſſions, break down all unjuſt laws, and ſet all people free from unjuſt burthens, and let all oppreſſion ceaſe, both in church and civil ſtate; and even all oppreſſive laws, and unjuſt judges, and evil men in power, let all theſe be removed, and the nation clean quitted and diſcharged, even from all men and laws whatſoever, that have held under oppreſſion the perſons, eſtates, and conſciences of the good people of this land; and let the nation be corrected, and all orders and places of men, and laws and decrees be purified; for this my Lord, the great King, requireth, and he will ſuddenly have it brought to paſs in the nation, if not by you, then contrary to you, and to your utter deſtruction: and this is the very ſubſtance of my meſſage to you, that my Maſter hath given me to ſay unto you; and on his behalf I am come to claim of you my Maſter's long loſt right; let him have his right, from which he hath long been baniſhed; I demand it of you, all ye whatſoever, that ſeem to bear rule in the nation; I charge you in his name let him have his title and prerogative, let him be Lord and King wholly in his own kingdom, let him have the exerciſe of his peoples conſciences by his own Spirit in all things related to his worſhip and ſervice; and let him have the full authority by his Spirit in all things pertaining to church, and miniſtry, and faith, and religion; and let his Spirit have the alone authority to perſuade and diſſuade people from, or to ſuch or ſuch miniſtry, worſhip, and practices of religion; and let all forced maintenance to miniſters, and tithes, be ſpeedily taken away; and let all laws and decrees whatſoever, made and practiſed in the days of antichriſt, upon the bodies, eſtates, and conſciences of the people, in oppreſſion and unjuſtneſs about church, and worſhip, and religion, be utterly repealed and made void, and never

more be in force in this nation: but let my Lord be ſole ruler and governor, and have the full authority in his own kingdom, in all things whatſoever pertaining thereunto; and let no man henceforth hereafter be intruſted with the liberties of the members of Chriſt's kingdom, as they are ſuch, nor to judge over them in any matters of faith and worſhip, but give that right and privilege wholly unto the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt; for unto him only it pertaineth to be whole judge, and to have full power in his own kingdom; and until you give him the right, and deliver up unto him his own kingdom, and the exerciſe of peoples conſciences in all things about religion, you ſhall never proſper, nor none that cometh after you, that ſhall in any meaſure abridge my Maſter of his proper right, from which he hath long been baniſhed, as I have ſaid; and till his right be given him, in the caſe aforeſaid, he will daſh one man againſt another, and none ſhall ever be eſtabliſhed; but horn after horn ſhall be broken, and one power after another brought into confuſion.

'And therefore ye men, do not ſtrive with him in this matter, but yield unto him the exerciſe of your own conſciences by his Spirit in you, and let him do ſo unto all others, even as ye hope to proſper, and upon the penalty of his ſore diſpleaſure upon you in this world, and in the world to come; and let juſt men, and righteous men, and meek men, and men that have the fear and wiſdom of God in them, without acceptation of birth, or otherwiſe; let ſuch men have the power and judgment committed to them, to determine in things between man and man. Down with all the falſe-hearted flatterers, that have ruled for man and not for God, and for themſelves, and not for the good of the people; caſt all ſuch out from you; for the good among you is choaked by them: down with all that judge for rewards; and away with all hireling rulers, that execute the law for money, and will not plead the cauſe of the poor without great fees; and down with all that will not ſerve places of truſt without ſo large ſtipends: away with all theſe things out of the land, for they are heinous oppreſſions unto men, and great abominations in the ſight of God; and the land hath long groaned under

the weight and burden of theſe things, and the earth is weary of them, and my Lord requires their utter diſſolution, as being iniquities fully ripe, and having the guilt of ſo much cruelty, injuſtice, and oppreſſion lying upon the nation becauſe hereof; therefore is the Lord's ſeaſon to deſtroy them, and remove them out of the land; which if you be the inſtruments in ſuch a work, it will be your greateſt crown, and your perpetual honour; for the Lord's purpoſe is one way or other to cleanſe the land of all theſe and other oppreſſions whatſoever, that the people of this land may be a free people from all the heavy yokes of antichriſt, which have long ſorely preſſed them down; and the purpoſe of the Lord is to break the yokes of oppreſſion and tyranny from off the necks of this people; and therefore it is that he overturneth, yea, and will overturn, all men and authorities that ſhall oppoſe his work, and none ſhall be able to ſtand before him; for the preſence of my Lord is more dreadful to a nation, when he ſhews himſelf in wrath, than any multitude of armed men; and woe is unto you, if you be found oppoſing of him; and if you ſeek to ſtop his work, you ſhall not cumber the earth very long, nor oppreſs the nations many days. Wherefore conſider, curſed will you be, if you be unfaithful in what you have to do on the Lord's behalf; for your hour paſſeth over, that is allotted you; and will be ſuddenly expired, never to be recalled, and then you cannot work.

'And whereas there is a great cry about miniſtry, for ſending forth and maintaining, and encouraging a godly miniſtry, as you ſay;

'Now to this I do anſwer on my Lord's behalf, and I muſt tell you plainly; as for a true godly miniſtry, truly called and ſent of God, ſuch a miniſtry, and ſuch miniſters, you can never be able to hinder; but the Lord will ſend them out, maintaining them and preſerving them, whether you will or no; and while you are troubling yourſelves about ſuch a matter, you are but meddling with things above your line, and out of your juriſdiction, while you act in ſuch a caſe; for it belongs to his government to ſend out miniſters, whom, and as he will, and to maintain them and defend them according to his own pleaſure, and

all this without you; for ſuch miniſters, truly called thereunto, and ſent of the Lord, will not ſeek to you to be ſent forth, or maintained by you, they will not be beholden to you in ſuch a caſe; but even without you, and contrary to you, muſt they be ſent out and maintained: ſo that the Lord will have a miniſtry in this nation purely of his own, and not of man, nor by man, and ſuch a miniſtry you ſhall not be able to hinder.

'And I muſt tell you plainly, as for theſe men called miniſters, in this nation, the way of their ſetting up, and ſending forth, and the way of their maintenance, and the way of their ſtanding and defence, and in every particular of their being ſuch, they are the greateſt and moſt woeful oppreſſion in the nation; even the moſt abominable and unjuſt cruelties and tyrannies are acted through them, as any other thing in the nation; and they are (as ſuch aforeſaid) the woeful cauſe of the nation's groaning under mercileſs dealing; and there is upon their account, the guilt of blood, injuſtice, and oppreſſion lying upon this nation; their iniquities, their iniquities, cry for vengeance upon their own heads; for they are full, they are full, and the meaſure thereof is near finiſhed, and God's eternal vengeance is their next reward from the eternal God. What ſhall I ſay of them, but this? The earth is oppreſſed by them, the inhabitants groan under them, and the righteous God is vexed through them, and they are the very men of high indignation and fierce wrath, and all their practices (as ſuch) are the fuel of his anger, to be conſumed by the fire of his jealouſy; the nation is weary, and its inhabitants, and the Lord is weary, becauſe of theſe men: and is this the miniſtry cried up by you as godly and pious? &c. Are theſe the men that the nation muſt be forced to maintain in their pride and idolatry? Is this the miniſtry that muſt be encouraged? Well, if theſe be the men, and this the miniſtry which muſt be eſtabliſhed and encouraged by you, in ſo doing you ſhall never proſper, but thereby gain the diſpleaſure of the Almighty unto you, to bring a curſe upon all your doings, even becauſe hereof; for I muſt tell you, the hand of my Lord is againſt them, and whoſoever ſhall ſeek to defend

them, ſhall not proſper in their doings, becauſe their oppreſſions, cruelties, deceits, and abominations, are nigh finiſhed and fulfilled: wherefore take heed unto yourſelves, for this is my Maſter's advice unto you; let this miniſtry alone, and join not yourſelves to Baal, leſt you periſh, neither take part with antichriſt any longer, neither be ye fighters againſt the Lamb and his kingdom; but free the nation, and let all its inhabitants be freed, from the cruel taſks and yokes of ſuch men, and ſuch a miniſtry as aforeſaid; uphold it not againſt the Lord, for if you do, you ſhall never be eſtabliſhed, and this is from the mouth of my Lord unto you.

'And laſt of all, my Maſter hath a people in this nation, even a ſuffering people, that have borne the burden of the cruelty, and injuſtice, and wickedneſs, both of rulers and teachers, who have, as it were, trodden them down, and made them a very prey to their devouring mouths; the very cry of their ſufferings hath reached unto heaven, and the very ſound thereof your ears have heard; and this people are greatly beloved, and my Lord will aſſuredly honour them, and his hand ſhall be continued to preſerve them and defend them againſt all their enemies whatſoever; and he doth reſerve them to himſelf, and for a glorious work that he hath to do by them; and he hath formed them for himſelf, and they cannot join with any of the horns of the great beaſt, neither can a place of honour pervert them from their perfect way; but my Lord, he compaſſeth them about on every ſide, and hath kept them in the midſt of trials, reproaches, and ſufferings, and covered them in the heat, and in the ſtorm, till his pleaſure is to make farther uſe of them; they are his, and not their own; and they muſt fulfil his will, and none beſides; and they lie at reſt in him, while mountains are overturned, and while one potſherd of the earth breaks another; and this muſt be even till the appointed time: and to ſay no more of them, though much more might be ſaid, they are had in remembrance before the Lord, to do with them even for his own glory, and for the nation's perpetual good; and to the authority of the Moſt High, through them, ſhall kings of the earth, and nations of the world bow and tremble; wherefore ye men, touch them not,

neither do ye afflict them, even as you hope to proſper; remember their cauſe, and ſuffer it not always to be rejected, as it hath long been, but keep yourſelves free from the injuſtice and cruelty of them that have gone before you, who have been mercileſs, and oppreſſors of that people, even till my Lord hath confounded them, and brought them into confuſion; for there is the weight of blood, tyranny, and oppreſſion, lying upon the nation in that people's cauſe, and my Lord will revenge them in his ſeaſon; and though they are not weary of their ſufferings, but are in the patience which beareth all things, yet the nation can never be happy, nor its government ever bleſſed, while this people are held in bondage; and their ſufferings are deeply conſidered of the Lord, and the ſeaſon thereof is expiring towards an end; and when this cometh to paſs, then woe unto the kingdom of antichriſt, and to the whore and falſe prophet, even when their ſtrength is dried up, by which they have made war againſt the Lamb and his followers: yea, woe unto them, great fearfulneſs ſhall be upon all the world when the king of that people reigns upon the earth, and the time is at hand: bleſſed is the man that waiteth for it, and bleſſed is he that is not offended in his coming, but is prepared to receive him in his appearing, which ſuddenly cometh upon all the world.

'And thus I have told the Lord's preſent meſſage unto you, which I received from him, and thus far I am clear; and whether you accept it, or reject it, my peace and reward is for ever with him, who am a ſubject of his kingdom, and a friend to this nation, however otherwiſe judged by ignorant men.

'E. Burrough.'

The Ninth month, 1659.

Now how ſoon after theſe ſayings of Burrough, 'Your eſtates ſhall not be ſpared from the ſpoiler, nor your necks from the axe; your enemies ſhall charge treaſon upon you, and if you ſeek to ſtop the Lord's work, you ſhall not cumber the earth very long,' were fulfilled, we ſhall ſee ſhortly.

About this time alſo he writ ſeveral epiſtles to his friends, wherein he ſo powerfully exhorted them to faithfulneſs and ſtedfaſtneſs, that thereby he hath procured to himſelf a name that will never die; as living ſtill in the remembrance of thouſands, though he long ago went the way of all fleſh, having laid down his life in bonds for the teſtimony of Jeſus, as will be ſaid in its due place.

There is alſo extant a piece of a letter written about this time to the cavaliers, which, whether done by E. Burrough, or by George Fox the younger, or by George Biſhop, I cannot tell: but thus it ſpeaks:

'The very ſame ſpirit of pride and oppreſſion, and idolatry, is entered into them (viz. your enemies) and now lives in them in as high a meaſure as ever it lived amongſt you; and their iniquities are well nigh finiſhed, and the Lord will one way or other correct and reprove them; and they ſhall be dealt with in like manner as they have dealt with you; for they were no more than a rod in the hand of the Lord for a ſeaſon, and they muſt alſo be broken and caſt into the fire; and whether the Lord may ever make uſe of you to reprove them, as he did of them to reprove you, this I determine not, but leave it to him who can do whatſoever he will, by what inſtrument he pleaſeth. It is true, you have made many attempts to be revenged upon them, but you have not hitherto proſpered; but could you be humbled, and come into the meek Spirit of the Lord, then might you proſper; hitherto the Lord hath always defeated you, and bowed you down under a people as unworthy as others; but their time will come to an end. Submit therefore unto he will of the Lord in what is come to paſs, and ſeek not vengeance to yourſelves; and then the Lord will avenge your cauſe; for the iniquities of your adverſaries are ripe. And Charles Stuart muſt either be converted to God, and ruled by him, or elſe he can never rightly rule for God in this nation; though this I believe, it is not impoſſible but that he may be a rod upon them that once ſmote him; and their oppreſſions and ambitions may receive a check through him.'

Among ſeveral other eminent preachers, Stephen Criſp was now alſo become a publick miniſter of the word of God; and it was about this time that he went to Scotland, to preach the goſpel there, and to edify the churches with his gift.

G. Fox the younger, this year writ an exhortation to the military officers, and the army, ſhewing them how they were departed from their firſt integrity, and fallen into pride and wantonneſs.

G. Fox the elder, about the Tenth month, was at Norwich, where a meeting being appointed, and the mayor having got notice of it, intended to have given out a warrant to apprehend him, but he having heard of this, ſent ſome of his friends to the mayor, to ſpeak with him about it. And his anſwer was, that he feared ſuch a meeting would cauſe tumults in the town. But being ſpoken to in a kind way, he behaved himſelf moderately, and a large peaceable meeting was kept; to which, among others, ſeveral prieſts alſo came, and among theſe was one Townſend, who ſtood up and cried, 'Error, Blaſphemy,' &c. G. Fox deſired him not to burden himſelf with that which he could not make good. But he aſſerted it to be error and blaſphemy, that G. Fox had ſaid that people muſt wait upon God by his power and Spirit, and feel his preſence when they did not ſpeak words. On this G. Fox aſked him, whether the apoſtles and holy men of God, did not hear God ſpeak to them in their ſilence, before they ſpake forth the Scripture, and before it was written? He replied 'Yes,' and confirmed it by ſaying plainly, that David and the prophets did ſo. Then G. Fox ſhewed the people how abſurd it was, that Townſend had called ſuch a practice error and blaſphemy. This ſo puzzled Townſend, that he ſaid, 'O this is not that George Fox I would ſpeak withal; but this is a ſubtil man.' Now when ſome of the auditory called to the prieſt, and bade him prove the blaſphemy and error which he had charged G. Fox with, he went away; and being afterwards ſpoken to by George Whitehead and Richard Hubberthorn, who were then alſo about Norwich, he was ſoon confounded and brought down.

The committee of ſafety being now in power, Edmond Ludlow continued to urge the reſtoring of the parliament; and general Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, aiming at the reſtoration of the king, yet writ to the ſpeaker, Lenthal, that he would act for the parliament: and ſo it was reſtored.

G. Fox the younger, writ to this parliament a letter, wherein he told them, that their day was turned into darkneſs; and that the ſun was gone down over them. Yea, that the decree was gone out, and ſealed againſt them, and it could not be recalled; with many other remarkable expreſſions. He had written at other times to the army, and the parliament, as did alſo Richard Hubberthorn, which to avoid prolixity, I paſs by.

Let us now again take a view of the perſecution in New England. I have already made mention of Lawrence and Caſſandra Southick, and their ſon Joſiah, of whom more is to be ſaid hereafter; but firſt I will ſpeak of Daniel and Provided, ſon and daughter of the ſaid Lawrence and Caſſandra. Theſe children ſeeing how unreaſonably their honeſt parents and brother were dealt with, were ſo far from being deterred thereby, that they rather felt themſelves encouraged to follow their ſteps, and not to frequent the aſſemblies of ſuch a perſecuting generation; for which abſence they were fined ten pounds, though it was well known they had no eſtate, their parents being already brought to poverty, by their rapacious perſecutors. To get this money, the following order was iſſued in the general court at Boſton.

'Whereas Daniel Southick, and Provided Southick, ſon and daughter of Lawrence Southick, abſenting themſelves from the publick ordinances, have been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipſwich, pretending they have no eſtates, and reſolving not to work, the court, upon peruſal of a law, which was made upon the account of debts, in anſwer to what ſhould be done for the ſatisfaction of the fines, reſolves, that the treaſurers of the ſeveral counties are, and ſhall be fully impowered to ſell the ſaid perſons to any of

the Engliſh nation, at Virginia, or Barbadoes, to anſwer the ſaid fines, &c.

'Edward Rawſon, Secretary.'

The ſubject of this order was anſwered effectually at large in print, by G. Biſhop, who ſhewed the unreaſonableneſs of this work very plainly from ſacred writ; as from Amos ii. 6. where the judgments of God are denounced againſt thoſe who ſold the righteous for ſilver, and the poor for a pair of ſhoes; and from Levit. xxv. 42, where the making the children of Iſrael bondmen, is expreſsly forbidden; this being not lawful, but in the caſe of theft, if the thief had nothing to make ſatisfaction with. But to return to Daniel and Provided, there wanted nothing but the execution of the ſaid order againſt them. Wherefore Edmund Butter, one of the treaſurers, to get ſomething of the booty, ſought out for paſſage, to ſend them to Barbadoes for ſale; but none were willing to take or carry them: and a certain maſter of a ſhip, to put the thing off, pretended, that they would ſpoil all the ſhip's company. To which Butter returned, 'No, you need not fear that, for they are poor harmleſs creatures, and will not hurt any body.' 'Will they not ſo,' replied the ſhipmaſter: 'and will you offer to make ſlaves of ſuch harmleſs creatures?' Thus Butter, maugre his wicked intention, the winter being at hand, ſent them home again, to ſhift for themſelves, till he could get a convenient opportunity to ſend them away.

It happened alſo in this year, that a girl, about eleven years old, named Patience Scot, whoſe religious mother had been cruelly whipt by theſe people, bore witneſs againſt their wicked perſecution; which ſo incenſed the perſecutors, that they ſent her to priſon; and the child having been examined, ſpoke ſo well to the purpoſe, that ſhe confounded her enemies; ſome of which confeſſed, that they had many children, who had been well educated, and that it were well if they could ſay half ſo much for God, as ſhe could for the devil. But this child not being of years to be obnoxious to the law, how wicked ſoever they were, it ſeems they could not reſolve to proceed to baniſhment, as they did with others.

All that hitherto I have ſaid of the New England perſecution, is but curſorily, and only a very ſmall part of thoſe manifold whippings that were inflicted there; beſides the extortions of fines, which were exorbitant to a high degree; as may appear by what was done to William Maſton, at Hampton, who was fined ten pounds for two books found in his houſe, five pounds for not frequenting their church, and three pounds beſides, as a due to the prieſt: and he not being free in conſcience to pay this fine, had taken from him what amounted to more than twenty pounds. I find alſo, that not long after this time, above a thouſand pounds was extorted from ſome, only becauſe they had ſeparated themſelves from the perſecuting church: and it ſeems they were deemed ſuch as were ſhut out from the protection of the law; inſomuch that Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth, did not ſtick to ſay, that in his conſcience the Quakers were ſuch a people, that deſerved to be deſtroyed, they, their wives, and children, their houſes and lands, without pity or mercy. I find alſo that one Humphrey Norton at Newhaven, for being a Quaker, was whipt ſeverely, and burnt in the hand with the letter H. to ſignify heretick.

This cruelty of the Engliſh did alſo ſtir up the Dutch to perſecution: for without enquiring what kind of people the Quakers were, they ſeemed ready to conclude them to be men of pernicious opinions, ſince thoſe of their own nation, who pretended to more purity than other Proteſtants, did ſo ſeverely perſecute them.

It happened that one Robert Hodſhone, being in the Dutch plantation at Hamſtead, had a meeting with ſome of his friends that were Engliſh, and lived there; but as he was walking in an orchard, an officer came and took hold of him, and brought him before one Gilderſleave, an Engliſhman, and a magiſtrate there, who committed him to priſon, and rode to the Dutch governor to acquaint him therewith: and coming back with a guard of muſqueteers, the fiſcal ſearched the priſoner, and took away his knife, papers, and bible, and pinioned him, and kept him ſo all night, and the next day. And making enquiry after thoſe that entertained him, he took into cuſtody two women on that occaſion, one of which had two ſmall children, the

one yet ſucking at her breaſt. Then they got a cart and carried the women away in it, and Robert was faſtened to the hinder part of the cart, pinioned, and ſo drawn through the woods in the night ſeaſon, whereby he was much torn and abuſed. And being come to New Amſterdam (now New York), he was looſed, and led by the rope, with which he had been faſtened to the cart, to the dungeon, being a filthy place, full of vermin; and the two women were carried to another place. Some time after he was examined, there being one captain Willet of Plymouth, who had much incenſed the governor againſt him, who before had been moderate. The concluſion was, that a ſentence was read in Dutch, to Robert, to this effect, that he was to work two years at the wheelbarrow with a negro, or pay, or cauſe to be paid, ſix hundred guilders. To this he attempted to make his defence in a ſober way, but was not ſuffered to ſpeak, and ſent to the dungeon again; where no Engliſh were ſuffered to come to him. After ſome days he was taken out, and pinioned, and being ſet with his face towards the court chamber, his hat was taken off, and another ſentence read to him in Dutch, which he did not underſtand: but that it diſpleaſed many of that nation, did appear by the ſhaking of their heads. Then he was caſt again into the dungeon, where he was kept ſome days.

At length, betimes in the morning, he was haled out, and chained to a wheelbarrow, and commanded to work: to which he anſwered, he was never brought up, nor uſed to ſuch a work. Upon which they made a negro to take a pitched rope, nigh four inches about, and to beat him; who did ſo, till Robert fell down. Then they took him up again, and cauſed the negro to beat him with the ſaid rope, until he fell down the ſecond time, and it was believed that he received about one hundred blows. Thus he was kept all that day in the heat of the ſun, chained to the wheelbarrow; and his body being much bruiſed and ſwelled with the blows, and he kept without food, grew very faint, and ſat upon the ground, with his mind retired to the Lord, and reſigned to his will, whereby he felt himſelf ſupported. At night he was locked up again in the dungeon, and the next morning he was chained again to the wheelbarrow, and a centinel ſet over him, that

none might come ſo much as to ſpeak with him. On the third day he was had forth, and chained in like manner; and no wonder that he ſtill refuſed to work, for beſides the unreaſonableneſs of requiring ſuch a ſervile work of him who had committed no evil, he was not in a condition to perform it, being made altogether unable by the cruel blows given him. In this weak ſtate he was brought before the governor, who demanded him to work, otherwiſe he ſaid, he ſhould be whipt every day. Robert aſked him what law he had broken? And called for his accuſers, that he might know his tranſgreſſion. But inſtead of an anſwer, he was chained to the wheelbarrow again, and threatened, that if he ſpake to any one, he ſhould be puniſhed worſe. Yet he did not forbear to ſpeak to ſome that came to him, ſo as he ſaw meet, and thought convenient. Then ſeeing they could not keep him ſilent, they put him into the dungeon again, and kept him cloſe there ſeveral days, and two nights; one day and a half of it, without bread or water.

After this, he was brought very early in the morning, into a private room, and ſtript to the waiſt, and hung up by his hands, and a great log of wood tied to his feet, ſo that he could not turn his body; and then a ſtrong negro was ſet to whip him with rods, who laid many ſtripes upon him, which cut his fleſh very much. Then he was let down again, and put into the dungeon as before, and none ſuffered to come to him. Two days after he was had forth again, and hung up as before, and many more ſtripes were laid upon him by another negro. He almoſt fainting, and not knowing but his life might be taken away, deſired that ſome Engliſh might be ſuffered to come to him: which was granted, and an Engliſh woman came and waſhed his ſtripes, finding him brought ſo low, that ſhe thought he would not live till the next morning. And ſhe telling this to her huſband, it made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he went to the fiſcal, and proffered him a fat ox, to ſuffer Robert to be at his houſe until he was well again. But the fiſcal would not permit this, unleſs the whole fine was paid. And though there were ſome that would willingly have paid the fine for him, yet he could not conſent to it; but within three days after he had thus been whipped, he was made

whole, and as ſtrong as before, and was free to labour, that he might not be burthenſome to any. Some others of thoſe called Quakers, (who came thither from the plantations in New England to enjoy liberty of conſcience, and whoſe names and ſufferings I paſs by for brevity's ſake) met alſo with hard meaſure from the governor, by the inſtigation of the aforeſaid captain Willet. Robert now though guiltleſs, being kept like a ſlave, to hard work, it raiſed compaſſion in many, and the governor's ſiſter, who was much affected with his ſufferings, became inſtrumental in obtaining his liberty; for ſhe ſo plied her brother, that he at length ſet him free without paying one penny, or any body for him; by which the governor ſhewed, that though he had been too eaſily wrought upon to commit evil, yet he was not come near to that height of malice, as the New England perſecutors; who increaſed in their hard-heartedneſs, and became inured to cruelty, inſomuch that if any one amongſt them would not give his vote for perſecution, he was counted unworthy to be a magiſtrate: as appears by a letter of one James Cudworth, written ſome time before to one of his friends in Old England, wherein I meet with theſe words:

'As for the ſtate and condition of things amongſt us, it is ſad. The antichriſtian perſecuting ſpirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not whip and laſh, perſecute, and puniſh men that differ in matters of religion, muſt not ſit on the bench, nor ſuſtain any office in the commonwealth. Laſt election Mr. Hatherly and myſelf left the bench, and myſelf was diſcharged of my captainſhip, becauſe I had entertained ſome of the Quakers at my houſe, that thereby I might be the better acquainted with their principles. I thought it better to do ſo, than with the blind world to cenſure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither ſaw their perſons, nor knew any thing of their principles. But the Quakers and myſelf cannot cloſe in divers things; and ſo I ſignified to the court I was no Quaker, but muſt give my teſtimony againſt ſundry things that they held, as I had occaſion and opportunity. But withal, I told them, that as I was no Quaker, ſo I would be no perſecutor.'

Now ſhall I enter upon the narrative of their putting ſome to death, who died martyrs; for this was yet wanting to complete the tragedy, which it ſeems could not be done to the ſatisfaction of the actors, without playing a murdering part.

The two firſt that ſealed their teſtimony with their blood, were William Robinſon, merchant of London, and Marmaduke Stevenſon, a countryman of Yorkſhire. Theſe coming to Boſton in the beginning of September, were ſent for by the court of aſſiſtants, and there ſentenced to baniſhment on pain of death. This ſentence was paſſed alſo on Mary Dyar, mentioned heretofore, and Nicholas Davis, who were both at Boſton. But William Robinſon, being looked upon as a teacher, was alſo condemned to be whipt ſeverely; and the conſtable was commanded to get an able man to it. Then Robinſon was brought into the ſtreet, and there ſtript; and having his hands put through the holes of the carriage of a great gun, where the gaoler held him, the executioner gave him twenty ſtripes with a three-fold cord whip. Then he and the other priſoners were ſhortly releaſed, and baniſhed; which that it was for no other reaſon but their being Quakers, may appear by the following warrant:

'You are required by theſe, preſently to ſet at liberty William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, Mary Dyar, and Nicholas Davis, who by an order of the court and council, had been impriſoned, becauſe it appeared by their own confeſſion, words, and actions, that they are Quakers; wherefore a ſentence was pronounced againſt them, to depart this juriſdiction on pain of death, and that they muſt anſwer it at their peril, if they, or any of them, after the 14th of this preſent month September, are found within this juriſdiction, or any part thereof.

'Edward Rawſon.'

Boſton, September 12, 1659.

Now though Mary Dyar and Nicholas Davis left that juriſdiction for that time, yet Robinſon and Stevenſon though they departed the town of Boſton, could not yet

reſolve (not being free in mind) to depart that juriſdiction, though their lives were at ſtake. And ſo they went to Salem, and ſome place thereabout to viſit, and build up their friends in the faith. But it was not long before they were taken, and put again into priſon at Boſton, and chains locked to their right legs. In the next month Mary Dyar returned alſo. And as ſhe ſtood before the priſon, ſpeaking with one Chriſtopher Holder, who was come thither to inquire for a ſhip bound for England, whither he intended to go, ſhe was alſo taken into cuſtody. Thus they had now three perſons, who, according to their ſanguinary law, had forfeited their lives. And on the 20th of October, theſe three were brought into the court, where John Endicot and others were aſſembled. And being called to the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to pull off their hats; and then ſaid, that they had made ſeveral laws to keep the Quakers from amongſt them; and neither whipping, nor impriſoning, nor cutting off ears, nor baniſhing upon pain of death, would keep them from amongſt them. And further he ſaid, that he or they deſired not the death of any of them. Yet notwithſtanding, his following words, without more ado, were, 'Give ear, and hearken to your ſentence of death.' W. Robinſon then deſired that he might be permitted to read a paper, giving an account of the reaſon why he had not departed that juriſdiction. But Endicot would not ſuffer it to be read, and ſaid in a rage, 'You ſhall not read it, nor will the court hear it read.' Then Robinſon laid it on the table. He had written this paper the day before, and ſome of the contents were, that he being in Rhode Iſland, the Lord had commanded him to go to Boſton, and to lay down his life there. That he alſo had felt an aſſurance that his ſoul was to enter into everlaſting peace, and eternal reſt. That he durſt not but obey, without inquiring farther concerning it; believing that it became him as a child, to ſhew obedience to the Lord, without any unwillingneſs. That this was the cauſe, why after baniſhment on pain of death, he ſtaid in their juriſdiction: and that now with ſincerity of heart he could ſay, Bleſſed be the Lord, the God of my life, who hath called me hereunto, and counted me

worthy to teſtify againſt wicked and unjuſt men, &c. This paper being handed to Endicot, he read it to himſelf, and after he had done, ſaid to Robinſon, 'You need not keep ſuch ado to have it read; for you ſpoke yeſterday more than here is written.' Yet this was not ſo; for it contained a circumſtantial relation of the divine operations on his mind; and that he was not come there in his own will but in obedience to his Creator: and that travelling in Rhode Iſland, on the 8th of the Eighth month, he had been moved thereto from the Lord, and therefore had ſubmitted to his divine pleaſure without murmuring. W. Robinſon deſiring again that the paper might be read, that ſo all that were preſent might hear it, it was denied him, and Endicot ſaid, 'W. Robinſon hearken to your ſentence of death; you ſhall be had back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged on the gallows till you are dead.' This ſentence was not altogether unexpected to W. Robinſon; for it was four months now that he had believed this would be his ſhare.

Robinſon being taken away, M. Stevenſon was called, and Endicot ſaid to him, 'If you have any thing to ſay, you may ſpeak.' He knowing how they dealt with his companion, was ſilent, though he had alſo written in priſon a paper, containing the cauſe of his being come there; but he kept it with him, and found afterwards occaſion to deliver it to ſomebody. Then Endicot pronounced ſentence of death againſt him, ſaying, 'M. Stevenſon, you ſhall be had to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead.' Whereupon M. Stevenſon ſpoke thus: 'Give ear, ye magiſtrates, and all who are guilty; for this the Lord hath ſaid concerning you, and will perform his word upon you, that the ſame day ye put his ſervants to death, ſhall the day of your viſitation paſs over your heads, and you ſhall be curſed for evermore. The mouth of the Lord of hoſts hath ſpoken it. Therefore in love to you all, I exhort you to take warning before it be too late, that ſo the curſe may be removed. For aſſuredly if you put us to

death, you will bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and ſwift deſtruction will come upon you.'

After he had ſpoken this, he was taken away, and Mary Dyar was called: to whom Endicot ſpoke thus: 'Mary Dyar, you ſhall go to the place from whence you came, (to wit the priſon) and from thence to the place of execution, and be hanged there until you are dead.' To which ſhe replied, 'The will of the Lord be done.' Then Endicot ſaid, 'Take her away, marſhal.' To which ſhe returned, 'Yea, joyfully I go.' And in her going to the priſon, ſhe often uttered ſpeeches of praiſe to the Lord; and, being full of joy, ſhe ſaid to the marſhal, he might let her alone, for ſhe would go to the priſon without him. To which he anſwered, 'I believe you, Mrs. Dyar; but I muſt do what I am commanded.' Thus ſhe was led to priſon, where ſhe was kept a week, with the two other her companions, that were alſo condemned to die.

The paper of Marmaduke Stevenſon, mentioned before, which he gave forth after he had received ſentence of death, was thus:

'In the beginning of the year 1655, I was at the plough, in the eaſt parts of Yorkſhire, in Old England, near the place where my outward being was, and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and preſence of the living God, which did raviſh my heart when I felt it; for it did increaſe and abound in me like a living ſtream, ſo did the love and life of God run through me like precious ointment, giving a pleaſant ſmell, which made me to ſtand ſtill; and as I ſtood a little ſtill, with my heart and mind ſtayed on the Lord, the word of the Lord came to me in a ſtill ſmall voice, which I did hear perfectly, ſaying to me, in the ſecret of my heart and conſcience,—I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.—And at the hearing of the word of the Lord, I was put to a ſtand, being that I was but a child for ſuch a weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was ſet before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife, and tender children: for the Lord ſaid unto me im-

mediately by his Spirit, that he would be as a huſband to my wife, and as a father to my children, and they ſhould not want in my abſence, for he would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed that the Lord would perform what he had ſpoken, becauſe I was made willing to give up myſelf to his work and ſervice, to leave all and follow him, whoſe preſence and life is with me, where I reſt in peace and quietneſs of ſpirit (with my dear brother) under the ſhadow of his wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for his own name ſake, if unmerciful men be ſuffered to take them from us; and if they do, we know we ſhall have peace and reſt with the Lord for ever in his holy habitation, when they ſhall have torment night and day. So, in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to paſs to Barbadoes, in the Fourth month, 1658. So, after I had been ſome time on the ſaid iſland in the ſervice of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the ſervants of the living God to death, if they returned after they were ſentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and as I conſidered the thing, and pondered it in my heart, immediately came the word of the Lord unto me, ſaying, 'Thou knoweſt not but that thou mayeſt go thither.' But I kept this word in my heart, and did not declare it to any until the time appointed. So, after that, a veſſel was made ready for Rhode Iſland, which I paſſed in. So, after a little time that I had been there, viſiting the ſeed which the Lord hath bleſſed, the word of the Lord came unto me, ſaying, 'Go to Boſton with thy brother William Robinſon.' And at his command I was obedient, and gave up myſelf to do his will, that ſo his work and ſervice may be accompliſhed: for he hath ſaid unto me, that he hath a great work for me to do; which is now come to paſs: and for yielding obedience to, and obeying the voice and command of the ever-living God, who created heaven and earth, and the fountains of waters, do I, with my dear brother, ſuffer outward bonds near unto death. And this is given forth to be upon record, that all people may know, who hear it, that we came not

in our own wills, but in the will of God. Given forth by me, who am known to men by the name of

'Marmaduke Stephenſon.'

But having a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the Book of Life.

Written in Boſton priſon, in the 8th month, 1659.

Mary Dyar being returned to priſon, writ the following letter, which ſhe ſent to the rulers of Boſton.

To the General Court in Boſton.

'Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltineſs of my own blood; if you mean in my coming to Boſton, I am therein clear, and juſtified by the Lord, in whoſe will I came, who will require my blood of you, be ſure, who have made a law to take away the lives of the innocent ſervants of God, if they come among you, who are called by you, curſed Quakers; although I ſay, and am a living witneſs for them and the Lord, that he hath bleſſed them, and ſent them unto you; therefore be not found fighters againſt God, but let my counſel and requeſt be accepted with you, to repeal all ſuch laws, that the Truth and ſervants of the Lord may have free paſſage among you, and you be kept from ſhedding innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not do, if they knew it ſo to be; nor can the enemy that ſtirreth you up thus to deſtroy this holy ſeed, in any meaſure countervail the great damage that you will, by thus doing, procure. Therefore ſeeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon me, in love to your ſouls, thus to perſuade you. I have no ſelf-ends the Lord knoweth; for if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it of you, ſo long as I ſhould daily hear or ſee the ſufferings of theſe people, my dear brethren, and the ſeed, with whom my life is bound up, as I have done theſe two years; and now it is like to encreaſe, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you. Was ever the like laws heard of among a people that profeſs Chriſt come

in the fleſh? And have ſuch no other weapons but ſuch laws to fight againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Of whom take ye counſel? Search with the light of Chriſt in you, and it will ſhew you of whom, as it hath done me and many more, who have been diſobedient and deceived, as now ye are; which light as you come into, and obeying what is made manifeſt to you therein, you will not repent that you were kept from ſhedding blood, though it were by a woman. It is not mine own life I ſeek (for I chooſe rather to ſuffer with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of Egypt) but the life of the ſeed, which I know the Lord hath bleſſed, and therefore ſeeks the enemy thus vehemently to deſtroy the life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken not unto him, I beſeech you, for the ſeed's ſake, which is one in all, and is dear in the ſight of God, which they that touch, touch the apple of his eye, and cannot eſcape his wrath; whereof I having felt, cannot but perſuade all men that I have to do withal, eſpecially you who name the name of Chriſt, to depart from ſuch iniquity as ſhedding blood, even of the ſaints of the Moſt High. Therefore let my requeſt have as much acceptance with you if you be Chriſtians, as Eſther's had with Ahaſuerus, whoſe relation is ſhort of that that is between Chriſtians; and my requeſt is the ſame that her's was: and he ſaid not that he had made a law, and that it would be diſhonourable for him to revoke it; but when he underſtood that thoſe people were ſo prized by her, and ſo nearly concerned her, as in truth theſe are to me, you may ſee what he did for her. Therefore I leave theſe lines with you, appealing to the faithful and true witneſs of God, which is one in all conſciences, before whom we muſt all appear; with whom I ſhall eternally reſt, in everlaſting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not had your forty-eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

'And know this alſo, that if through the enmity you ſhall declare yourſelves worſe than Ahaſuerus, and confirm

your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and you, by his righteous judgments and plagues poured juſtly upon you, who now whilſt ye are warned thereof, and tenderly ſought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord nor his ſervants, yet will he ſend more of his ſervants among you, ſo that your end ſhall be fruſtrated, that think to reſtrain them ye call curſed Quakers, from coming among you, by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a ſeed here among you, for whom we have ſuffered all this while, and yet ſuffer; whom the Lord of the harveſt will ſend forth more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of the devourers of all ſorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into freſh paſtures, even the paths of righteouſneſs, for his name's ſake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I ſee approaching, even to many in and about Boſton, which is the bittereſt and darkeſt profeſſing place, and ſo to continue ſo long as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time paſt therefore ſuffice, for ſuch a profeſſion as brings forth ſuch fruits as theſe laws are. In love, and in the ſpirit of meekneſs, I again beſeech you, for I have no enmity to the perſons of any; but you ſhall know, that God will not be mocked; but what ye ſow, that ſhall ye reap from him, that will render to every one according to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even ſo be it, ſaith

'Mary Dyar.'

A copy of this was given to the general court after Mary Dyar had received ſentence of death, about the 8th or 9th month, 1659.

The day appointed to execute the bloody ſentence, was the 27th of October, when in the afternoon the condemned priſoners were led to the gallows by the marſhal Michaelſon, and captain James Oliver, with a band of about two hundred armed men, beſides many horſemen; as if they were afraid that ſome of the people would have reſcued the priſoners: and that no actors on the ſtage might be wanting, the prieſt Wilſon joined the company, and when the court

deliberated how to deal with the Quakers, ſaid 'Hang them, or elſe' (drawing his finger athwart his throat) as if he would have ſaid, 'Diſpatch 'em this way.' Now the march began, and a drummer going next before the condemned, the drums were beaten, eſpecially when any of them attempted to ſpeak. Glorious ſigns of heavenly joy and gladneſs were beheld in the countenances of theſe three perſons, who walked hand in hand, Mary being the middlemoſt, who made the marſhal ſay to her, who was pretty aged, and ſtricken in years, 'Are not you aſhamed to walk thus hand in hand between two young men?' 'No,' replied ſhe, 'this is to me an hour of the greateſt joy I could enjoy in this world. No eye can ſee, nor ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can underſtand, the ſweet incomes, or influence, and the refreſhings of the Spirit of the Lord, which now I feel.' Thus going along, W. Robinſon ſaid, 'This is your hour, and the power of darkneſs.' But preſently the drums were beaten; yet ſhortly after, the drummers leaving off beating, Marmaduke Stevenſon ſaid, 'This is the day of your viſitation, wherein the Lord hath viſited you.' More he ſpoke, but could not be underſtood, by reaſon of the drums being beaten again. Yet they went on with great chearfulneſs, as going to an everlaſting wedding feaſt, and rejoicing that the Lord had counted them worthy to ſuffer death for his name's ſake.

When they were come near the gallows, the prieſt ſaid in a taunting way to W. Robinſon, 'Shall ſuch jacks as you come in before authority with their hats on?' To which Robinſon replied, 'Mind you, mind you, it is for the not putting off the hat we are put to death!' Now being come to the ladder, they took leave of each other with tender embraces, and then Robinſon went chearfully up the ladder, and being got up, ſaid to the people, 'This is the day of your viſitation, wherein the Lord hath viſited you: this is the day the Lord is riſen in his mighty power, to be avenged on all his adverſaries.' He alſo ſignified, that he ſuffered not as an evil doer; and deſired the ſpectators to mind the light that was in them; to wit, the Light of Chriſt, of which he teſtified, and was now

going to ſeal it with his blood. This ſo incenſed the envious prieſt, that he ſaid, 'Hold thy tongue; be ſilent; thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth.' The rope being now about his neck, the executioner bound his hands and legs, and tied his neckcloth about his face: which being done, Robinſon ſaid, 'Now ye are made manifeſt;' and the executioner being about turning him off, he ſaid, 'I ſuffer for Chriſt, in whom I live, and for whom I die.' He being turned off, Marmaduke Stephenſon ſtepped up the ladder, and ſaid, 'Be it known unto all this day, that we ſuffer not as evil doers, but for conſcience ſake.' And when the hangman was about to turn him off, he ſaid 'This day ſhall we be at reſt with the Lord;' and ſo he was turned off.

Mary Dyar ſeeing her companions hanging dead before her, alſo ſtepped up the ladder; but after her coats were tied about her feet, the halter put about her neck, and her face covered with a handkerchief, which the prieſt Wilſon lent the hangman, juſt as ſhe was to be turned off, a cry was heard, 'Stop, for ſhe is reprieved.' Her feet then being looſed, they bade her come down. But ſhe, whoſe mind was already as it were in heaven, ſtood ſtill, and ſaid, ſhe was there willing to ſuffer as her brethren did, unleſs they would annul their wicked law. Little heed was given to what ſhe ſaid, but they pulled her down, and the marſhal and others taking her by the arms, carried her to priſon again. That ſhe thus was freed from the gallows this time, was at the interceſſion of her ſon, to whom it ſeems they could not then reſolve to deny that favour. She now having heard why ſhe was reprieved, writ the next day, being the 28th of October, the following letter to the court.

The 28th of the Eighth month, 1659.

'Once more to the general court aſſembled in Boſton, ſpeaks Mary Dyar, even as before. My life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in compariſon of the lives and liberty of the Truth, and ſervants of the living God, for which in the bowels of love and meekneſs I ſought you: yet, nevertheleſs, with wicked hands have you put two of them

to death, which makes me to feel, that the mercies of the wicked is cruelty. I rather chooſe to die than to live, as from you, as guilty of their innocent blood: therefore, ſeeing my requeſt is hindered, I leave you to the righteous Judge, and ſearcher of all hearts, who, with the pure meaſure of light he hath given to every man to profit withal, will in his due time let you ſee whoſe ſervants you are, and of whom you have taken counſel, which I deſire you to ſearch into: but all his counſel hath been ſlighted, and you would none of his reproofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to 32. For verily the night cometh on you apace, wherein no man can work, in which you ſhall aſſuredly fall to your own maſter. In obedience to the Lord, whom I ſerve with my ſpirit, and pity to your ſouls, which you neither know nor pity, I can do no leſs than once more to warn you, to put away the evil of your doings; and kiſs the ſon, the light in you, before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if theſe things be not ſo, then ſay, there hath been no prophet from the Lord ſent amongſt you; though we be nothing, yet it is his pleaſure, by things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your laſt order read, it was a diſturbance unto me, that was ſo freely offering up my life to him that gave it me, and ſent me hither ſo to do, which obedience being his own work, he gloriouſly accompanied with his preſence, and peace, and love in me, in which I reſted from my labour; till by your order and the people, I was ſo far diſturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I ſhould return to priſon, and there remain forty and eight hours; to which I ſubmitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleaſure and counſel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I ſaid before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

'Mary Dyar.'

The magiſtrates now perceiving that the putting William

Robinſon and Marmaduke Stephenſon to death, cauſed great diſcontent among the people, reſolved to ſend away Mary Dyar, thereby to calm their minds a little. And ſo ſhe was put on horſeback, and by four horſemen conveyed fifteen miles towards Rhode Iſland, where ſhe was left with a horſe and a man, to be conveyed the reſt of the way: which ſhe ſoon ſent back, and ſo repaired home. By the ſtyle of her letters, and her undaunted carriage, it appears that ſhe had indeed ſome extraordinary qualities; I find alſo, that ſhe was of a comely and grave countenance, of a good family and eſtate, and a mother of ſeveral children: but her huſband it ſeems was of another perſuaſion..

Whilſt I now leave her at home, I am to ſay that one John Camberlain, an inhabitant of Boſton, having ſeen the execution of W. Robinſon and M. Stephenſon, was ſo reached by their pious ſpeeches, that he received the doctrine of the Truth, for which they died: but his viſiting thoſe in priſon was ſo ill reſented, that afterwards he was whipped ſeveral times ſeverely; as was alſo Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem: who having ſaid that the guilt of Robinſon and Stephenſon's blood was ſo great and heavy, that he was not able to bear it, was, for this his pretended ſaucineſs, whipped with twenty laſhes, and fined twenty pounds.

But before I quite leave the perſons that were hanged, I muſt ſay, that being dead, their countenance ſtill looked freſh; (for the terror of death had not ſeized them). But being cut down, they were very barbarouſly uſed, none taking hold of their bodies: which ſo fell down on the ground, that thereby the ſkull of W. Robinſon was broken: and even their ſhirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies caſt into a hole which was digged, without any covering. And when ſome of their friends would have laid their bodies into coffins, it was denied them. Neither would they ſuffer the place where the bodies were caſt, to be fenced with pales, leſt ravenous beaſts might prey upon them.

When the people returned from the execution, many ſeemed ſad and heavy; and coming to the draw-bridge, one end of it fell upon ſome, and ſeveral were hurt, eſpe-

cially a wicked woman, who had reviled the ſaid two perſons at their death; but now ſhe was ſo bruiſed, that her fleſh rotted from her bones, which made ſuch a noiſome ſtink, that people could not endure to be with her: in which miſerable condition ſhe remained till ſhe died. But the magiſtrates, inſtead of taking notice of this, grew more hardened; and prieſt Wilſon did not ſtick to make a ballad on the executed.

Now I return again to Mary Dyar, who being come to Rhode Iſland, went from thence to Long Iſland, where ſhe ſtaid the moſt part of the winter: and then coming home again, ſhe was moved to return to the bloody town of Boſton, whither ſhe came on the 21ſt of the Third month, 1660, and on the 31ſt ſhe was ſent for by the general court. Being come, the governor, John Endicot, ſaid, 'Are you the ſame Mary Dyar that was here before?' And it ſeems he was preparing an evaſion for her, there having been another of that name returned from Old England. But ſhe was ſo far from diſguiſing, that ſhe anſwered undauntedly, 'I am the ſame Mary Dyar that was here the laſt general court.' Then Endicot ſaid, 'You will own yourſelf a Quaker, will you not?' To which Mary Dyar ſaid, 'I own myſelf to be reproachfully called ſo.' Then the gaoler (who would alſo ſay ſomething) ſaid, 'She is a vagabond.' And Endicot ſaid, the ſentence was paſt upon her the laſt general court, and now likewiſe: 'You muſt return to the priſon, and there remain till to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you muſt go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead.' To which Mary Dyar ſaid, 'This is no more than what thou ſaidſt before.' And Endicot returned, 'But now it is to be executed; therefore prepare yourſelf to-morrow at nine o'clock.' She then ſpoke thus: 'I came in obedience to the will of God the laſt general court, deſiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of baniſhment on pain of death; and that ſame is my work now, and earneſt requeſt; although I told you, that if you refuſed to repeal them, the Lord would ſend others of his ſervants to witneſs againſt them,' Hereupon Endicot aſked her, whether ſhe was a propheteſs? And ſhe anſwered, ſhe ſpoke the words that

the Lord ſpoke in her; and now the thing was come to paſs.' And beginning to ſpeak of her call, Endicot cried, 'Away with her; away with her.' So ſhe was brought to the priſon-houſe where ſhe was before, and kept cloſe ſhut up until the next day.

About the appointed time the marſhal Michaelſon came, and called her to come haſtily; and coming into the room where ſhe was, ſhe deſired him to ſtay a little; and ſpeaking mildly, ſaid, ſhe ſhould be ready preſently. But he being of a rough temper, ſaid he could not wait upon her, but ſhe ſhould now wait upon him. One Margaret Smith, her companion, being grieved to ſee ſuch hard-heartedneſs, ſpoke ſomething againſt their unjuſt laws and proceedings: to which he ſaid, 'You ſhall have your ſhare of the ſame.' Then Mary Dyar was brought forth, and with a band of ſoldiers led through the town, the drums being beaten before and behind her, and ſo continued, that none might hear her ſpeak all the way to the place of execution, which was about a mile. With this guard ſhe came to the gallows, and being gone up the ladder, ſome ſaid to her, that if ſhe would return, ſhe might come down and ſave her life. To which ſhe replied, 'Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in his will I abide faithful to the death.' Then captain John Webb ſaid, that ſhe had been there before, and had the ſentence of baniſhment upon pain of death, and had broken the law in coming again now; and therefore ſhe was guilty of her own blood. To which ſhe returned, 'Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltineſs from you, deſiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjuſt law of baniſhment upon pain of death, made againſt the innocent ſervants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your hands, who wilfully do it: but for thoſe that do it in the ſimplicity of their hearts, I deſire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I ſtand even to death.' Then prieſt Wilſon ſaid, 'Mary Dyar, O repent, O repent, and be not ſo deluded, and carried away by the deceit of the devil.' To this Mary Dyar anſwered, 'Nay, man, I am not now to repent.' And being aſked by ſome, whether ſhe would have the

elders pray for her, ſhe ſaid, 'I know never an elder here.' Being further aſked, whether ſhe would have any of the people to pray for her? She anſwered, ſhe deſired the prayers of all the people of God. Thereupon ſome ſcoffingly ſaid, 'It may be ſhe thinks there is none here.' She looking about, ſaid, 'I know but few here.' Then they ſpoke to her again, that one of the elders might pray for her. To which ſhe replied, 'Nay, firſt a child, then a young man, then a ſtrong man, before an elder in Chriſt Jeſus.' After this ſhe was charged with ſomething which was not underſtood what it was, but ſhe ſeemed to hear it; for ſhe ſaid, 'It is falſe, it is falſe; I never ſpoke thoſe words.' Then one mentioned that ſhe ſhould have ſaid, ſhe had been in paradiſe. To which ſhe anſwered, 'Yea, I have been in paradiſe ſeveral days.' And more ſhe ſpoke of the eternal happineſs into which ſhe was now to enter. In this well-diſpoſed condition ſhe was turned off, and died a martyr of Chriſt, being twice led to death, which the firſt time ſhe expected with undaunted courage, and now ſuffered with Chriſtian fortitude.

Thus this honeſt, valiant woman finiſhed her days: but ſo hardened were theſe perſecutors, that one of the court ſaid ſcoffingly, 'She did hang as a flag for others to take example by.' And putting to death for religion did not yet ceaſe, as will be related hereafter: but firſt I will take a turn again to Old England, where there was now great diviſion, and a revolution in the ſtate.

About the beginning of this year, E. Burrough writ the following letter to the parliament, which then had the power again in their hands.

'Friends,

'All theſe overturnings, and almoſt wonderful changings, were effected through the juſtice of the Lord's hand. You are now again at the ſtern of government, and on the throne; and I dare not but ſay it is of and by the Lord, and that he hath done it contrary to the expectations of many; and what his end is in it, remains with him. But I am ſure one cauſe is, that you may execute part of his

wrath upon that treacherous generation of hypocritical and deceitful men, ſome of the army I mean. I need not ſay to you, how that many of them were raiſed up from a low eſtate; and, inſtead of ſerving the nation, became their lords and oppreſſors: they have abuſed the Lord's mercy to them, and exalted themſelves, and became as great oppreſſors, and as grievous to the nation, as ever they were that went before them; and ſome of them took the very titles and eſtates of their enemies, and followed their evil ſpirit alſo, though the Lord was long ſuffering to them, and gave them a day; and put opportunity into their hands, wherein they might have done good; but they alſo neglected to ſerve God and the nation, to ſerve themſelves; and becauſe of the ambition and pride of ſome of them, the Lord ſuffered them to make this laſt interruption upon you, which was great treachery in man's account, that thereby their meaſure might be filled up, and that he might give you occaſion againſt them, and ſuffer you to be filled with indignation towards them, to break them to pieces: and what you do to ſome of them, in caſting them out, and afflicting them, you are but God's executioners therein; you are the executioners of his anger, in what you do to them; and who ſhall prevent you, or forbid you to go on? For they have long enough diſſembled with this nation, in profeſſing more than others, and doing leſs: and their downfall is now. And God hath looked upon you to be hard-hearted and cruel enough, and very fit executioners of vengeance upon ſuch men, as I have mentioned.

'But now concerning you, and your preſent ſtate, as you are in preſent place and power, I have ſomething to ſay to you; though they are fallen, and you yet ſtand, and you have a little time after them; but this I ſay, do not glory over their fall, neither glory as though you ſhould ſtand for ever; for they were not greater ſinners than you are, neither are you one whit more righteous than ſome of them; but you are as ſure to fall, as they are fallen, with no leſs meaſure of diſhonour and affliction than is come upon them; and you are in your laſt hour; and I dare not ſay, that God expects much more from you,

than for the end aforeſaid, viz. to be the executioners of juſtice upon men as ſinful as yourſelves: ſo do not glory over them that are fallen; but know that your time alſo is but ſhort, and your fall may prove to your deſtruction, and theirs may prove to make them better, and refine them: and if God hath choſen you to execute ſome part of his wrath upon them, for their wickedneſs, he will doubtleſs find inſtruments to execute his wrath upon you, elſe he will do it with his own hands; for he purpoſeth not to ſpare you; for your ſins cry as loud as any other people's, and the oppreſſions are as great under you, as under them whom you condemn. And I deſire, if there be any good men amongſt you, that ſuch who are wiſe may conſider, and mind the hand of the Lord in and through all theſe things that are come to paſs; for God is working as well as you, he is ſeeking to ſet up a kingdom as well as you, and his government and yours cannot ſtand together; and he will make you know that he is ſtronger, and his government of more force, and your kingdom cannot ſtand in place with his.

'Therefore, Oh that you would take heed! Oh that you would be wiſe, if ſo be ſome of you may be ſpared! and be not too zealous in your way, nor too furious in your proceedings; do but do to others as you intend to receive from others, and from the Lord; and go not beyond your commiſſion; for a permiſſion at leaſt you have had from God, even to ſcourge hypocrites, and to be a judgment upon that hypocritical, ſeeming religious generation of men aforeſaid; which have many a time as it were mocked God, and pretended love to him with their lips, when their hearts have yearned after ſelf-honour, and treaſures of this world: I ſay, your preſent hour and permiſſion is for this end, but not to perſecute the people of the Lord, nor to deſtroy God's heritage; but if you ſhall extend your power unto ſuch a work, and if you do perſecute the innocent without cauſe, and make war againſt the Lamb and his followers, and make laws, and execute them to the oppreſſion of the ſaints of the Moſt High, then you go beyond your commiſſion; for God hath not called you unto this, but to be inſtruments

in another cauſe. And the children of Zion, they truſt in the living God, and fear not the terror of mighty men, neither can they be afraid at the roaring of the ſea, nor at the preſent threatening of the heathen, for God is with them. And I ſay unto you, the ſervant of the Lord hath pondered and conſidered all theſe proceedings, and viewed the preſent ſtate of things at this day, and there is no viſion from God unto you of peace and comfort, nor of a happy and laſting government, as you ſtand: if any prophet ſhall divine this into you, he ſpeaks what he hath not from the Lord, but the viſion of his own heart, and he deceives you and himſelf; for you are not eſtabliſhed upon a right foundation, neither are you acted by a right ſpirit, which can truly govern for God; but the ſpirit of wrath and fury is put into you, for the work which you are called. And I know not how to warn you, that you do not perſecute the people of God: for why? It may be you muſt fill up your meaſure of wickedneſs thereby, that God may break you perpetually; yet the leſs will be your judgment, if you do it not: but and if you do it, the Lord will take occaſion againſt you, to wound you, and you ſhall never be healed, and as you do afflict others, ſo and much more ſhall it be done unto you from the Lord.

'Wherefore conſider what I have ſaid; for this is the viſion of the Almighty unto you, that ſhall not go unfulfilled: and what you do, you muſt do it quickly; for your time is ſhort, and your power will God ſubdue; and his kingdom and power will he ſpeedily exalt over your heads, and make you and the nations know that he is God, and that all power is with him, and that he can do whatſoever he will; and it is his right alone to reign, and his childrens portion to poſſeſs the kingdom with him. Let the whole earth, and all the powers thereof, bow and tremble before him: let not your hearts be ſtout and rebellious againſt him, for he can grind you to powder, and ſink you into confuſion and miſery, as a ſtone into the ſea.'

This was directed for the hands of the ſpeaker in parliament, and accordingly was given to William Lenthal, being incloſed to him with theſe lines following:

'Friend,

'The incloſed I do commend unto thee to preſent unto the houſe, and to endeavour ſincerely the reading of it in your aſſembly; for it is of ſpecial concernment to you all; and in the name of the Lord, and by his Spirit, I do charge thee not to be negligent in this matter, as though it were not of worth to you; and I do lay it upon thee, as a work of righteouſneſs and truth, to be done by thee, as thou wilt anſwer the contrary at the dreadful day of God, when the King of righteouſneſs ſhall judge thee and all mankind.

'E. Burrough.'

The 24th of the Eleventh month, 1659.

This parliament did ſo lord it, that about fifteen hundred military officers were caſhiered, and others put into their places.

About this time George Fox the younger writ alſo a letter to the parliament and the army, which was as followeth:

'Your day into darkneſs is turned; the ſun is gone down over you. You have had a large day, and power given unto you, to have done the will of God; but you have abuſed the power, and ſlighted your day; and you have refuſed to do the Lord's work, and have ſought to ſerve yourſelves, and not the Lord; therefore in juſtice and righteouſneſs, is the day wherein you might have wrought for God, taken from you; and the thick dark night of confuſion is come upon you, wherein you are groping and ſtumbling, and cannot work; the decree is gone out, and ſealed againſt you, and it cannot be recalled; you are not the men (as ye ſtand) in whom God will appear to work deliverance for his people, and creatures; (and yet deliverance ſhall come, but not according to man's expectations). But as for you, ye have rejected the counſel of the Lord, and grieved his Spirit, and he hath long borne you; yea, you are departed from the Lord, and his preſence is departed from you; indeed he hath hewed with you (and if you had been faithful to the end,

he would have honoured and proſpered you, and would have been your ſufficient reward) ye were his axe, but you have boaſted yourſelves againſt him; therefore as you have beaten, and hewed, and broken others, even ſo muſt you be beaten, hewed, and broken; for you have grievouſly provoked the Lord; and if he ſhould now ſuffer that tree, which ye have cut, to fall upon you, and to break part of you, it were juſt.

'O ye treacherous, wilful, proud, ſelf-ſeeking people, who have deſpiſed the counſel of the Lord, and would not take warning, though he hath ſent his prophets and ſervants early and late among you, ſome of whom you have impriſoned and deſpitefully uſed; what will ye do now? Whom will ye now flee unto for help; ſeeing ye are departed from the Lord, and are now rendering and tearing, biting and devouring one another, for proud, ambitious, ſelf ends? (mark) If you would now build again the thing that you once deſtroyed, that ſhall not be able to hide or ſhelter you from the wrath of the Lamb; that way whereby you think to ſtrengthen yourſelves, thereby ſhall you make yourſelves much weaker, and help forward your own deſtruction; you are now but a rod, remember your end, which haſtens greatly. Now breach upon breach, inſurrection upon inſurrection, overturning upon overturning, heaps upon heaps, diviſion upon diviſion ſhall there be, until he come to reign, whoſe right it is; and all nations muſt bow before him, elſe he will break them with his iron rod.

'They that truſt in, or lean upon you for help, it is as if they leaned upon a broken reed, which is not able to help itſelf, nor others; indeed you have been made to do many good things, but you would not go through with the work which God will have accompliſhed, and therefore are theſe things come upon you; therefore tremble and dread before the Lord, ye who have been as ſtrong oaks, and tall cedars, for now ſhall your ſtrength fail you, and you ſhall be weak, even as the weakeſt of men; but if you would yet believe in the light, and truly ſubmit to God's righteous judgments, many of you might come to witneſs your ſouls ſaved, in the day of the Lord; though

many of your bodies are to be thrown by (becauſe of your grievous backſlidings), as not counted worthy to be the Lord's workmen.

'There is a ſmall remnant yet among you (for whom my ſoul breathes) who may be winnowed out; and if they will own the judgments of the Lord, and truly and thoroughly deny themſelves, and follow his leadings, he will heal their backſlidings, and purge them, that ſo they may be inſtruments in his hand: but they that will continue with you in your ſins, ſhall partake with you of your judgments.

'The rod of the wicked ſhall not always reſt upon the back of the righteous; yet even as gold is tried, ſo ſhall they be, that they may be white, and without ſpot before the Lamb; but God will avenge their cauſe, and woe then will be to their oppreſſors; and then ſhall the majeſty and the glory of the Lord fill his people (who have long been trodden under) and they ſhall be the dread of all nations; the zeal of the Lord of Hoſts ſhall perform this.

'George Fox, the younger.'

11th Month (59).

This letter being printed, a copy of it was given to each parliament man, before Monk with his army came into London: and how ſoon the predictions contained therein, as well as thoſe of E. Burrough, in the foregoing year, came to be fulfilled, when many of the great ones were hanged and quartered, we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

General Monk came now, with part of the army he commanded, out of Scotland, into England, and made great alterations among the officers, putting in ſuch as were believed to be no enemies to Charles Stuart; for whatſoever Monk ſaid of his reſolution to be true and faithful to the parliament, and to promote the intereſt of a commonwealth; yet it appeared ere long that he aimed at ſomething elſe; which he could do the eaſier, becauſe he wanted not adherents in the parliament; though he did not ſtick to ſay to Edmund Ludlow, 'We muſt live and die for, and with, a commonwealth:' and to others he declared, that he would oppoſe to the utmoſt the

ſetting up of Charles Stuart. In the mean-while he ſo ordered it, that many members of the parliament, that had been long excluded as unqualified, took ſeſſion again in that aſſembly; and theſe brought it about, that ſir George Booth, who was confined to the Tower, for having carried on a deſign for Charles Stuart, was ſet at liberty. Neither was the city of London in a condition to oppoſe Monk; for he cauſed the port-culliſſes, and doors of the city gates, and the poſts to be pulled down; and the royaliſts were now become ſo bold, that they printed a liſt of the names of the judges that condemned king Charles the Firſt to death; and ſome of them were ſecured, whilſt others fled away. General Lambert was alſo ſent to the Tower, and Monk, whoſe authority now increaſed, ſent for the lords, who until the year 1648, had ſate in parliament, and bade them return to the houſe where they formerly uſed to ſit.

In theſe overturnings G. Fox came to London, to wit, in the time when they were breaking the city gates. He then writ a paper to thoſe that were now ſinking, and told them, that now the prophecies were fulfilling upon them, which had been ſpoken to them; and that they who uſed to call the Quakers fanaticks, and giddyheads, now ſeemed themſelves giddy, and fugitives, or wanderers.

From London G. Fox went to Suſſex, and from thence to Dorſetſhire. At Dorcheſter he had a great meeting in the evening at the inn where he lodged, and there came many ſoldiers, who were pretty civil. But the conſtables and officers of the town came alſo, under pretence to look for a Jeſuit, whoſe head, they ſaid, was ſhaved. So they took off G. Fox's hat, but not finding any bald place on his head, they went away with ſhame. This was of good ſervice among the ſoldiers and others, and it affected the people, who were turned to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Then he paſſed into Somerſetſhire, where his friends meetings were often diſturbed. One time there came a wicked man, who having a bear's ſkin on his back, played ugly pranks in the meeting; and ſetting himſelf oppoſite to the perſon that was preaching, lolled his tongue out of his mouth, and ſo made ſport for his wicked followers,

and cauſed great diſturbance in the meeting. But as he went back from thence, an eminent judgment overtook him; for there being a bull-baiting in the way, he ſtaid to ſee; and coming within his reach, the bull puſhed his horn under the man's chin, into his throat, and forced his tongue out of his mouth, ſo that it hung out in the ſame manner as before he lolled it out in deriſion in the meeting: and the bull running his horn into the man's head, ſwung him about in a moſt fearful manner.

G. Fox travelling through Somerſetſhire, came into Devonſhire, and ſo went into Cornwal, till he came to the Land's End. Whilſt he was in Cornwal, there were great ſhipwrecks about the Land's End. Now it was the cuſtom of that country, that at ſuch times both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to ſave the peoples' lives; and this cuſtom ſo prevailed, that in ſome parts of the country they called ſhipwrecks God's grace. This grieved G. Fox not a little, conſidering how far theſe profeſſed Chriſtians were below the heathen at Melita; who courteouſly received Paul, and the others that had ſuffered ſhipwreck with him, and made him a fire. On this conſideration, he was moved to write a paper to the magiſtrates, prieſts, and others, both high and low; in which he ſhewed them the wickedneſs of their deeds, and reproved them for ſuch greedy actions, telling them how they were ready to fight with one another for the ſpoil, and ſpend what they got in taverns or alehouſes, letting thoſe that eſcaped drowning, go a begging up and down the country. Therefore he ſeriouſly exhorted them, to do unto others, what they would have done to themſelves.

This paper he ſent to all the pariſhes thereabouts: and after having had many meetings in Cornwal, and ſeveral eminent people being convinced of the Truth preached by him, he went to Briſtol, where the meetings of his friends were exceedingly diſturbed by the ſoldiers. Having heard this, he deſired George Biſhop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed, and Edward Pyot, to go to the mayor and aldermen, and deſire them to let his friends have the town-hall to meet in, provided it ſhould not be on ſuch days when the

mayor and aldermen had buſineſs to do in it; and that for this uſe they would give twenty pounds a year, to be diſtributed among the poor. Theſe four perſons were aſtoniſhed at this propoſal, and ſaid, the mayor and aldermen would think them mad; for the mayor and the commander of the ſoldiers had combined together to make a diſturbance in their meetings. But G. Fox ſo encouraged them, that at laſt they conſented to what he deſired. Being come to the mayor, he was moderate beyond expectation; and when they had laid the thing before him, he ſaid, for his part, he could conſent to it; but he was but one. So they left him in a loving frame of mind; and coming back, G. Fox deſired them to go alſo to the colonel that commanded the ſoldiers, and to acquaint him of their rude carriage, and how they diſturbed the meetings. But the aforeſaid four perſons were backward to go to him. Next morning being the Firſt day of the week, a meeting was kept in an orchard, where many people came; and after G. Fox had been preaching a pretty while, there came ſeveral rude ſoldiers, ſome with drawn ſwords, and ſome drunk, and among theſe, one that had bound himſelf with an oath, to cut down, and kill the man that ſpoke. But when he came preſſing in through the croud, and was within two yards of G. Fox, he ſtopped at thoſe four perſons before mentioned, and fell a jangling with them; but at length his ſword was put up again. The next day they went and ſpoke with the colonel, and he having heard how miſchievous his ſoldiers had been, ſent for them, and cut and ſlaſhed ſome of them. When this was told G. Fox, he blamed thoſe his friends, thinking they might have prevented the cutting of the ſoldiers, if they had gone to the colonel when he would have had them. Yet this had ſuch effect, that the meeting there was kept without diſturbance a good while after.

G. Fox then alſo had a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Briſtol, at which were ſeveral thouſands of people; and ſo many of Briſtol, that ſome ſaid, the city looked naked; and all was quiet.

But in other places, about this time, things were not ſo quiet; for the ſoldiers, under general Monk's command,

were often very rude in diſturbing of meetings. But when complaint was made to him, who was then at Weſtminſter, he ſhewed, that he would not countenance ſuch wickedneſs, and did in that reſpect better than ſeveral other generals had done, for he gave forth the following order.

'St. James's, March 9, 1659-60.

'I do require all officers and ſoldiers, to forbear to diſturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

'George Monk.'

Monk having this long declared for a commonwealth, and againſt a king, began now to take off the maſk; for the old lords had now taken their places again in the Houſe of Peers, out of which they had been kept ſo many years; and by the advice of Monk, Charles Stuart (who for ſeveral years had lived at Cologne, and, having made a voyage to Spain, was from thence come, by France, to Bruſſels) repaired to Breda: and in England it being reſolved upon to call him back, and to reſtore him, he gave forth the following declaration at Breda: thereby to perſuade thoſe that were yet backward, to acknowledge him.

'Charles R.

'Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, greeting. If the general diſtraction and confuſion which is ſpread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a deſire and longing that thoſe wounds which have for ſo many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can ſay will be to no purpoſe. However, after this long ſilence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we deſire to contribute thereunto: and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time to obtain the poſſeſſion of that right which God and nature hath made our due; ſo we do make it our daily ſuit to

the Divine Providence, that he will, in compaſſion to us and our ſubjects, after ſo long miſery and ſufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is poſſible. Nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our ſubjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deſired.

'And to the end that the fear of puniſhment may not engage any, conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a perſeverance in guilt for the future; by oppoſing the quiet and happineſs of their country, in the reſtoration both of king, peers, and people, to their juſt, ancient, and fundamental rights; we do by theſe preſents declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand to paſs under our great ſeal of England, to all our ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, who within forty days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this our grace and favour; and ſhall by any publick act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good ſubjects; excepting only ſuch perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by parliament. Thoſe only excepted, let all our ſubjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the word of a king, ſolemnly given by this preſent declaration, that no crime whatſoever, committed againſt us, or our royal father, before the publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in judgment, or be brought in queſtion againſt any of them, to the leaſt endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or eſtates; or as far forth as lies in our power, ſo much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of diſtinction, from the reſt of our beſt ſubjects; we deſiring, and ordaining, that henceforward all notes of diſcord, ſeparation, and difference of parties, be utterly aboliſhed among all our ſubjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themſelves, under our protection, for the reſettlement of our juſt rights, and theirs, in a free parliament, by which, upon the word of a king, we will be adviſed.'

'And becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the times have produced ſeveral opinions in religion; by which men are engaged in parties and animoſities againſt each other, which, when they ſhall hereafter unite, in a freedom of converſation, will be compoſed, or better underſtood; we do declare a liberty to tender conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an act of parliament, as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

'And becauſe in the continual diſtractions of ſo many years, and ſo many and great revolutions, many grants and purchaſes of eſtates, have been made to, and by, many officers, ſoldiers, and others, who are now poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to actions at law upon ſeveral titles. We are likewiſe willing that all ſuch differences, and all things relating to ſuch grants, ſales, and purchaſes, ſhall be determined in parliament; which can beſt provide for the juſt ſatisfaction of all men who are concerned.

'And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to conſent to any act, or acts of parliament, to the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the full ſatisfaction of all arrears due to the officers, and ſoldiers of the army, under the command of general Monk; and that they ſhall be received into our ſervice, upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

'Given under our ſign manual and privy ſignet, at our court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the Twelfth year of our reign.'

The original of this declaration was ſent to the Houſe of Lords, and a duplicate in a letter to the Houſe of Commons; and repeated and ſent in a letter to general Monk, the council of ſtate, and the officers of the army. Hereupon it was reſolved by the parliament, to prepare an anſwer; and both in the Houſe of Lords, and in the Houſe of Commons, it was voted to proclaim king Charles at

Whitehall, and in London, as lawful ſovereign of his kingdoms, which was done on the 8th of the month called May.

Now the king, who by the Spaniards was invited to return to Bruſſels, and by the French to come to Calais, choſe, at the preſſing invitation of the States-general of the United Provinces, to go by Holland: and ſo he went, with the yachts of the States, to Rotterdam, and from thence with coaches to the Hague; where having ſtaid ſome days, he took ſhipping at Schevelinghen for England, and made his entry at London on the anniverſary of his birth-day. Thus we ſee Charles the Second, who not long after he was crowned, reſtored not by the ſword, but by the marvellous hand of the Lord.

About this time G. Fox the younger came to Harwich, where he was haled out of a meeting, and impriſoned under a pretence of having cauſed a tumult. But to give to the reader a true ſight of the matter, I muſt go back a little.

About four years before this time, ſome of the people called Quakers, being come into the ſaid town, one of them ſpoke a few words by way of exhortation to the people that came from the ſteeple-houſe; and paſſing on, he and thoſe with him went to an inn. The mayor hearing thereof, ſent to them, commanding that they ſhould depart the town, which they did after a ſhort ſpace; but about night they returned, and lodged at their inn, and the next day paſſed away peaceably. Not long after, the woman that kept the inn, was commanded to come before the magiſtrates; who threatened to take away her licence, unleſs ſhe promiſed to lodge no more ſuch perſons. But how eager ſoever they were for keeping out the Quakers, yet it proved ineffectual; for it ſeems ſome of thoſe that had been ſpoken to in the ſtreets, were ſo reached, that they came to be obedient to the inward teachings of the Lord they had been recommended to. And ſo a way was made for meetings there, whereby the number of thoſe of that ſociety began to increaſe. And becauſe they could no longer comply with ſuperſtitious burials, they bought a piece of ground to bury their dead in, but met with great oppoſition at their burials; and once, when ſeveral came

along to bury a corpſe, it was by force taken from them, and ſet by the ſea ſide, where having lain above ground part of two days and one night, it was privately covered by ſome with ſmall ſtones.

In the month called May, G. Fox the younger came to Harwich, to preach the Truth there. The mayor of the town, whoſe name was Miles Hubbard, having heard of this, ſtopt ſeveral that were going to the meeting. The rude multitude ſeeing it, grew inſolent, and made a hideous noiſe before the houſe where the meeting was kept, and ſome were for pulling it down. G. Fox hearing the noiſe, whilſt he was preaching, grew very zealous, and with a mighty power was made to ſay, 'Woe, woe unto the rulers and teachers of this nation, who ſuffer ſuch ungodlineſs as this, and do not ſeek to ſuppreſs it.' Some that heard him thus ſpeaking, went and told the magiſtrates of it, perhaps not in the ſelf-ſame words as were uttered by him. The officers then coming, the mayor commanded the conſtables to take the ſaid G. Fox into cuſtody; who hearing this, ſaid, 'If I have done any thing worthy of death, or bonds, I ſhall not refuſe either; but I deſire thee to ſhew me what law I have tranſgreſſed; which thou oughteſt to do, before thou ſendeſt me to priſon, that I may know for what I am ſent hither.' But the mayor told him, he ſhould know that afterward; and ſo he was carried to priſon. Robert Graſſingham, who was ſhipwright of the admiralty in that port, being at the meeting, out of which G. Fox was haled, in love went freely along with him to priſon. This ſeemed to pleaſe the mayor, who ſome days before had been heard to ſay concerning Graſſingham, 'If I could but get him out of the town, I ſhould know what courſe to take with the other Quakers. Some time after G. Fox was impriſoned, a mittimus was ſent to the gaoler, in which the priſoner was charged with cauſing a tumult in that borough, and diſturbing the peace thereof. This mittimus was ſigned by Miles Hubbard, mayor, Anthony Woolward, and Daniel Smith; and theſe magiſtrates ſent notice of what they had done to the parliament, under a ſpecious pretence, that ſo they might not fall into diſgrace.

The parliament receiving this information, iſſued forth the following order:

'Monday, May 21, 1660.

'The houſe being informed, that two Quakers, that is to ſay, George Fox and Robert Graſſingham, have lately made a diſturbance at Harwich, and that the ſaid George Fox, who pretends to be a preacher, did lately in his preaching there, ſpeak words much reflecting on the government and miniſtry, to the near cauſing of a mutiny, and is now committed by the mayor and the magiſtrates there:

'Ordered, that the ſaid George Fox and Robert Graſſingham be forthwith brought up in cuſtody; and that the ſheriff of the county of Eſſex do receive them, and give them his aſſiſtance for the conveying them up accordingly, and delivering them into the charge of the ſerjeant at arms attending this houſe.

'Ordered, that the thanks of this houſe be given to the mayor and magiſtrates of Harwich for their care in this buſineſs.

'William Jeſſop,
'Clerk of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.'

By this it appeared that the magiſtrates of Harwich had ſpecial friends in the parliament. R. Graſſingham being at liberty, was gone to London; and when this order came to Harwich, G. Fox was delivered to the ſheriff of Eſſex and his men: theſe went with him to London, and upon the road they met Graſſingham, who was coming from London to Harwich, in purſuance of an order which he had received from the commiſſioner of the admiralty and navy, for refitting one of the king's frigates. But notwithſtanding Graſſingham ſhewed his order to the ſheriff, yet he brought him back to London with Fox, and delivered them into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms attending the houſe, who committed them to Lambeth houſe. They having been there about three weeks, writ a letter to the Houſe of Commons, wherein they gave ſome account of the manner of their impriſonment, and

deſired, that they with their accuſers might be brought face to face before the parliament, ſaying, that if any thing could be proved againſt them, worthy of puniſhment, they ſhould not refuſe it. But they thought it to be unjuſt and unreaſonable, that a man ſhould be haled out of a peaceable meeting, and ſent to priſon, without being examined, only for declaring againſt the curſing and the wickedneſs of the rude people, and againſt ſuch as ſuffered ſuch ungodlineſs, and did not ſeek to ſuppreſs it.

This was the chief contents of their paper, which they encloſed in a letter to the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons in theſe words:

For the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

'Friend,

'We deſire thee to communicate this encloſed to the Houſe of Commons, it being a few innocent, juſt, and reaſonable words to them, though not in the eloquent language of man's wiſdom, yet it is in the truth which is honourable.

We are friends to righteouſneſs and truth, and to all that are found therein.

'Robert Graſſingham,
'George Fox.'

But the ſpeaker did not deliver the paper, under pretence that it was not directed with the ordinary title, 'To the Right Honourable the Houſe of Commons.' Therefore by the help of their friends they got it printed, that ſo each member of parliament might have a copy of it. Now after they had lain about fourteen weeks in Lambeth gate-houſe without being examined, one of the members of parliament moved this buſineſs in the houſe; whereupon the following order was made:

Thurſday, October 30, 1660.

'Ordered that George Fox and Robert Graſſingham,

who by virtue of a former order of this houſe, were taken into cuſtody by the ſerjeant at arms attending this houſe, for ſome diſturbance at Harwich, be forthwith releaſed, and ſet at liberty, upon bail firſt given to render themſelves, when they ſhall be in that behalf required.

'William Jeſſop,
'Clerk of the Houſe of Commons.'

Shortly after this order was iſſued forth, the ſerjeant at arms ſent his clerk to demand fees and chamber rent of the priſoners, aſking fifty pounds for fees, and ten ſhillings a week for chamber rent. But ſince no evil was laid to their charge, they could not reſolve to ſatisfy this unreaſonable demand, yet offered to pay two ſhillings and ſixpence a week, though the chamber where they had lain, was the higheſt room in a lofty tower, and all the windows open, until they had gotten them glazed, without any charge to the ſerjeant. Matters ſtanding thus, their cauſe was referred to the king's privy council. But it laſted yet a good while before they were releaſed; for ſeveral evaſions was made uſe of to keep them in cuſtody.

Whilſt G. Fox was priſoner, he writ a little book, which he called, 'A Noble Salutation to king Charles Stuart,' wherein he ſhewed him how matters had gone in England, viz. That his father's party ſcorned thoſe that appeared in arms againſt them becauſe of their meanneſs; for they were tradeſmen, ploughmen, ſervants, and the like; which contemptible inſtruments God made uſe of to bring down the loftineſs of the others. But thoſe of the parliament party growing from time to time ſucceſsful, and prevailing, got into the poſſeſſions of thoſe they conquered, and fell into the ſame pride and oppreſſion which they had cried out againſt in others; and many of them became greater oppreſſors, and perſecutors than the former had been. Moreover, the author exhorted the king to obſerve the hand of the Lord in the reſtoring of him. 'Therefore,' ſaid he, 'Let no man deceive thee, by perſuading thee that theſe things are thus brought to paſs, becauſe the kingdom was thy own proper right, and becauſe it was

withheld from thee contrary to all right; or becauſe that thoſe called royaliſts are much more righteous than thoſe who are now fallen under thee. For I plainly declare unto thee, that this kingdom, and all the kingdoms of the earth, are properly the Lord's. And this know, that it was the juſt hand of God, in taking away the kingdom from thy father and thee, and giving it unto others; and that alſo it is the juſt hand of the Lord to take it again from them, and bring them under thee: though I ſhall not ſay, but that ſome of them went beyond their commiſſion againſt thy father, when they were brought as a rod over you; and well will it be for thee if thou becomeſt not guilty of the ſame tranſgreſſions.'

The author farther exhorts the king to conſider, this his ſtation was not without danger, becauſe of the changeableneſs of the people, a great part of which were perfidious; ſince one while they had ſworn for a king and parliament; and ſhortly after they ſwore againſt a king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords; and afterwards again they ſwore for a ſingle perſon. Some time after they cried up a parliament again. And when O. Cromwell had turned out the parliament, and ſet up himſelf, then the prieſt prayed for him, and aſſerted his authority to be juſt; and when he died, they fawned upon his ſon Richard, and blaſphemouſly termed his father the light of their eyes, and the breath of their noſtrils; and they told him, that God had left him to carry on that glorious work which his father had begun. Nay, ſome prieſts compared Oliver to Moſes, and Richard to Joſhua, who ſhould carry them into the promiſed land. Thus they continually would flatter thoſe that were at the helm. For when George Booth made a riſing, and they thought there would be a turn, then ſome of the prieſts cried out againſt the parliament, and curſed ſuch as would not go out againſt them. But when Booth was taken, then many began to petition the parliament, and to excuſe themſelves, that they had no hand in that riſing.

Next the author ſet forth the wickedneſs of the people by exceſſive drinking and drunkenneſs, thereby as it were to ſhew their loyalty to the king; and he relates alſo, how

having preached at Harwich, againſt the grievous wickedneſs of the people, he was haled to priſon in the king's name. Finally, he exhorts the king, to take heed of ſeeking revenge; and to ſhew mercy.

This paper, which was not a ſmall one, for it took up ſeveral ſheets, was delivered in writing by Richard Hubberthorn, into the king's hand at Whitehall, and was not long after by the author publiſhed in print.

Now one of the moſt eminent royaliſts drew up divers queries to the Quakers, deſiring them to anſwer them, and to direct their anſwer with this ſuperſcription, '*Tradite hanc amico Regis*,' that is, 'Deliver this to the king's friend.' For it was clearly ſeen, that ſeveral of their predictions came to be fulfilled, of which thoſe of Edward Burrough were not the leaſt. And therefore ſome (as it ſeems) thought that by the Quakers they might get ſome knowledge whether any ſtability of the king's government was to be expected. By the queries it appeared, that the author of them was a man of underſtanding, and of ſome moderation alſo; and though I do not know who he was, yet I am not without thoughts that Edward earl of Clarendon, and high chancellor, may have been the penman thereof. The tendency of theſe queries chiefly was to know from the Quakers, what their judgment was concerning the king's right to the crown; and whether they ever did forſee his return; and alſo whether they could judge that his reign and government ſhould be bleſſed or not. Moreover, whether he might juſtly forgive, or avenge himſelf; and whether he might allow liberty of conſcience to all ſorts of people, &c. Edward Burrough anſwered theſe queries, and publiſhed his anſwer in print. It was directed to the king and the royaliſts. In it he ſhewed, that in ſome of their writings it had been ſignified, that they had ſome expectations of the king's reſtoration. That the king's coming to the throne was reaſonable and equitable, becauſe through the purpoſe of the Lord. That his reign and government might be bleſſed, or not bleſſed, according to his carriage. And that he might juſtly forgive his, and his father's enemies; for though he and his father might have been injured,

yet for as much as they had applied to the ſword to determine their controverſy with the nation, the ſword went againſt them; and by that whereby they thought to ſtand, they did fall; and who then ſhould they blame for that which befel them, ſeeing the ſword, which they themſelves did chooſe, deſtroyed them. However, the author ſignified, that this was not meant of the king's death; that being quite another caſe. And if ſuch, who had deſtroyed kingly government in name and title, and pretended to govern better, and did not make reformation, but became oppreſſors, having broke their promiſes, came to be puniſhed on that account with death, or otherwiſe, ſuch could not be ſaid to ſuffer for a good conſcience, nor for righteouſneſs ſake; but it was becauſe they were oppreſſors; and ſuffering for that cauſe could not be called perſecution. 'But none of us (thus ran Edward Burrough's words) can ſuffer for that cauſe, as not being guilty thereof. If we ſuffer in your government, it is for the name of Chriſt; becauſe nothing can be charged againſt us in this capacity as we now ſtand, and in this ſtate into which we are now gathered and changed, not in any matter of action or rebellion againſt the king nor his father; nor in any thing but concerning the law and worſhip of our God, and the matters of his kingdom, and our pure conſciences. And if any that are now amongſt us were any way engaged in the parliament ſervice in the wars, it was not in rebellion againſt the king or his father, as that we ſought their deſtruction as men; but upon ſober and reaſonable principles, and not for corrupt ends, nor to get honour and riches to ourſelves, as ſome others might do, who went into the war for ſelf ends, and continued in action, after the cauſe which was once engaged for was utterly loſt. And that principle, which ſome time led ſome into action to oppoſe oppreſſion, and ſeek after reformation, that principle is ſtill juſtified, though we are now better informed than once we were. For though we do now more than ever oppoſe oppreſſion, and ſeek after reformation, yet we do it not in that way of outward warring and fighting with carnal weapons and ſwords; and you and the king ought to put a difference between

ſuch as ſome time acted in the wars againſt you, in and upon ſober and reaſonable principles, and that did not make themſelves rich and high in the world through your ſufferings, and between ſuch as have acted againſt you for ſelf ends, and have inſulted over you, and have made themſelves great and rich in this world through your afflictions and ſufferings.' To the query, whether the great afflictions ſuſtained by the king divers years, from ſubjects of his own nation, and the guilt thereof, did lie upon all the ſubjects in general; or whether upon any, or ſome particular ſorts of people, who were ſuch more than others; E. Burrough made this anſwer, 'So far as his ſufferings were unjuſt, the guilt thereof doth not lie upon all the ſubjects in general, but upon ſome more than others; and ſuch are eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed from others, if it be conſidered who they are that raiſed the war in this nation againſt the king, and who firſt preached and prayed up the war, and proſecuted it againſt the king's father, and who caſt out the biſhops and prelates from their places, and took their revenues and benefices, and are become men as corrupted, as covetous and ſelf-ſeeking, as proud and ambitious, as unjuſt perſecutors, as ever the men were which they caſt out: and who is it that hath gotten great eſtates in the nation, and worldly honour, and raiſed themſelves from nothing by the wars, and by your ſufferings; and who got the eſtates and titles of their enemies, and pretended to free them from all oppreſſions, but have not done it; but have continued the old oppreſſions, and have been ſtriving among themſelves who ſhould rule, and who ſhould be great? And as for us, who are called Quakers, we are clear from the guilt of all the king's ſufferings. We have not caſt out others, and taken their places of great benefices, neither have we made war with carnal weapons againſt any, never ſince we were a people. Neither have we broken oaths and engagements, nor promiſed freedom and deliverance, and for ſelf-ends and earthly riches betrayed, as others have done, what we have pretended to. And in many particulars it doth appear, that we are clear from his ſufferings, for we have been a ſuffering people as well as they, by the ſame ſpirit which

cauſed them to ſuffer, which hath been much more cruel, wicked, and unjuſt towards us, than it hath been towards them, though our perſecution hath been in another manner. But what they have done againſt us we can freely forgive them, and would have you to follow the ſame example. And if you could accuſe them in many things, ſo could we: but this is not a time to accuſe one another, but to forgive one another, and ſo to overcome your enemies. When they had gotten the victory, they did not reform, but became oppreſſors, as well as others, and became cruel towards others, that would not ſay and do as they: and for this cauſe the Lord hath brought them down, and may juſtly ſuffer others to deal with them as they have dealt with others. Yet notwithſtanding I muſt ſtill ſay, and it is my judgment, that there was very great oppreſſion and vexation under the government of the late king, and biſhops under his power, which the Lord was offended with, and many good people oppreſſed by; for which cauſe the Lord might and did juſtly raiſe up ſome to oppoſe, and ſtrive againſt oppreſſions and injuſtice, and to preſs after reformation in all things. And that principle of ſincerity, which in ſome things carried them on in oppoſing oppreſſions and preſſing after reformation, I can never deny, but acknowledge it; though many ſoon loſt it, and became ſelf-ſeekers, forgetting the cauſe pretended to,' &c.

This is but a ſmall part of the queries, and the anſwers thereunto, which E. Burrough concluded with a bold exhortation to the king, to fear and reverence the Lord.

Now we return again to G. Fox the elder, whom we left about Briſtol; from whence he paſſed to Glouceſter, Worceſter, Drayton (the place of his nativity) and Yorkſhire. In that country at that time a Yearly meeting was kept at Balby, in an orchard, where ſome thouſands of people were met together. At York, about thirty miles off notice being given of this meeting, a troop of horſe came from thence; and when G. Fox ſtood preaching in the meeting on a ſtool, two trumpeters came riding up, ſounding their trumpets pretty near him: and then the

captain bid him come down, for he was come (he ſaid) to diſperſe the meeting. G. Fox then ſpeaking, told him, he knew they were peaceable people; but if he did queſtion that they met in an hoſtile manner, he might make ſearch among them; and if he found either ſword or piſtol about any there, ſuch may ſuffer. But the captain told G. Fox, he muſt ſee them diſperſed, for he came all night on purpoſe to diſperſe them. G. Fox aſked him, what honour it would be to him to ride with ſwords and piſtols amongſt ſo many unarmed men and women? But if he would be ſtill and quiet, the meeting probably might not continue above two or three hours; and when it was done, as they came peaceably, ſo they ſhould part: for he might perceive, the meeting was ſo large, that all the country thereabouts could not entertain them, but that they intended to depart towards their homes at night. But the captain ſaid, he could not ſtay ſo long. G. Fox deſired then, that if he himſelf could not ſtay to ſee the meeting ended, he would let a dozen of his ſoldiers ſtay. To this the captain ſaid, he would permit them an hour's time; ſo he left ſix ſoldiers to ſtay there, and then went away with his troop: he being gone, the ſoldiers that were left, told thoſe that were met together, they might ſtay till night, if they would. This they were not for, but parted about three hours after, without any diſturbance. But if the ſoldiers had been of ſuch a temper as their captain, perhaps the meeting would not have ended thus quietly: for he was a deſperate man, having once told G. Fox in Scotland, that he would obey his ſuperiors' command; and if it were to crucify Chriſt, he would do it; or execute the great Turk's commands againſt the Chriſtians, if he were under him.

Now G. Fox went to Skipton, where there was a general meeting concerning the affairs of the church. For many of his friends ſuffered much, and their goods being taken from them, and ſome brought to poverty, there was a neceſſity to provide for them. This meeting had ſtood ſeveral years; for when the juſtices and captains came to break them up, and ſaw the books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, and how care was taken

that one county ſhould help another, and provide for the poor, they commended ſuch practice, and paſſed away in love. Sometimes there would come two hundred poor people, belonging to other ſocieties, and wait there till the meeting was done: and then the Friends would ſend to the baker's for bread, and give every one of theſe poor people a loaf, how many ſoever there were: for they were taught to do good unto all, though eſpecially to the houſehold of faith.

From hence G. Fox went to Lancaſter, and ſo to Swarthmore, where he was apprehended at the houſe of Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, judge Thomas Fell, her huſband, having been deceaſed about two years before. Now ſome imagined they had done a remarkable act; for one ſaid, he did not think a thouſand men could have taken G. Fox. They led him away to Ulverſtone, where he was kept all night at the conſtable's houſe, and a guard of fifteen or ſixteen men were ſet to watch him; ſome of which ſate in the chimney, for fear he ſhould go up the funnel. Next morning he was carried to Lancaſter, but exceedingly abuſed by the way; and being come to town, was brought to the houſe of a juſtice, whoſe name was Henry Porter, and who had granted the warrant againſt him. He aſked Porter, for what, and by whoſe order, he had ſent forth his warrant; and he complained to him of the abuſe of the conſtables and other officers: for they had ſet him upon a horſe behind the ſaddle, ſo that he had nothing to hold by; and maliciouſly beating the horſe, made him kick and gallop, and throw off his rider. But Porter would not take any notice of that, and told G. Fox, he had an order; but would not let him ſee it, for he would not reveal the king's ſecrets. After many words were exchanged, he was carried to Lancaſter priſon. Being there a cloſe priſoner in the common gaol, he deſired two of his friends, one of which was Thomas Green, the other Thomas Commings, a miniſter of the goſpel (with whom I was very familiarly acquainted), to go to the gaoler, and deſire of him a copy of his mittimus. They went, but the gaoler told them he could not give a copy of it; yet he gave it them to read; and to the beſt of their re-

membrance, the matters therein charged againſt him were, that G. Fox was a perſon generally ſuſpected to be a common diſturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' ſect: and that he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, had of late endeavoured to raiſe inſurrections in theſe parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the gaoler was commanded to keep him in ſafe cuſtody, till he ſhould be releaſed by order from the king and parliament. No wonder that the gaoler would not give a copy of his mittimus, for it contained almoſt as many untruths as words. G. Fox then writ an apology, wherein he anſwered at large to all thoſe falſe accuſations. And Margaret Fell, conſidering what injury was offered to her, by haling G. Fox out of her houſe, writ the following information, and ſent it abroad.

To all magiſtrates, concerning the wrong taking up, and impriſoning of George Fox at Lancaſter.

'I do inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaſter, ſent a warrant with four conſtables to my houſe, for which he had no authority nor order. They ſearched my houſe, and apprehended George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the breach of any law, or of any offence againſt any in the nation. After they had taken him, and brought him before the ſaid Henry Porter, there was bail offered, what he would demand for his appearance, to anſwer what could be laid to his charge: but he (contrary to law, if he had taken him lawfully), denied to accept of any bail; and clapped him up in cloſe priſon. After he was in priſon, a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any priſoner, that ſo he may ſee what is laid to his charge: but it was denied him; a copy he could not have; only they were ſuffered to read it over. And every thing that was there charged againſt him, was utterly falſe; he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as will be proved, and manifeſted to the nation. So, let the governors conſider of it. I am concerned in this thing, inaſmuch as he was

apprehended in my houſe; and if he be guilty, I am ſo too. So I deſire to have this ſearched out.

'Margaret Fell.'

After this, Margaret determined to go to London, to ſpeak with the king about this matter: which Porter having heard of, ſaid he would go too; and ſo he did. But becauſe he had been a zealous man for the parliament againſt the king, ſeveral of the courtiers put him in mind of his plundering of their houſes. And this ſo troubled him, that he quickly left the court, and returned home, and then ſpoke to the gaoler about contriving a way to releaſe G. Fox. But in his mittimus he had overſhot himſelf, by ordering G. Fox to be kept priſoner, till he ſhould be delivered by the king or parliament. G. Fox alſo ſent him a letter, and put him in mind, how fierce he had been againſt the king, and his party, though now he would be thought zealous for the king. And among other paſſages, he called to his remembrance, how, when he held Lancaſter Caſtle for the parliament againſt the king, he was ſo rough and fierce againſt thoſe that favoured the king, that he ſaid, he would leave them neither dog nor cat, if they did not bring him in proviſion to his caſtle.

One Anne Curtis coming to ſee G. Fox, and underſtanding how he ſtood committed, reſolved alſo to go to the king about it; for her father, who had been ſheriff of Briſtol, was hanged near his own door, for endeavouring to bring in the king: upon which conſideration, ſhe was in hopes to be admitted to the king's preſence to ſpeak with him. Coming to London, ſhe and Margaret Fell went together to the king, who, when he underſtood whoſe daughter Anne was, received her kindly. She having acquainted the king with the caſe of G. Fox, deſired, that he would be pleaſed to ſend for him up, and hear the cauſe himſelf. This the king promiſed her he would do, and commanded his ſecretary to ſend down an order for the bringing up G. Fox. But it was long before this order was executed, for many evaſions were ſought, as well by carping at a word, as by other craft; whereby

the ſending up of G. Fox was retarded above two months. He thus continuing priſoner, writ ſeveral papers, and among the reſt alſo this.

To the King.

'King Charles,

'Thou cameſt not into this nation by ſword, nor by victory of war; but by the power of the Lord: now if thou doſt not live in it, thou wilt not proſper. And if the Lord hath ſhewed thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and thou doſt not ſhew mercy and forgive, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee: and if thou do not ſtop perſecution, and perſecutors, and take away all laws that do hold up perſecution about religion; but if thou do perſiſt in them, and uphold perſecution, that will make thee as blind as them that have gone before thee: for perſecution hath always blinded thoſe that have gone into it; and ſuch God by his power overthrows, and doth his valiant acts upon; and bringeth ſalvation to his oppreſſed ones: and if thou doſt bear the ſword in vain, and let drunkenneſs, oaths, plays, maygames, (with fidlers, drums, trumpets, to play at them) with ſuch like abominations and vanities be encouraged, or go unpuniſhed; as ſetting up of maypoles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, &c. the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them: and ſo he will you, if theſe things be not ſuddenly prevented. Hardly was there ſo much wickedneſs at liberty before now, as there is at this day; as though there was no terror, nor ſword of magiſtracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praiſe to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace; and that we may not be brought into ungodlineſs by them. So hear, and conſider, and do good in thy time, whilſt thou haſt power; and be merciful, and forgive, that is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Chriſt.

'G. F.'

The ſheriff of Lancaſter ſtill refuſed to remove G. Fox, unleſs he would become bound, and pay for the ſealing of the writing, and the charge of carrying him up. But this he would not. Then they conſulting how to convey him, it was at firſt propoſed to ſend a party of horſe with him. But he told them, if he were ſuch a man as they had repreſented him to be, they had need to ſend a troop or two of horſe to guard him. But conſidering that this would be a great charge to them, they concluded to ſend him up guarded only by the gaoler, and ſome bailiffs. On farther conſideration, they found that this alſo would be very chargeable, and thereupon told him, if he would put in bail, that he would be in London ſuch a day of the term, he ſhould have leave to go up with ſome of his own friends. G. Fox told them, he would neither put in any bail, nor give any money: but if they would let him go up with one or two of his friends, he would go up, and be in London ſuch a day, if the Lord did permit. So at laſt when they ſaw they could not make him bow, the ſheriff conſented that he ſhould go up with ſome of his friends, without any other engagement than his word, to appear before the judges at London ſuch a day of the term, if the Lord did permit. Whereupon they let him go out of priſon, and after ſome ſtay, he went with Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers to London, whither he came on a day that ſome of the judges of king Charles the Firſt, were hanged and quartered at Charing Croſs: for now what E. Burrough and others had plainly foretold, was fulfilling on them.

The next morning G. Fox, and thoſe with him, went to judge Thomas Mallet's chamber, who then was putting on his red gown, to ſit upon ſome more of the king's judges, and therefore told him, he might come another time. G. Fox did ſo, being accompanied by —— Marſh, eſq. one of the king's bed-chamber. When he came to the judge's chamber, he found there alſo the lord chief juſtice Foſter, and delivered to them the charge that was againſt him: but when they read thoſe words, that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood, &c. they ſtruck their hands on the table: whereupon G. Fox told them, that he

was the man whom that charge was againſt; but that he was as innocent of any ſuch thing as a newborn child; that he brought it up himſelf, and that ſome of his friends came up with him, without any guard. As yet the judges had not minded G. Fox's hat, but now ſeeing his hat on, they ſaid why did he ſtand with his hat on? He told them, he did not ſtand in any contempt to them. Then they commanded one to take it off; and having called for the marſhal of the King's Bench, they ſaid to him, 'You muſt take this man and ſecure him, but you muſt let him have a chamber, and not put him amongſt the priſoners.' But the Marſhal ſaid, his houſe was ſo full, that he could not tell where to provide a room for him, but amongſt the priſoners. Judge Foſter then ſaid to G. Fox, 'Will you appear to-morrow about ten of the clock at the King's Bench Bar in Weſtminſter Hall?' 'Yes,' ſaid he, 'if the Lord give me ſtrength.' Hereupon the ſaid judge ſaid to the other judge, 'If he ſay yes, and promiſes it, ye may take his word.'

So he was diſmiſſed for that time, and the next day appeared at the King's Bench Bar at the hour appointed, being accompanied by Richard Hubberthorn, Robert Withers, and eſquire Marſh, before-named. And being brought into the middle of the court, he looked about, and turning to the people, ſaid, Peace be among you.' Then the charge againſt him was read, and coming to that part which ſaid, that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raiſing a new war, and that he was an enemy to the king, &c. thoſe of the bench lifted up their hands. He then ſtretching out his arms, ſaid, 'I am the man whom that charge is againſt; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war poſtures. Do ye think, that if I and my friends had been ſuch men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myſelf againſt myſelf? Or that I ſhould have been ſuffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? For had I been ſuch a man as this charge ſets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horſe: but the ſheriff and magiſtrates of Lancaſhire had thought fit to let me and my friends come up by ourſelves, almoſt two hundred miles,

without any guard at all, which we may be ſure they would not have done, if they had looked upon me to be ſuch a man.' Then the judge aſked him, whether it ſhould be filed, or what he would do with it? And he anſwered, 'Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter: therefore do with it what ye will.' The judges ſaid, they did not accuſe him, for they had nothing againſt him. Whereupon eſquire Marſh ſtood up and told the judges, it was the king's pleaſure, that G. Fox ſhould be ſet at liberty, ſeeing no accuſer came againſt him. Then they aſked him, whether he would put it to the king and council? He anſwered, 'Yes, with a good will.' Thereupon they ſent the ſheriff's return, which he made to the writ of *habeas corpus*, to the king, and the return was thus:

'By virtue of his Majeſty's writ to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify, that before the receipt of the ſaid writ, George Fox, in the ſaid writ mentioned, was committed to his Majeſty's gaol, at the caſtle of Lancaſter, in my cuſtody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, eſq. one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace within the county palatine aforeſaid, bearing date the 5th of June now laſt paſt; for that he, the ſaid George Fox, was generally ſuſpected to be a common diſturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy to our ſovereign lord the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' ſect; and that he, together with others of his fanatick opinion, have of late endeavoured to make inſurrections, in theſe parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. And this is the cauſe of his taking and detaining. Nevertheleſs, the body of the ſaid George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his Majeſty's juſtices, aſſigned to hold pleas before his ſaid Majeſty, at his chamber in Serjeants Inn, in Fleet Street, to do and receive thoſe things which his Majeſty's ſaid juſtice ſhall determine concerning him in this behalf, as by the aforeſaid writ is required.

'George Chetham, eſq. ſheriff.'

The king upon peruſal of this, and conſideration of the whole matter, being ſatisfied of G. Fox's innocency, com-

manded his ſecretary to ſend the following order to judge Mallet for his releaſe:

'It is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you give order for the releaſing, and ſetting at full liberty, the perſon of George Fox, late a priſoner in Lancaſter gaol, and commanded hither by an *habeas corpus*. And this ſignification of his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhall be your ſufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

'Edward Nicholas.'

For ſir Thomas Mallet, knight, one of the juſtices of the King's Bench.

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he forthwith ſent his warrant to the marſhal of the King's Bench, for G. Fox's releaſe; which warrant was thus:

'By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the right honourable ſir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries, for the releaſing and ſetting at liberty of George Fox, late a priſoner in Lancaſter gaol, and from thence brought hither by *habeas corpus*, and yeſterday committed unto your cuſtody; I do hereby require you accordingly to releaſe, and ſet the ſaid priſoner, George Fox, at liberty: for which this ſhall be your warrant and diſcharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1660.

'Thomas Mallet.'

To ſir John Lenthal, knight, marſhal of the King's Bench, or his deputy.

G. Fox having been priſoner now above twenty weeks, was thus very honourably ſet at liberty by the king's command. After it was known he was diſcharged, ſeveral that were envious and wicked, were troubled, and terror ſeized on juſtice Porter; for he was afraid G. Fox would take the advantage of the law againſt him for his wrong impriſonment, and thereby undo him: and indeed G. Fox was put on by ſome in authority, to have made him and

the reſt examples. But he ſaid, he ſhould leave them to the Lord; if the Lord did forgive them, he ſhould not trouble himſelf with them.

About this time, Richard Hubberthorn got an opportunity to ſpeak with the king, and to have a long diſcourſe with him, which ſoon after he publiſhed in print. Being admitted into the king's preſence, he gave him a relation of the ſtate of his friends, and ſaid,

'Since the Lord hath called us, and gathered us to be a people, to walk in his fear, and in his truth, we have always ſuffered and been perſecuted by the powers that have ruled, and been made a prey of, for departing from iniquity; and when the breach of no juſt law could be charged againſt us, then they made laws on purpoſe to enſnare us; and ſo our ſufferings were unjuſtly continued.'

King. It is true, thoſe that have ruled over you, have been cruel, and have profeſſed much which they have not done.

R. H. And likewiſe the ſame ſufferings do now abound in more cruelty againſt us in many parts of this nation: as for inſtance, one at Thetford in Norfolk, where Henry Fell (miniſtring unto the people) was taken out of the meeting and whipt, and ſent out of the town, from pariſh to pariſh, towards Lancaſhire; and the chief ground of his accuſation in his paſs (which was ſhewn to the king) was, becauſe he denied to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy; and ſo becauſe that for conſcience ſake we cannot ſwear, but have learned obedience to the doctrine of Chriſt, which ſaith, "Swear not at all;" hereby an occaſion is taken againſt us to perſecute us; and it is well known that we have not ſworn for any, nor againſt any, but have kept to the truth, and our yea hath been yea, and our nay, nay, in all things, which is more than the oath of thoſe that are out of the truth.

King. But why can you not ſwear? for an oath is a common thing amongſt men to any engagement.

R. H. Yes, it is manifeſt, and we have ſeen it by experience; and it is ſo common amongſt men to ſwear, and engage either for, or againſt things, that there is no regard

taken to them, nor fear of an oath; that therefore which we ſpeak of in the truth of our hearts, is more than what they ſwear.

King. But can you not promiſe before the Lord, which is the ſubſtance of the oath?

R. H. Yes, what we do affirm, we can promiſe before the Lord, and take him to our witneſs in it; but our ſo promiſing hath not been accepted, but the ceremony of an oath they have ſtood for, without which all other things were accounted of no effect.

King. But how may we know from your words that you will perform?

R. H. By proving of us; for they that ſwear are not known to be faithful, but by proving of them; and ſo we by thoſe that have tried us, are found to be truer in our promiſes, than others by their oaths; and to thoſe that do yet prove us, we ſhall appear the ſame.

King. Pray what is your principle?

R. H. Our principle is this, "That Jeſus Chriſt is the true light which enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, that all men through him might believe;" and that they were to obey and follow this light as they have received it, whereby they may be led unto God, and unto righteouſneſs, and the knowledge of the truth, that they may be ſaved.

King. This do all Chriſtians confeſs to be truth; and he is not a Chriſtian that will deny it.

R. H. But many have denied it both in words and writings, and oppoſed us in it; and above an hundred books are put forth in oppoſition unto this principle.

Then ſome of the Lords ſtanding by the king, ſaid, that none would deny that every one is enlightened.

And one of the Lords aſked, how long we had been called Quakers, or did we own that name?

R. H. That name was given to us in ſcorn and deriſion, about twelve years ſince; but there were ſome that lived in this truth before we had that name given unto us.

King. How long is it ſince you owned this judgment and way?

R. H. It is near twelve years ſince I owned this truth, according to the manifeſtation of it.

King. Do you own the ſacrament?

R. H. As for the word ſacrament, I do not read of it in the Scripture; but as for the body and blood of Chriſt I own, and that there is no remiſſion without blood.

King. Well that is it: but do you not believe that every one is commanded to receive it?

R. H. This we do believe, that according as it is written in the Scripture, that Chriſt at his laſt ſupper took bread and brake it, and gave to his diſciples, and alſo took the cup and bleſſed it, and ſaid unto them, "And as often as ye do this, (that is as often as they brake bread) you ſhew forth the Lord's death till he come;" and this we believe they did; "and they did eat their bread in ſingleneſs of heart from houſe to houſe;" and Chriſt did come again to them according to his promiſe; after which they ſaid, "We being many are one bread, for we are all partakers of this one bread."

King's friend. Then one of the king's friends ſaid, It is true; for as many grains make one bread, ſo they being many members, were one body.

Another of them ſaid, if they be the bread, then they muſt be broken.

R. H. There is a difference between that bread which he brake at his laſt ſupper, wherein they were to ſhew forth, as in a ſign, his death until he came; and this whereof they ſpake, they being many, are one bread; for herein they were come more into the ſubſtance, and to ſpeak more myſtically, as they knew it in the ſpirit.

King's friends. Then they ſaid, it is true, and he had ſpoken nothing but truth.

King. How know you that you are inſpired by the Lord?

R. H. According as we read in the Scriptures, that "The inſpiration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding;" ſo by his inſpiration is an underſtanding given us of the things of God.

Then one of the lords ſaid, How do you know that you are led by the true ſpirit?

R. H. This we know, becauſe the Spirit of truth reproves the world of ſin, and by it we were reproved of ſin, and alſo are led from ſin unto righteouſneſs, and obedience of truth, by which effects we know it is the true ſpirit; for the ſpirit of the wicked one doth not lead into ſuch things.

Then the king and his lords ſaid it was truth.

King. Well, of this you may be aſſured, that you ſhall none of you ſuffer for your opinions or religion, ſo long as you live peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it; and I have alſo given forth a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, that none ſhall wrong you or abuſe you.

King. How do you own magiſtrates, or magiſtracy?

R. H. Thus we do own magiſtrates: whoſoever is ſet up by God, whether king as ſupreme, or any ſet in authority by him, who are for the puniſhment of evil doers, and the praiſe of them that do well, ſuch we ſhall ſubmit unto, and aſſiſt in righteous and civil things, both by body and eſtate: and if any magiſtrates do that which is unrighteous, we muſt declare againſt it; only ſubmit under it by a patient ſuffering, and not rebel againſt any by inſurrections, plots, and contrivances.

King. That is enough.

Then one of the lords aſked, Why do you meet together, ſeeing every one of you have the church in yourſelves?

R. H. According as it is written in the Scriptures, the church is in God, Theſ. i. 1. "And they that feared the Lord, did meet often together in the fear of the Lord," and to us it is profitable, and herein we are edified and ſtrengthened in the life of Truth.

King. How did you firſt come to believe the Scriptures were truth?

R. H. I have believed the Scriptures from a child to be a declaration of truth, when I had but a literal knowledge, natural education and tradition; but now I know the Scriptures to be true, by the manifeſtation and operation of the Spirit of God fulfilling them in me.

King. In what manner do you meet, and what is the order in your meetings?

R. H. We do meet in the ſame order as the people of God did, waiting upon him; and if any have a word of exhortation from the Lord, he may ſpeak it; or if any have a word of reproof or admonition, and as every one hath received the gift, ſo they may miniſter one unto another, and may be edified one by another; whereby a growth into the knowledge of the Truth is adminiſtered to one another.

One of the Lords. Then you know not ſo much as you may know, but there is a growth then to be admitted of.

R. H. Yes, we do grow daily into the knowledge of the Truth, in our exerciſe and obedience to it.

King. Are any of your friends gone to Rome?

R. H. Yes, there is one in priſon in Rome.

King. Why did you ſend him thither?

R. H. We did not ſend him thither, but he found ſomething upon his ſpirit from the Lord, whereby he was called to go to declare againſt ſuperſtition and idolatry, which is contrary to the will of God.

King's friend ſaid, There were two of them at Rome, but one was dead.

King. Have any of your friends been with the great Turk?

R. H. Some of our friends have been in that country.

Other things were ſpoken concerning the liberty of the ſervants of the Lord, who were called of him into his ſervice, that to them there was no limitation to pariſhes or places, but as the Lord did guide them in his work and ſervice by his Spirit.

So the king promiſed that we ſhould not any ways ſuffer for our opinion or religion; and ſo in love paſſed away.

The king having promiſed Richard Hubberthorn over and again, that his friends ſhould not ſuffer for their opinion, or religion, they parted in love. But though the king ſeemed a good-natured prince, yet he was ſo miſled,

that in proceſs of time he ſeemed to have forgot what he ſo ſolemnly promiſed on the word of a king.

Now in this diſcourſe mention being made of Rome, &c. I'll ſay by the bye, that one John Perrot and John Love being come to Leghorn in Italy, and having been examined there by the inquiſition, they anſwered ſo well that they were diſmiſſed. Being come afterwards to Venice, Perrot was admitted to the doge, or duke, in his palace, ſpoke with him, and gave him ſome books: and from thence he went with his fellow-traveller to Rome. Here they bore teſtimony againſt the idolatry committed there, in ſuch a publick manner, that they were taken into cuſtody. John Love died in the priſon of the inquiſition; and though it was divulged, that he had faſted to death, yet ſome nuns have told that he was diſpatched in the night, for fear he ſhould annoy the church of Rome. However it was, he died in ſincerity of heart, and ſo was more happy than Perrot, who though then perhaps he was in a pretty good frame of mind, yet afterwards turned an eminent apoſtate, having continued priſoner at Rome a great while, and at length got his liberty. He was a man of great natural parts, but, not continuing in true humility, ran out into exorbitant imaginations, of which more may be ſaid hereafter. About this time Samuel Fiſher and John Stubbs were alſo at Rome, where they ſpoke with ſome of the cardinals, and teſtified againſt the popiſh ſuperſtition. They alſo ſpread ſome books amongſt the friars, ſome of whom confeſſed the contents thereof to be truth: but, ſaid they, if we ſhould acknowledge this publickly, we might expect to be burnt for it. Notwithſtanding Fiſher and Stubbs went free, and returned unmoleſted.

The caſe of Mary Fiſher, a maiden, and one of the firſt Quakers (ſo called) that came into New England (as hath been mentioned before) I cannot paſs by in ſilence. She being come to Smyrna, to go from thence to Adrianople, was ſtopt by the Engliſh conſul, and ſent back to Venice, from whence ſhe came by another way to Adrianople, at the time that Sultan Mahomet the fourth was encamped with his army near the ſaid town. She went alone to the

camp, and got ſomebody to go to the tent of the grand viſier, to tell him that an Engliſh woman was come, who had ſomething to declare from the great God to the ſultan. The vizier ſent word, that next morning he ſhould procure her an opportunity for that purpoſe. Then ſhe returned to the town, and repaired next morning to the camp again, where being come, ſhe was brought before the ſultan, who had his great men about him, in ſuch a manner as he was uſed to admit ambaſſadors. He aſked by his interpreters (whereof there were three with him) whether it was true what had been told him, that ſhe had ſomething to ſay to him from the Lord God? She anſwered, 'Yea.' Then he bade her ſpeak on: and ſhe not being forward, weightily pondering what ſhe might ſay, and he ſuppoſing that ſhe might be fearful to utter her mind before them all, aſked her, whether ſhe deſired that any might go aſide, before ſhe ſpoke? She anſwered, 'No.' He then bade her ſpeak the word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they had good hearts, and could hear it. He alſo charged her, to ſpeak the word ſhe had to ſay from the Lord, neither more nor leſs, for they were willing to hear it, be it what it would. Then ſhe ſpoke what was upon her mind.

The Turks hearkened to her with much attention and gravity, till ſhe had done; and then the ſultan aſking her whether ſhe had any thing more to ſay? She aſked him, whether he underſtood what ſhe ſaid? And he anſwered, 'Yes, every word,' and farther ſaid, that what ſhe had ſpoken was truth. Then he deſired her to ſtay in that country, ſaying, that they could not but reſpect ſuch an one, as ſhould take ſo much pains to come to them ſo far as from England, with a meſſage from the Lord God. He alſo proffered her a guard to bring her into Conſtantinople, whither ſhe intended. But ſhe not accepting this offer, he told her it was dangerous travelling, eſpecially for ſuch an one as ſhe; and wondered that ſhe had paſſed ſo ſafe ſo far as ſhe had: ſaying alſo, it was in reſpect to her, and kindneſs that he proffered it, and that he would not for any thing ſhe ſhould come to the leaſt hurt in his dominions. She having no more to ſay, the Turks aſked

her, what ſhe thought of their prophet Mahomet? She anſwered warily, that ſhe knew him not; but Chriſt, the true prophet, the Son of God, who was the light of the world, and enlightened every man coming into the world, him ſhe knew. And concerning Mahomet ſhe ſaid, that they might judge of him to be true or falſe, according to the words and prophecies he ſpoke; ſaying farther, 'If the word that a prophet ſpeaketh, come to paſs, then ſhall ye know that the Lord hath ſent that prophet; but if it come not to paſs, then ſhall ye know that the Lord never ſent him.' The Turks confeſſed this to be true; and Mary having performed her meſſage, departed from the camp to Conſtantinople, without a guard, whither ſhe came without the leaſt hurt or ſcoff. And ſo ſhe returned ſafe to England.

Concerning Catharine Evans, and Sarah Cheevers, two women, who at this time lay in the priſon of the inquiſition at Malta, and were not releaſed till after three years confinement, where they ſuffered moſt grievous hardſhips; I intend to ſpeak hereafter, when I am come to the time of their deliverance; and then I purpoſe to make a large and very remarkable deſcription concerning it.

In the mean-while I return to the affairs of England, where the government now was quite altered. Many of the late king's judges were now hanged and quartered: among thoſe was alſo colonel Francis Hacker, of whom about ſix years before this time it hath been ſaid that he took George Fox priſoner. But he now himſelf was in priſon, and impeached not only as one of thoſe that kept the king priſoner, but alſo that he ſigned the warrant for the king's execution, and had conducted him to the ſcaffold. To all which, and more, he ſaid little, but that what he did, was by order of his ſuperiors; and that he had endeavoured to ſerve his country. But this did not avail him, for he was condemned for high treaſon, and hanged and quartered in October. A day or two before his death, Margaret Fell viſited him in priſon; and when he was put in mind of what formerly he had done againſt the innocent, he remembered it, and ſaid, he knew well whom ſhe meant, and had trouble upon him for it. For

G. Fox (who had compared him to Pilate), bade him, when the day of his misery and trial ſhould come upon him, to remember what he ſaid to him. And as Hacker's ſon-in-law, Needham, then did not ſtick to ſay, that it was time to have G. Fox cut off: ſo it came to be the lot of Hacker himſelf to be cut off at Tyburn, where he was hanged. Such now was the end of many, who were not only guilty of the king's death, and the putting to death of others who were for king Charles the ſecond, but had alſo tranſgreſſed againſt God by perſecuting godly people. They had been often warned, and ſeveral times told that God would hear the cries of the widows and fatherleſs, that had been cruelly oppreſſed by them; and as they had made ſpoil of the goods of thoſe whom in ſcorn they called Quakers, ſo now fear and quaking was brought upon them, and their eſtates became a ſpoil to others. How plainly E. Burrough had foretold this, hath been ſaid before; and not to mention others, I will only ſay, that one Robert Huntington came once into the ſteeple-houſe at Brough, near Carliſle, with a white ſheet about him, and a halter about his neck, to ſhew the Preſbyterians and Independents there, that the ſurplice was to be introduced again, and that ſome of them ſhould not eſcape the halter. Now how mad ſoever this was ſaid to be, yet time ſhewed it a preſage of the impending diſaſter of the cruel perſecutors: for when king Charles had aſcended the throne, his moſt fierce enemies were diſpatched out of the way.

The parliament ſitting at this time, ſome of thoſe called Quakers were admitted to appear in the Houſe of Lords, where they gave reaſons why they could not frequent the publick worſhip, nor ſwear, nor pay tithes; and they were heard with moderation. The king alſo about this time ſhewed himſelf moderate; for being ſolicited by ſome, and more eſpecially by Margaret Fell, he ſet at liberty about ſeven hundred of the people called Quakers, who had been impriſoned under the government of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. This paſſed the eaſier, becauſe thoſe that were now at the helm, had alſo ſuffered under the former government: there ſeemed likewiſe ſome inclination to give liberty of conſcience; but there being among

thoſe that were now in authority, ſome alſo of a malicious temper, they always found means to hinder this good work: and it juſt now fell out ſo that ſomething ſtarted up, which put a ſtop to the giving ſuch a liberty as aforeſaid; though it was advanced ſo far, that an order was drawn up for permitting the Quakers the free exerciſe of their worſhip; only the ſigning and ſeal to it was wanting, when all on a ſudden the Fifth Monarchy men made an inſurrection. There was at that time a great number of this turbulent people in England; who perceiving that their exorbitant opinion was inconſiſtent with kingly government, which now had taken place, thought it not meet for their cauſe to ſit ſtill while the government, which was yet but new, ſhould be fully ſettled and eſtabliſhed. Perhaps they had alſo ſome intent to free ſome of the late king's judges, who were impriſoned; for among theſe was alſo ſir Henry Vane, who having been one of the chief of the commonwealth party, was likewiſe ſaid to be one of the heads of the Fifth Monarchy men. It was in the night when theſe people made a riſing; which cauſed ſuch a ſtir, that the king's ſoldiers ſounded an alarm by the beating of drums.

The train-bands appeared in arms, and all was in an uproar, and both the mob and ſoldiers committed great inſolences for ſeveral days; ſo that the Quakers, though altogether innocent, became the object of the fury of their enemies, and many were haled to priſon out of their peaceable meetings.

At that time George Fox was at London, and being lodged in Pall-mall, at night a company of troopers came, and knocked at the door where he was; which being opened, they ruſhed into the houſe, and laid hold on him. One of theſe, that had formerly ſerved under the parliament, clapped his hand to G. Fox's pocket, and aſked, whether he had any piſtol? G. Fox told him, he knew he did not uſe to carry piſtols, why then did he aſk ſuch a queſtion of him, whom he knew to be a peaceable man? Others of theſe fellows ran up into the chambers, and there found eſquire Marſh, before mentioned, in bed, who though he was one of the king's bedchamber, yet out of love to G. Fox, came and lodged where he did. When

the troopers came down again, they ſaid, 'Why ſhould we take this man away with us? We will let him alone.' 'Oh,' ſaid the parliament ſoldier, 'he is one of the heads, and a chief ringleader.' Upon this the ſoldiers were taking him away. But eſq. Marſh hearing of it, ſent for him that commanded the party, and deſired him to let G. Fox alone, ſince he would ſee him forthcoming in the morning, and then they might take him. Early in the morning there came a company of foot to the houſe; and one of them drawing his ſword, held it over G. Fox's head, which made him aſk, wherefore he drew his ſword at a naked man? At which his fellows being aſhamed, bid him put up his ſword; and ſome time after they brought him to Whitehall, before the troopers came for him. As he was going out, he ſaw ſeveral of his friends going to the meeting, it being then the Firſt day of the week; and he intended to have gone thither himſelf, if he had not been ſtopped: but now it being out of his power to keep them company, he commended their boldneſs, and encouraged them to perſevere therein. When he was come to Whitehall, ſeeing the ſoldiers and people were exceeding rude, he began to exhort them to godlineſs. But ſome great perſons coming by, who were envious to him, ſaid, 'What, do ye let him preach? Put him into ſuch a place, where he may not ſtir.' So he was put into that place, and the ſoldiers watched over him; but G. Fox told them, though they could confine his body, and ſhut that up, yet the word of life they could not ſtop. Some then aſked him, what he was? He told them he was a preacher of righteouſneſs. After he had been kept there two or three hours, eſq. Marſh ſpoke to the lord Gerard, who came, and bid them ſet G. Fox at liberty. When he was diſcharged, the marſhal demanded fees, G. Fox told him he could not give him any: and he aſked him, how he could demand fees of him who was innocent? Nevertheleſs he told him, that in his own freedom, he would give them two-pence, to make him and the ſoldiers drink. But they ſhouted at that, which made him ſay, if they would not accept it, they might chuſe; for he ſhould not give them fees. Then he went through the guards, and came to an inn,

where ſeveral of his friends at that time were priſoners under a guard, and about night he went to the houſe of one of his friends.

This inſurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men, cauſed great diſturbance in the nation; and though the Quakers did not at all meddle with thoſe boiſterous people, yet they fell under great ſufferings becauſe of them; and both men and women were dragged out of their houſes to priſon, and ſome ſick men off their beds by the legs; among which was one Thomas Pachyn, who being in a fever, was dragged by the ſoldiers out of his bed to priſon, where he died.

This perſecution going on throughout the nation, Margaret Fell went to the king, and gave him an account how her friends, that were in no wiſe concerned in the ſaid inſurrection and riots, were treated; for ſeveral thouſands of them were caſt into priſon. The king and council wondered how they could have ſuch intelligence, ſince ſtrict charge was given for the intercepting of all letters, ſo that none could paſs unſearched. But notwithſtanding this, ſo much was heard of the numbers of the impriſoned, that Margaret Fell went a ſecond time to the king and council, and acquainted them of the grievous ſufferings of her friends. G. Fox then writ a letter of conſolation to his ſuffering friends; and alſo publiſhed in print a declaration againſt all ſedition, plotters and fighters, wherein he manifeſted, that they were an harmleſs people, that denied wars and fightings, and could not make uſe of the outward ſword, or other carnal weapons. This declaration was preſented to the king and his council, and was of ſuch effect, that the king gave forth a proclamation, that no ſoldiers ſhould go to ſearch any houſe, but with a conſtable. When afterwards ſome of the Fifth Monarchy men were put to death becauſe of their inſurrection, they did the Quakers, ſo called, that right, that they cleared them openly from having an hand in, or knowledge of their plot. This and other evidences cauſed the king, being continually importuned thereunto, to iſſue forth a declaration, that the Quakers ſhould be ſet at liberty without paying fees.

Many of the Preſbyterian preachers now temporized, and for keeping their benefices, joined with the Epiſcopalians, and did not ſtick to put on the ſurplice. But this gave occaſion to many of their hearers to leave them, and join with the Quakers, ſo called, who could not comply with the times. Others, who were a little more ſtedfaſt, made uſe of their money to get liberty, though under the government of Cromwell they would permit no liberty of conſcience to others; inſomuch that one Hewes, an eminent prieſt at Plymouth in Oliver's days, when ſome liberty was granted, prayed that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magiſtrates of the nation, to remove this curſed toleration. But this Hewes, after the king was come in, being aſked by one, whether he would account toleration accurſed now, anſwered only by ſhaking his head.

Now though many of the Quakers, as hath been ſaid, were releaſed from priſon, yet they ſuffered exceedingly in their religious aſſemblies. Once a company of Iriſhmen came to Pall-mall, when G. Fox was there; but the meeting was already broke up; and he being gone up into a chamber, heard one of thoſe rude perſons, who was a colonel, ſay, he would kill all the Quakers. Whereupon G. Fox came down, and told him, 'The law ſaid, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but thou threateneſt to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt:' but ſaid he farther, 'Here is goſpel for thee: here's my hair, here's my cheek, and here's my ſhoulder,' turning it to him. This ſo ſurprized the colonel, that he and his companions ſtood amazed, and ſaid, 'If this be your principle as you ſay, we never ſaw the like in our lives.' To which G. Fox ſaid, 'What I am in words, I am the ſame in life.' Then the colonel carried himſelf lovingly; though a certain ambaſſador who ſtood without and then came in, ſaid, that this Iriſh colonel was ſuch a deſperate man, that he durſt not come in with him, for fear he ſhould have done great miſchief.

Notwithſtanding ſuch-like rude encounters; yet by the change of the government, ſome ſtop was put to the fierce current of perſecution; for the king being but newly ſettled on the throne, ſhewed yet an inclination to lenity.

But this quiet did not laſt long, and was but a time of reſpiration: for the churchmen inſtigated (as it ſeems very probable) by the favourers of popery, continued envious, and ſtaid but for an opportunity to ſhew their malice. An inſtance of which hath been ſeen already on the inſurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men, and in the ſequel will be ſeen much clearer: ſince, though they did not ſeem to perſecute for conſcience-ſake, yet under a colour of juſtice, laws were made uſe of, that had formerly been enacted for the ſuppreſſion of popery, and to ſecure the kingdom againſt Jeſuits, and other traiterous Papiſts; theſe being the laws, of which G. Fox in his letter to the king had ſaid, that they held up perſecution about religion.

That it may be known what laws thoſe were, and that it may alſo appear what an unreaſonable uſe hath been made thereof, I ſhall here ſet them down, or abſtracts of them; that ſo it may be more plainly ſeen, what aukward means have been made uſe of, and how ſiniſtrouſly the laws were executed. Sometimes I may interweave among theſe abſtracts, ſome obſervations, or an account of a caſe, which, though not placed in due time, may yet be ſerviceable to give a true notion of things. I now repair to thoſe laws.

In the 27th year of king Henry the eighth, a law was made for payment of tithes: for that king having either given or ſold many chapels, and abbeys to laymen, thoſe laymen had no right, as prieſts claimed to have, to ſummon to eccleſiaſtical courts thoſe that failed in paying of tithes. But for this a law was provided, by virtue of which, a judge of an eccleſiaſtical court might be helpful to laymen, and in that law it was ſaid,

'If the judge of an eccleſiaſtical court make complaint to two juſtices of peace *(quorum unus)* of any contumacy, or miſdemeanor committed by a defendant in any ſuit there depending for tithes, the ſaid juſtices ſhall commit ſuch defendant to priſon, there to remain till he ſhall find ſufficient ſurety to be bound before them by recognizance, or otherwiſe to give due obedience to the proceſs, proceedings, decrees, and ſentences of the ſaid court.'

By this law (which is pretended to be ſtill in force) many honeſt people have ſuffered, and been kept very long in priſon; for they refuſing to find ſurety for the payment of tithes, which for conſcience-ſake they could not give to ſuch miniſters who lived from a forced maintenance, and did not (as they judged) profit the people; it was in the power of the prieſts to detain them priſoners, till the pretended debt was paid; which the perſecuted judged ſo unreaſonable, that ſome have therefore continued in priſon for many years, chooſing rather to die in gaol, than to uphold ſuch preachers, by paying tithes to them. And the Quakers ſo called, have never offered reſiſtance, but ſuffering and forbearance have always been their arms, though they were almoſt continually vexed with laws that were never made againſt them; and more eſpecially were they moleſted with the oath of ſupremacy, which was made in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth though (it may be) projected in the time of Henry the eighth, which runs thus:

'I *A. B.* do utterly teſtify and declare in my conſcience, that the [king's] highneſs is the only ſupreme governor of this realm, and of all other (his) highneſſes dominions and countries, as well in all ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical things or cauſes, as temporal. And that no foreign prince, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm: and therefore I do utterly renounce, and forſake all foreign juriſdictions, powers, ſuperiorities, and authorities, and do promiſe, that from henceforth I ſhall bear faith, and true allegiance to the [king's] highneſs [his] heirs and lawful ſucceſſors; and to my power, ſhall aſſiſt and defend all juriſdiction, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities, granted, or belonging to the [king's] highneſs, [his] heirs and ſucceſſors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and the contents of this book.'

In the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, an act was made

for uniformity of common-prayer, and church-ſervice, having this clauſe:

'Every perſon ſhall reſort to their pariſh church, or upon let thereof, to ſome other, every Sunday and holiday, upon pain to be puniſhed by cenſures of the church, and alſo to forfeit twelve-pence, to be levied by the church-wardens, there, for the uſe of the poor, upon the offender's goods, by way of diſtreſs.'

Here is to be noted, that ſome have proſecuted the pretended offenders on this clauſe, to obviate greater ſeverities; although this law was made becauſe of the Papiſts, thereby to force them to come to church; for about that time there were not ſo many Proteſtant Diſſenters in England, as afterwards; but theſe appearing in time, were as well under the laſh of this law as the Papiſts; for their religious aſſemblies were not reckoned to be churches, as the ſteeple-houſes by a metonymy generally have been called; at the ſame rate as the Jews meeting-houſes have been called ſynagogues, though the word itſelf properly ſignifies the aſſembly of the people.

Now, ſince the aforeſaid law was not ſtrictly obeyed, not only by Papiſts, but alſo by others, who aiming at a further reformation, could not longer comply with the rites of the church of England, in the 23d year of Elizabeth, a more ſevere law was made, with this clauſe:

'Every perſon not repairing to church, according to the ſtatute of 1 Eliz. 2. ſhall forfeit twenty pounds for every month they ſo make default; and if they ſo forbear by the ſpace of twelve months, after certificate thereof, made by the ordinary unto the King's Bench, a juſtice of aſſize, gaol-delivery, or peace of the county where they dwell, ſhall bind them with two ſufficient ſureties in 200l. at leaſt, to their good behaviour, from which they ſhall not be releaſed until they ſhall repair to church according to the ſaid ſtatute.'

This law it ſeems was not thought ſevere enough; therefore in the 29th year of the ſaid queen, another law was made with this clauſe:

'The queen may ſeize all the goods, and two-third parts of the lands and leaſes of every offender not repairing to church as aforeſaid, in ſuch of the terms of Eaſter and Michaelmas, as ſhall happen next after ſuch conviction, for the ſum then due for the forfeiture of twenty pounds a month, and yearly after that (in the ſame terms) according to the rate of twenty pounds a month for ſo long time as they ſhall forbear to come to church, according to the ſaid ſtatute of 23 Eliz. 1.'

Upon theſe acts many were proſecuted; but in the height of this proceeding, George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, and others, ſolicited king Charles the ſecond in the behalf of their friends; which had ſuch effect, that the king ordered ſtay of proceſs in divers counties; yet afterwards the perſecution was continued till after his death, both as to impriſonment, as well as ſeizing of goods: and other old laws were alſo made uſe of: for in the 35th year of queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Papiſts ſometimes were forming plots againſt the queen, an act was made, containing the effect of this clauſe:

'If any of above ſixteen years of age ſhall be convicted to have abſented themſelves above a month from church, without any lawful cauſe, impugned the queen's authority in cauſes eccleſiaſtical, or frequented conventicles, or perſuaded others ſo to do, under pretence of exerciſe of religion, they ſhall be committed to priſon, and there remain until they ſhall conform themſelves, and make ſuch open ſubmiſſion as hereafter ſhall be preſcribed: and if within three months after ſuch conviction, they refuſe to conform, and ſubmit themſelves, being thereunto required by a juſtice of the peace, they ſhall in open aſſize, or ſeſſions, abjure the realm: and if ſuch abjuration happen to be before juſtices of the peace in ſeſſions, they ſhall make certificate thereof at the next aſſize, or gaol-delivery.'

'And if ſuch an offender refuſe to abjure, or going away accordingly, doth return without the queen's licence, he ſhall be adjudged a felon, and ſhall not enjoy the benefit of clergy; but if before he be required to abjure, he makes his ſubmiſſion, the penalties aforeſaid ſhall not be inflicted upon him.'

Though it may be ſuppoſed this act was made chiefly againſt Papiſts, yet ſome few of the Quakers, ſo called, have been proſecuted thereupon, which was for their lives; for if they had been willing to depart the realm, yet ſuch, who for conſcience-ſake could not ſwear at all, could not oblige themſelves by oath that they would do ſo. And this being very well known, it once happened, that one William Alexander, of Needham in Suffolk, being with ſeveral more indicted upon this act, was aſked, 'Guilty, or not guilty?' He not being haſty to anſwer, the judge ſaid, 'Why don't you plead guilty or not guilty?' To which Alexander replied, 'What would'ſt thou adviſe us to plead? The judge (who ſometimes uſed to be ſevere enough) ſaid, 'Do you aſk my advice?' 'Yes,' ſaid Alexander. 'Then,' returned the judge, 'you ſhall have it; and I'll adviſe you to plead not guilty.' So the priſoners accordingly pleaded not guilty. Then ſaid the judge to the proſecutors. 'Now you muſt prove theſe men, neither to have been at their own pariſh church, nor at any other church or chapel, elſe they are not within this act, which is a ſanguinary law.' Thus the judge carried on his diſcourſe, to a diſcharge of Alexander and his friends from that ſevere indictment: for the proſecutors were not able to prove this with evidence, as the law required. One William Bennett had alſo been long in priſon at Edmondſbury in Suffolk, on this act, and one Richard Vickris near Briſtol. But now I go back again.

After the demiſe of queen Elizabeth, when James the firſt had aſcended the throne, the Papiſts ſtill continued their wicked deſigns, of which the gunpowder plot may ſerve for an inſtance. To ſuppreſs therefore theſe malicious people, and for the better diſcovering of them, in the

third year of that king's reign, an act was made, in which was contained the following oath, which was to be taken by popiſh recuſants:

I *A. B.* do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſs, teſtify, and declare in my conſcience before God and the world, that our ſovereign lord king James, is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majeſty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himſelf, nor by any authority of the church, or ſee of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depoſe the king, or to diſpoſe of any of his majeſty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authoriſe any foreign prince to invade, or annoy him, or his countries, or to diſcharge any of his ſubjects from their allegiance and obedience to his majeſty, or to give licenſe or leave to any of them to bear arms, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majeſty's royal perſon, ſtate, or government, or to any of his majeſty's ſubjects within his majeſty's dominions. Alſo I do ſwear from my heart, that notwithſtanding any declaration, or ſentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the pope or his ſucceſſors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his ſee, againſt the ſaid king, his heirs, or ſucceſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their perſons, their crown and dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch ſentence or declaration, or otherwiſe: and will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe, and make known unto his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all treaſons, and traiterous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of to be againſt him, or any of them. And I do further ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes which be excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, may be depoſed, or murdered by their ſubjects, or

any other whatſoever. And I do believe, and in my conſcience am reſolved, that neither the pope, nor any perſon whatſoever, hath power to abſolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully miniſtered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge, and ſwear according to the expreſs words by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God.'

This oath, commonly called the oath of allegiance, was afterwards called by the name of the teſt; and the introduction of it makes mention of the gunpowder-plot, and ſignifies that this expedient was contrived to diſcover Papiſts; and yet many of the people called Quakers, have ſuffered thereby many years; for though they did not refuſe to declare their allegiance, yet becauſe it was well known they were not for ſwearing at all, this oath was continually made uſe of as a ſnare to impriſon them. Now the puniſhment ſtated againſt the recuſants, was a *præmunire:* and how grievouſly many Quakers have been oppreſſed on that account, though not eaſily related, yet I may give inſtances in due places of ſeveral in the ſequel. Other ſevere laws for perſecution have been made ſince, as will be ſeen in their proper time.

At the cloſe of this year, E. Burrough writ a conſolatory epiſtle to his fellow-labourers in the miniſtry of the goſpel, which I cannot omit to inſert here, becauſe it ſhews very evidently how valiant he was in the ſervice of Truth, which epiſtle is as followeth:

'Dearly and well-beloved brethren, in the heavenly relation, and bleſſed immortal birth, of which we are born moſt dearly in our Father's love; my ſalutation extendeth

unto you all, as one with you perfectly in ſufferings and in rejoicings, in faith and patience, and even in all things which you do and ſuffer for the name of the Lord our God; and my ſoul greets you, and embraces you, and fervently wiſhes peace, love, and unity, and the increaſe of every good gift unto you all; for I am perfectly one with you; if you receive of our Father's fulneſs, I am refreſhed; and if you rejoice, I am glad; and if you ſuffer, and be in heavineſs, I freely partake with you; whatſoever is yours, whether liberty or bonds, whether life or death, I partake of the ſame; and whatſoever I enjoy, the ſame alſo is yours; we are of one birth, of one ſeed, of one line, even of the generation of him who is without beginning of days, or end of life, who is an high prieſt, made after the power of an endleſs life; and as he was bleſſed of the Father, ſo are we, becauſe we are of the ſame birth, and are partakers of his nature, and he lives in us, and we in him.

'Well, my dear companions, I need not multiply words unto you, as if you knew not theſe things; for what know I, that you know not? Or, what can I ſay, but you know the ſame? Yet bear with me, for my heart is very full, and my ſoul ready to be poured forth, that I may once more expreſs a little quantity of what is abounding in my heart; for love, even perfect love, even that love wherewith we are beloved of the Father, filleth my heart at this time towards all of you, from the leaſt to the greateſt; and I know nothing but love towards you all; and I doubt not but in the ſame love you do receive this my ſalutation, which is from the fountain of love, which at this time is opened in my heart.

'Now, dearly beloved, the preſent conſiderations of my heart are very many concerning the great love of the Father, which hitherto hath been ſhewed unto us; we all know, how that he called us by his grace, and turned our hearts from the vanities and evil ways of this world, and ſanctified us by his word, and put his image upon us, and called us by his name, and redeemed us unto himſelf, and gave us the teſtimony of his holy Spirit in our own hearts, that we ſhould be his people, and he would be

our God; he taught us, and inſtructed us, and fed us, and gave us peace and reſt in himſelf, and freed us from the bondage of ſin and corruption, and from his terror becauſe of ſin; and he removed our tranſgreſſions, and blotted them out, and ceaſed to ſmite us any more, but brought us in the land of reſt, flowing with mercy, and peace, and knowledge, and all good things: this did the Lord our God do for us in the days of our infancy, even when we were yet in our ſins he called us forth, and cleanſed us from them; and when we were ſtrangers to him, he made himſelf known unto us; and when we were wholly ignorant, he gave us knowledge; and when we were not a people, he raiſed us up, and made us worthy to be called by his name; and thus, and after this manner, did the Father love us, and ſhew his love unto us: this you know, even as I do, and the conſideration of it cauſeth me thus to expreſs it.

'Again, when he had thus wrought for us, and ſhewed love unto us, he was pleaſed to call us out into his work, to the turning and converting of others unto the way of life; he put his Spirit into us, and gave us gifts of knowledge and utterance, and armed us with wiſdom, and ſtrength, and courage, and every way fitted us for that work and ſervice in which he hath carried us on; he, I ſay, fitted us for his work, and called us into it, and carried us on joyfully in it, and all this of his free love, and infinite power; and what we have been, and what we have done, it hath been only of the Lord, and not of ourſelves, even of his love, which to us may be admirable: for alas! what were we but children, and neither prophets, nor prophets' ſons, and our education unanſwerable for theſe things, and to perform this calling? And therefore it is the Lord, and only he that hath effected his own purpoſe through us, and by us, as inſtruments mean of ourſelves, but by him very excellent.

'Again, he hath mightily proſpered us in his work, and a glorious effect we have beheld of our labours, and travels, and teſtimony; yea, the Lord hath been with us abundantly, and his arm hath compaſſed us about, and he hath often given us great victory over the wiſe and prudent of

this world; he hath made his own word often very powerful in our mouths, to the wounding of the conſciences of our enemies; and the Lord hath bleſſed our teſtimony, to the confounding the wiſdom of this world, and to the gathering of many unto himſelf; and he hath gone forth before us in his authority, and been always with us in his own work; and our teſtimonies, labours, and travels, have been very precious and pleaſant unto the Lord, and all his people; and the effect thereof cauſeth my ſoul to rejoice, becauſe the Lord hath been with us, and proſpered us unto a great people, who have received our witneſs, and accepted thereof unto their ſalvation; and unto the Lord alone, the glory of all this appertaineth.

'And for theſe eight years and upward, the hand of the Lord hath carried us through great labours and travels in his ſervice, and many dangers, and perſecutions, and afflictions have attended us all this time; and ye know that many a time hath the Lord delivered us from the hands of ſuch as would have deſtroyed us; and we have been delivered again and again, out of dangers and difficulties, and the Lord hath been a preſent help unto us in the time of our trouble; for the plotting of the wicked, and the purpoſe of ungodly men, hath often been broken for our ſakes, even many a time have we been delivered out of the ſnare that hath been laid for us, and we have ſeen our enemies fall before us on the right hand and on the left, even the wiſe in their worldly wiſdom, and the fooliſh in their brutiſhneſs, both profeſſors and profane hath our God often cut ſhort in their deſires and endeavours of our deſtruction; and we have been wonderfully preſerved unto this day; and all this I attribute to the infinite love and power of the Lord God, who is bleſſed for evermore.

'And through all theſe things we are yet alive, and the Lord doth not fail us unto this hour, but he lives and walks in us, and with us, and his teſtimony is with us, even the ſeal of his good Spirit in our hearts, that we are his ſons and ſervants, and we are confirmed by many tokens that he is our God, and we are his people, and that great oppreſſion which we have met withal, hath not reſtrained

us, but through it all have we grown, and proſpered unto this day: and concerning the things whereof we have teſtified theſe divers years, I am no way doubtful but our God will fulfil them, neither can my confidence be ſhaken by what is or can come to paſs; for antichriſt muſt fall, falſe miniſtry and worſhip, falſe ways and doctrines God will confound, falſe power and falſe church the Lord will lay low, and truth and righteouſneſs muſt reign; and God will gather his people more and more, and glorious days will appear; God will exalt his kingdom upon earth, and throw down the kingdom of the man of ſin; all oppreſſion muſt ceaſe, and the oppreſſors ſhall be no more; and God will free his people, and they ſhall be happy in this world, and for ever: theſe things have we prophefied from day to day; and my faith is conſtant and unmoveable, that God will effect theſe things in his ſeaſon; for the Lord never yet deceived me, but what he hath ſaid will ſurely come to paſs.

'And therefore, brethren, let us be in hope and patience, and live in the word of patience, and not be faint-hearted, as though the Lord had forgotten us, or was unmindful of us, or as though he would not perform what he had teſtified of by us; for he is not a man, that he ſhould lie, nor as a man, that he is given to change: but lift up your heads, for the Lord is with us, even in our greateſt tribulations and afflictions, and he will accompliſh his purpoſe; for he is mighty to ſave his people, and to deſtroy his enemies.

'It is true, the gates of hell at this time ſeem to be open againſt us, and we are a people like to be ſwallowed up of our enemies, and floods of wickedneſs ſeem to overflow, and the waves of the great ſea ſeem to be void of mercy, and the hope of our adverſaries is to extinguiſh us from being a people, and to deſtroy us from the face of the earth; and the hands of our perſecutors are highly exalted at this day, as though all that we had done for the Lord, by our labours and travels, ſhould now be made of none effect.

'Well, dear brethren, though it be thus, yet our God can deliver us, and confound our adverſaries; and we can

appeal unto our God, and can ſpread our cauſe before him: and he knows that our ſufferings and afflictions are altogether unjuſt, and unequal; and unrighteous, and that our perſecutors do afflict us out of their envy, and without any juſt cauſe adminiſtered unto them by us; our God knows it, angels and ſaints know it, that we are at this day a perſecuted people, for religion's ſake; and this our preſent affliction is not any juſt puniſhment, either from the juſtice of God, or from the juſtice of men.

'For God hath given us the witneſs of his eternal Spirit, that wrath is not in him towards us; his wrath be to his enemies, but unto us is joy and peace for evermore: and the Lord clears us, and he juſtifies us, who then ſhall condemn us? He chargeth no guilt upon us, as if we were unto ourſelves the cauſe, by our evil deeds, of theſe our preſent ſufferings, and as if this were come to paſs upon us, as puniſhment from the hand of God: I ſay, it is not ſo; theſe our preſent ſufferings are not out of God's anger towards us, for his love is to us, let his wrath be to his enemies: and as I ſaid, neither is this ſuffering in the juſtice of men; for unto all the world we can ſay, (and God himſelf ſhall plead our cauſe) whom have we wronged or done evil to? What evil have we done to any man's perſon? Whoſe goods have we falſely taken or coveted? Againſt whom have we deſigned miſchief? Even the Lord himſelf be judge between us and our perſecutors in this matter; for unto him we are known that we do deſire the good of all, and not the hurt of any, and yet we are dealt with as evil-doers; when as the God of heaven is witneſs in our conſciences, that we neither plot nor contrive, nor agitate in thought or word the hurt of any man's perſon: but we walk juſtly towards all, it being our principle to do to others as we would be done unto; and we can plead our cauſe unto our God, and he ſhall plead our cauſe with our enemies, and this is the preſent ſtate of our caſe; what we ſuffer at this time it is ſingly in the cauſe of God, and for righteouſneſs-ſake, and for the teſtimony of Jeſus, which we hold; therefore freely let us commit our cauſe unto the God of heaven, and if we die, it is for him, and if we live, it is to him; and we ſeek not

vengeance againſt our enemies, but leave it to the Lord to plead with them.

'And, dearly beloved, I hope I need not exhort you to be patient and faithful in this day of our trial, knowing that the cauſe is ſo excellent in which we are tried, it is God's cauſe and not our own; and I hope you all have the teſtimony of his Spirit in your conſciences, verifying the truth of the cauſe for which we ſuffer; and having that evidence, we need not to be doubtful as towards God, nor aſhamed before men, if ſo be that every one feels the evidence of the Spirit of God bearing witneſs, that we ſuffer for righteouſneſs-ſake, and for the name of Chriſt Jeſus.

'And ſo, dear brethren, lift up your heads, and be aſſured, that we are the Lord's, and in his cauſe we are tried, and he will judge and avenge our perſecutors in his ſeaſon, and we ſhall be a people when the Egyptians lie dead upon the ſea ſhore, and when the raging ſea is dried up, this ſame people ſhall be ſafe: for hath the Lord done ſo excellent things for us? Hath he led us forth, and bleſſed us unto this day? And hath he preſerved us hitherto through many tribulations and dangers? Hath he ſhewed infinite love and favour unto us to this hour? And will he now ſuffer us to be deſtroyed from being a people? Surely no: Will he give our enemies their heart's deſire to cut us all off, that they may blaſpheme his name? Surely no:—and if it be the pleaſure of the Lord, that ſome of us ſhould ſeal our teſtimony with our blood, good is the will of the Lord; not ours, but his will be done; for the teſtimony that we have borne for theſe divers years, hath been ſo excellent in itſelf, and in its fruits and effects, that the finiſhing of it deſerves the beſt ſeal that poſſibly we can ſign it with, which is indeed our heart's blood; and this dwells upon my ſpirit; and yet, though it ſhould be thus, my confidence is ſure, that the work of the Lord ſhall proſper, and our teſtimony ſhall be glorious for ever, and this people ſhall never be extinguiſhed from being a people.

'And I know not any thing that remains upon our part

at this day, but that we commit ourſelves into the hand of the Lord, living in the ſeed of God, wherein our election is ſure, before the world was, and for ever; and let us remember one another, and pray one for another; and let us ſtir up all the children of our Father to faithfulneſs and patience, while we have time; I ſay, let us walk to the glory of the Lord, keeping faith and a good conſcience to our laſt end; our teſtimony ſhall never die, nor our memories ever periſh when we are ceaſed to be; and though we ſuffer now the loſs of life, and all we have, yet the effects thereof will be glorious in ages to come, and our preſent ſufferings will haſten the glory of God's work throughout the world: receive this as my ſalutation to you all.

'It is now eight days ſince I left Ireland, where my ſervice hath been precious for the Lord for full ſix months, all which time the Lord carried me in much faithfulneſs and diligence in his ſervice, to the confirming of many in the truth of God, and to the converting of others; and through and becauſe of the preſence of the Lord which was with me, I had a very precious time, and was wonderfully preſerved through many dangers and trials; and I travelled near two thouſand miles to and fro in that land, and had very free paſſage in the principal cities and towns, till my work for the preſent was fully ended there, having more time than could be expected to clear my conſcience to all people. It would be too large to mention every particular tranſaction, wherein I perceived the eminent hand of God with me; and alſo many things I obſerved concerning the preſent ſtate of things which I ſhall not mention; for what have we to do with the affairs of worldly kingdoms? But as for friends, it was well with them, they grow and increaſe in the bleſſings and fulneſs of the Father; and when I came thence all was quiet, and very few in priſon, though (I ſuppoſe) the tidings of things as they are here, will produce the ſame ſufferings upon them: but I hope they will be bold and valiant, for the truth, in giving their teſtimony by faithful ſufferings, till theſe things be finiſhed.

'Thus I remain in life and death, and when I am no more, in everlasting remembrance, your dear brother and companion, by doing and suffering for the name of the Lord and his truth. I am well, and at liberty, as yet.

'E. B.'

11th of the Twelfth month, 1660.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

CALLED

QUAKERS.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE year 1661 being come, the government was altogether changed. Charles the Second was now ſeated on the throne of England in peace, and the power of perſecution ſeemed ſomewhat reſtrained; ſo that there was an appearance of ſome quiet and calm. Therefore I'll now take a turn to New England, to draw back the curtains of the bloody ſtage at Boſton. We have already ſeen in the foregoing relation, how William Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, and Mary Dyar, were put to death by their perſecutors, but their blood-thirſtineſs was not yet quenched.

William Leddra, who was baniſhed from Boſton on pain of death, was under ſuch neceſſity of conſcience, that he could not forbear returning thither; where he came about the concluſion of the foregoing year; but was ſoon taken priſoner, and being faſtened to a log of wood, was kept night and day locked in chains, in an open priſon, during a very cold winter; where we will leave him for the preſent, and in the mean-while inſert here an apology of the Boſton perſecutors concerning their cruel carriage, which may ſerve to confirm the truth of what hath been

already related of their wicked dealings. For it ſeems, that fearing their bloody deeds would be diſapproved by the court of England, they thought it ſafeſt for them to gild their tranſactions with a ſpecious pretence; though this was of no other effect than that thereby they yet more expoſed their own ſhame to publick view, and in proceſs of time they alſo incurred the king's diſpleaſure; for though Charles the Second was inclined to voluptuouſneſs, yet he was good-natured, and the perſecution in his reign proceeded chiefly from the inſtigation of other malicious men. But to come to the apology or declaration of the bloody perſecutors, it was as followeth:

'Although the juſtice of our proceedings againſt Wm. Robinſon, Marmaduke Stevenſon, and Mary Dyar, ſupported by the authority of this court, the laws of this country, and the law of God, may rather perſuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any neceſſity to apologize for the ſame: yet for as much as men of weaker parts; out of pity and commiſeration, a commendable and Chriſtian virtue, yet eaſily abuſed, and ſuſceptible of ſiniſter and dangerous impreſſions, for want of a full information, may be leſs ſatisfied; and men of perverſer principles, led to calumniate us, and render us as bloody perſecutors; to ſatisfy the one, and ſtop the mouths of the other, we thought it requiſite to declare, about three years ſince, divers perſons profeſſing themſelves Quakers, (of whoſe pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands from Barbadoes and England) arrived at Boſton, whoſe perſons were only ſecured to be ſent away the firſt opportunity, without cenſure or puniſhment, although their profeſſed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have juſtified a ſeverer animadverſion; yet the prudence of this court was exerciſed, only in making proviſion to ſecure the peace and order here eſtabliſhed, againſt their attempts, whoſe deſign (we were well aſſured by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predeceſſors in Munſter) was to undermine and ruin the ſame.

'And accordingly a law was made and publiſhed, prohibiting all maſters of ſhips, to bring any Quakers into this juriſdiction, and themſelves from coming in on penalty of the houſe of correction, till they ſhould be ſent away. Notwithſtanding which, by a back door they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on themſelves proving inſufficient to reſtrain their impudent and inſolent obtruſions, was increaſed by the loſs of the ears of thoſe who offended the ſecond time; which alſo being too weak a defence againſt their impetuous frantick fury, neceſſitated us to endeavour our ſecurity; and upon ſerious conſideration, after the former experiments by their inceſſant aſſaults, a law was made, that ſuch perſons ſhould be baniſhed upon pain of death, according to the example of England, in their proviſion againſt Jeſuits; which ſentence being regularly pronounced at the laſt court of aſſiſtants, againſt the parties above-named, and they either returning, or continuing preſumptuouſly in this juriſdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themſelves to be the perſons baniſhed, were ſentenced by the court to death, according to the law aforeſaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyar (upon petition of her ſon, and the mercy and clemency of this court) had liberty to depart within two days; which ſhe hath accepted of. The conſideration of our gradual proceeding will vindicate us from the clamorous accuſations of ſeverity, our own juſt and neceſſary defence calling upon us (other means failing) to offer the point, which theſe perſons have violently and wilfully ruſhed upon, and thereby become felons *de ſe*; which, might it have been prevented, and the ſovereign law, *ſalus populi*, been preſerved, our former proceedings, as well as the ſparing Mary Dyar upon an inconſiderable interceſſion, will manifeſtly evince, that we deſire their lives abſent, rather than their deaths preſent.

'Edward Rawſon, Secretary.'

In this apology, wherein the Quakers (who always were an harmleſs people, and never made reſiſtance with outward arms) are compared to the mutinous and riotous

Anabaptiſts of Munſter, it is alſo ſaid of them, that by a back door they found entrance. And this reflects on ſome who unexpectedly came into New England by land, ſince they could find no opportunity to come by ſea, becauſe the ſhip-maſters fearing the ſeverity of the Boſton laws, were unwilling to carry any Quakers thither. This gave occaſion to Thomas Thirſtone (who having been already at Boſton, was ſent away on board a ſhip,) to think on other means; for finding himſelf moved in ſpirit to go thither again, he and Joſiah Cole (of whom mention hath been made before, and who may be farther ſpoken of hereafter,) went from England to Virginia, from whence they with one Thomas Chapman travelled ſeveral hundreds of miles on foot through vaſt wilderneſſes and woods, and ſo at length came into New England, which made the perſecutors there aſtoniſhed; for they thought this impoſſible, that way having been accounted unpaſſable for other men than the Indians, many of whom in thoſe parts are warlike men, who behaved themſelves well toward our travellers, whoſe journey however was very hard; for they had not only hunger and cold (it being winter-time) to encounter with, but they were alſo in danger of being devoured by wild beaſts, or of periſhing in unknown marſhes or bogs. But they were preſerved by an Almighty hand; though this marvellous paſſage was repreſented like a criminal faucineſs, by theſe New England perſecutors.

It ſeems to me that the aforeſaid apology, (which was publiſhed in print, and likewiſe anſwered) was given forth before Mary Dyar was put to death; but after her death the general court of Boſton ſent over an addreſs to king Charles the Second, ſigned by their governor John Endicot, to juſtify their cruel proceedings. Herein they ſaid, that they had choſen rather the pure Scripture worſhip, with a good conſcience, in that remote wilderneſs among the heathen, than the pleaſures of England, with ſubjection to the impoſition of the then ſo diſpoſed, and ſo far prevailing hierarchy, which they could not do without an evil conſcience.

Concerning the Quakers, they ſaid, that they were open capital blaſphemers, and ſeducers from the glorious Tri-

nity, the Lord Chriſt, the bleſſed goſpel; open enemies to the government itſelf; and malignant promoters of doctrines directly tending to ſubvert both church and ſtate.

Moreover they ſaid, that at laſt they had been conſtrained for their own ſafety to paſs a ſentence of baniſhment againſt them on pain of death, ſince the magiſtrate in conſcience judged himſelf called for the defence of all to keep the paſſage with the point of the ſword held towards them; and that this could do no harm to them that would be warned thereby. But the Quakers ruſhing themſelves thereupon was their own act, and a crime, bringing their blood upon their own heads.

Could they have made the king believe this, they would willingly have done it; but he had too much ſenſe to be thus impoſed upon, though they did whatever they could to prevent his hearing the other party, in order whereunto they ſaid, 'Let not the king hear men's words; your ſervants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order; not ſeditious to the intereſt of Cæſar.'

How ſmooth and plauſible ſoever this ſeemed, yet it could not ſtand the teſt; and E. Burrough, who anſwered it in print, addreſſed the king thus:

'O king, this my occaſion to preſent thee with theſe conſiderations is very urgent, and of great neceſſity, even in the behalf of innocent blood, hoping that my work will find ſuch favour with thee, as to induce thee to the reading and ſerious conſideration thereof.'

E. Burrough then examining all their pretended reaſons, repreſented alſo the king how ſome of theſe petitioners ſome time before had not ſtuck to write in a letter from Boſton to one Gordon: 'There is more danger in theſe Quakers, to trouble and overcome England, than in the king of Scots, and all the popiſh princes in Germany;' which plainly denoted, that they reputed the king a troubler of England, whom they numbered with the popiſh princes of Germany. What E. Burrough obtained of the king for his friends, we may ſee hereafter.

But firſt I return to William Leddra, whom I left in priſon: it was on the 9th of the Firſt month of this year, that he was brought into the court of aſſiſtants, with his chains and log at his heels. And he aſking the gaoler, when he intended to take off the irons from his legs; the gaoler roughly anſwered, 'When thou art going to be hanged.' W. Leddra then being brought to the bar, it was told him by the rulers, ſpeaking of their law, that he was found guilty, and ſo, that he was to die. He ſaid, 'What evil have I done?' The anſwer was, his own confeſſion was as good as a thouſand witneſſes. He aſked, what that was? To which they anſwered, that he owned theſe Quakers that were put to death, and that they were innocent. Beſides, that he would not put off his hat in court, and that he ſaid thee and thou. Then ſaid William to them, 'You will put me to death for ſpeaking Engliſh, and for not putting off my clothes?' To this major-general Deniſon returned, 'A man may ſpeak treaſon in Engliſh.' And William replied, 'Is it treaſon to ſay thee and thou to a ſingle perſon?' But none anſwered, only Simon Broadſtreet, one of the court, aſked him, whether he would go for England? To which he anſwered, 'I have no buſineſs there.' Hereupon Broadſtreet, pointing to the gallows, ſaid, 'Then you ſhall go that way.' To which William returned, 'What, will ye put me to death for breathing in the air in your juriſdiction? And for what you have againſt me, I appeal to the laws of England for my trial; and if by them I am guilty, I refuſe not to die.' Of this no notice was taken, but inſtead thereof, they endeavoured to perſuade him to recant of his error (as they ſtiled it) and to conform; to which with a grave magnanimity he anſwered, 'What! to join with ſuch murderers as you are? Then let every man that meets me ſay, lo this is the man that hath forſaken the God of his ſalvation.'

Whilſt the trial of W. Leddra was thus going on, Wenlock Chriſtiſon, who was already baniſhed upon pain of death, came into the court. This ſtruck a damp upon them, inſomuch that for ſome ſpace of time there was ſilence in the court: but at length one of the bloody

council cried, 'Here is another, fetch him up to the bar.' Which the marſhal performing, the ſecretary Rawſon ſaid, 'Is not your name Wenlock Chriſtiſon?' 'Yea,' ſaid Wenlock. 'Well,' ſaid the governor John Endicot, 'what doſt thou here? Waſt thou not baniſhed upon pain of death?' To which Wenlock anſwered, 'Yea, I was.' And to the queſtion, 'What doſt thou here then?' he anſwered, 'I am come here to warn you that you ſhould ſhed no more innocent blood; for the blood that you have ſhed already, cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon you.' Whereupon it was ſaid, 'Take him away, gaoler.'

It having been told W. Leddra, that the laſt general court he had liberty given him to go for England, or to go out of their juriſdiction; and that promiſing to do ſo, and come there no more, he might ſave his life; he anſwered, 'I ſtand not in my own will, but in the will of the Lord: if I may have my freedom, I ſhall go, but to make you a promiſe I cannot.' But this was ſo far from giving content, that they proceeded to pronounce ſentence of death againſt him; which being done, he was led from the court to priſon again, where the day before his death he writ the following letter to his friends:

'Moſt dear and inwardly beloved,

'The ſweet influences of the morning ſtar, like a flood diſtilling into my innocent habitation, hath ſo filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holineſs, that my ſpirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly ſwallowed up in the boſom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

'Alas, alas, what can the wrath and ſpirit of man, that luſteth to envy, aggravated by the heart and ſtrength of the king of the locuſts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the ſecret places of the Almighty? Or, unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace? under whoſe armour of light they ſhall be able to ſtand in the day of trial, having on the breaſtplate of righteouſneſs, and the ſword of the ſpirit, which is their weapon of war againſt ſpiritual weakneſs,

principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkneſs of this world, both within and without! Oh my beloved! I have waited as a dove at the windows of the ark, and have ſtood ſtill in that watch, which the Maſter (without whom I could do nothing) did at his coming reward with fulneſs of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might in the love and life of God ſpeak a few words to you ſealed with the ſpirit of promiſe, that the taſte thereof might be a ſavour of life, to your life, and a teſtimony in you of my innocent death: and if I had been altogether ſilent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have ſealed my innocency with the ſtreams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is in God, whom and in whoſe preſence there is life; in which, as you abide, you ſtand upon the pillar and ground of truth: for, the life being the truth and the way, go not one ſtep without it, leſt you ſhould compaſs a mountain in the wilderneſs; for unto every thing there is a ſeaſon.

'As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulneſs, and leaves a ſavour behind it, ſo doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom he hath made partakers of his divine nature; and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a ſweet ſavour behind it, that many can ſay, they are made clean through the word that he hath ſpoken to them: in which innocent condition you may ſee what you are in the preſence of God, and what you are without him. Therefore, my dear hearts, let the enjoyment of the life alone be your hope, your joy and conſolation, and let the man of God flee thoſe things that would lead the mind out of the croſs, for then the ſavour of the life will be buried: and although ſome may ſpeak of things that they received in the life, as experiences: yet the life being veiled, and the ſavour that it left behind waſhed away by the freſh floods of temptation, the condition that they did enjoy in the life, boaſted of by the airy thing, will be like the manna that was gathered yeſterday, without any good ſcent or ſavour.

For, it was only well with the man while he was in the life of innocency; but being driven from the preſence of the Lord into the earth, what can he boaſt of? And although you know theſe things, and (many of you) much more than I can ſay; yet, (for the love and zeal I bear to the truth and honour of God, and tender deſire of my ſoul to thoſe that are young, that they may read me in that from which I write, to ſtrengthen them againſt the wiles of the ſubtil ſerpent that beguiled Eve) I ſay, ſtand in the watch within, in the fear of the Lord, which is the very entrance of wiſdom; and the ſtate where you are ready to receive the ſecrets of the Lord: hunger and thirſt patiently, be not weary, neither doubt! Stand ſtill, and ceaſe from thy own working, and in due time thou ſhalt enter into the reſt, and thy eyes ſhall behold thy ſalvation, whoſe teſtimonies are ſure and righteous altogether: let them be as a ſeal upon thine arm, and as jewels about thy neck, that others may ſee what the Lord hath done for your ſouls: confeſs him before men, yea, before his greateſt enemies; fear not what they can do unto you: greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world: for he will clothe you with humility, and in the power of his meekneſs you ſhall reign over all the rage of your enemies in the favour of God; wherein, as you ſtand in faith, ye are the ſalt of the earth; for, many ſeeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their viſitation.

'Take heed of receiving that which you ſaw not in the light, leſt you give ear to the enemy. Bring all things to the light, that they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God; the love of the world, the luſt of the fleſh, and the luſt of the eye, are without the light, in the world; therefore poſſeſs your veſſels in all ſanctification and honour, and let your eye look at the mark: he that hath called you is holy: and if there be an eye that offends, pluck it out, and caſt it from you: let not a temptation take hold, for if you do, it will keep from the favour of God, and that will be a ſad ſtate; for, without grace poſſeſſed, there is no aſſurance of ſalvation: by grace you are ſaved; and to the witneſſing of it is ſufficient for

you, to which I commend you all, my dear friends, and in it remain,

'Your brother,

'William Leddra.'

Boſton Gaol, the 13th of the Firſt month, 1660-61.

The day before he ſuffered.

The next day after this letter was written, the execution of W. Leddra was performed, which was on the 14th of the Firſt month. After the lecture was ended, the governor John Endicot came with a guard of ſoldiers to the priſon, where W. Leddra's irons were taken off, with which he had been chained to a log both night and day during a cold winter; and now they were knocked off, according to what the gaoler once ſaid, as hath been related before. William then having taken his leave of Wenlock Chriſtiſon, and others then in bonds, when called, went forth to the ſlaughter, incompaſſed with a guard to prevent his ſpeaking to his friends; which Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem, and alſo baniſhed on pain of death, ſeeing, and ſpeaking againſt, one amongſt the company ſaid, 'O Edward, it will be your turn next!' To which captain Oliver added, 'if you ſpeak a word, I'll ſtop your mouth.' Then W. Leddra being brought to the foot of the ladder, was pinioned, and as he was about to aſcend the ſame, he took leave of his friend E. Wharton, to whom he ſaid, 'All that will be Chriſt's diſciples, muſt take up the croſs.' He ſtanding upon the ladder, ſomebody ſaid, 'William, have you any thing to ſay to the people?' Thereupon he ſpoke thus, 'For the teſtimony of Jeſus, and for teſtifying againſt deceivers, and the deceived, I am brought here to ſuffer.' This took ſo much with the people, that it wrought a tenderneſs in many. But to quench this, prieſt Allen ſaid to the ſpectators, 'People, I would not have you think it ſtrange to ſee a man ſo willing to die; for that's no new thing. And you may read how the apoſtle ſaid, that ſome ſhould be given up to ſtrong deluſions, and even dare to die for it.' But he did not ſay where the apoſtle ſpeaks

ſo, neither have I found it any where in holy writ; though I know that Paul ſaith, Rom. v. 7. "Peradventure for a good man ſome would even dare to die." But it ſeems it was ſufficient for Allen, if he could but render Leddra odious; who however continued chearful: for as the executioner was putting the halter about his neck, he was heard to ſay, 'I commit my righteous cauſe unto thee, O God.' The executioner then being charged to make haſte, W. Leddra at the turning of the ladder, cried, "Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit;" and ſo he was turned off, and finiſhed his days. The hangman cut down the dead body, and leſt it ſhould be as barbarouſly uſed as thoſe of William Robinſon and Marmaduke Stevenſon (which none holding when cut down, fell to the ground to the breaking of W. Robinſon's ſkull) Edward Wharton, John Chamberlain, and others, caught the body in their arms, and laid it on the ground, till the hangman had ſtript it of its clothes; who having done ſo, ſaid, that he was a comely man, as indeed he was. The body being ſtript, William's friends took it, laid it in a coffin, and buried it. For farther confirmation of what hath been related, the following letter of one of the ſpectators, that was there accidentally, may be added:

Boſton, March 26, 1661.

'On the 14th of this inſtant, here was one William Leddra, which was put to death. The people of the town told me, he might go away if he would: but when I made farther enquiry, I heard the marſhal ſay, that he was chained in priſon, from the time he was condemned, to the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion: but yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magiſtrates of Cambridge, who had been of the jury that condemned him, (as he told me himſelf) and I aſked him by what rule he did it? He anſwered me that he was a rogue, a very rogue. But what is this to the queſtion, (I ſaid) where is your rule? He ſaid, he had abuſed authority. Then I goes after the man, and aſked him, whether he did not look on it as a breach of rule to ſlight and undervalue authority? And I ſaid that

Paul gave Feſtus the title of honour, though he was a heathen. (I do not ſay theſe magiſtrates are heathens). I ſaid then, when the man was on the ladder, he looked on me, and called me friend, and ſaid, know that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the witneſs of Jeſus. Then I deſired leave of the officers to ſpeak, and ſaid, Gentlemen, I am a ſtranger both to your perſons and country, and yet a friend to both: and I cried aloud, for the Lord's ſake, take not away the man's life; but remember Gamaliel's counſel to the Jews. If this be of man it will come to nought, but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it: but be careful ye be not found fighters againſt God. And the captain ſaid, why had you not come to the priſon? The reaſon was, becauſe I heard, the man might go if he would; and therefore I called him down from the tree, and ſaid, come down, William, you may go away if you will. Then captain Oliver ſaid, it was no ſuch matter; and aſked, what I had to do with it? And beſides, bade me be gone: and I told them, I was willing; for I cannot endure to ſee this, I ſaid. And when I was in the town, ſome did ſeem to ſympathize with me in my grief. But I told them, that they had no warrant from the word of God, nor precedent from our country, nor power from his majeſty, to hang the man. I reſt,

'Your Friend,

'Thomas Wilkie.'

To Mr. George Lad, maſter of the America of Dartmouth, now at Barbadoes.

William Leddra being thus diſpatched, it was reſolved to make an end alſo of Wenlock Chriſtiſon. He therefore was brought from the priſon to the court at Boſton, where the governor John Endicot, and the deputy-governor Richard Bellingham, being both preſent, it was told him, 'Unleſs you renounce your religion, you ſhall ſurely die.' But inſtead of ſhrinking, he ſaid with an undaunted courage, 'Nay, I ſhall not change my religion, nor ſeek to ſave my life; neither do I intend to deny my Maſter; but if I loſe my life for Chriſt's ſake, and the preaching of the goſpel,

I ſhall ſave my life.' This noble reſolution gave ſuch a check to his perſecutors, that they did not then go on with the trial, but ſent him away to priſon again. And it being ſaid by ſomebody, that William Leddra was dead, a certain perſon ſaid to Wenlock, 'O thy turn is next.' To which he gravely replied, 'The will of the Lord be done,' ſhewing thereby his entire reſignation.

Being now locked up again in priſon, he was kept there till about the Fourth month: but then the court being ſet, a ſpirit of confuſion appeared there, and a diviſion among ſeveral of the members; for though the greateſt part were for taking the ſame courſe with him as with thoſe that were already put to death, yet ſeveral would not conſent to it. And as natural occurrences ſometimes cauſe reflections among obſerving people, ſo it happened here; for during their deliberations how to deal with Wenlock Chriſtiſon, which laſted for the ſpace of two weeks, the ſun in the firmament ſhone not, a thing at that ſeaſon ſomewhat extraordinary; which gave occaſion for ſome to ſay, that the ſun abhorring this bloody buſineſs, hid itſelf from them. But after many debates, the ſanguinary council at length agreed, and Wenlock was brought to the bar, where the governor, John Endicot, aſked him, what he had to ſay for himſelf, why he ſhould not die? He anſwered, 'I have done nothing worthy of death; if I had, I refuſe not to die.' To this another ſaid, 'Thou art come in among us in rebellion, which is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ought to be puniſhed.' Hence it appears how perverſely theſe blood-thirſty perſecutors applied the Holy Scriptures to their cruel ends, and ſo made a wrong uſe of the prophet Samuel's words to Saul; to which falſe concluſion Wenlock anſwered, 'I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven, not in contempt to any of you, but in love to your ſouls and bodies; and that you ſhall know one day, when you and all men muſt give an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed (thus he went on) for you cannot eſcape the righteous judgments of God.' Then ſaid major-general Adderton, 'You pronounce woes and judgments, and thoſe that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the

judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us as yet.' So inſolent and hard-hearted may man become, as not to ſtick even to defy the Moſt High. But before we draw the curtains of this ſtage, we ſhall ſee the tragical end of this Adderton, who now received this anſwer from Wenlock: 'Be not proud, neither let your ſpirits be lifted up; God doth but wait till the meaſure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your ungodly race; then will the wrath of God come upon you to the uttermoſt. And as for thy part, it hangs over thy head, and is near to be poured down upon thee, and ſhall come as a thief in the night ſuddenly, when thou thinkeſt not of it.'

Then Wenlock aſked, 'By what law will you put me to death?' The anſwer was, 'We have a law, and by our law you are to die.' So ſaid the Jews of Chriſt, (replied Wenlock) We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Who empowered you to make that law?' To which one of the board anſwered, 'We have a patent, and are the patentees; judge whether we have not power to make laws.' Hereupon Wenlock aſked again, 'How have you power to make laws repugnant to the laws of England?' 'No,' ſaid the governor. 'Then (replied Wenlock) you are gone beyond your bounds, and have forfeited your patent; and that is more than you can anſwer. Are you (aſked he) ſubjects to the king, yea, or nay?' 'What good will that do you,' replied the ſecretary?' 'If you are, (anſwered Wenlock) ſay ſo; for in your petition to the king, you deſire that he would protect you, and that you may be worthy to kneel amongſt his loyal ſubjects.' To which one ſaid, 'Yea, we are ſo.' 'Well (ſaid Wenlock) ſo am I, and for any thing I know, am as good as you, if not better; for if the king did but know your hearts as God knows them, he would ſee that they are as rotten towards him, as they are towards God. Therefore ſeeing that you and I are ſubjects to the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation.' It was anſwered, 'You ſhall be tried by a bench and a jury:' for it ſeems they began to be afraid to go on in the former courſe of trial without a jury, this being contrary to the laws of England. But Wenlock ſaid, 'That is not the

law, but the manner of it: for I never heard nor read of any law that was in England to hang Quakers.' To this the governor replied, that there was a law to hang Jeſuits. To which Wenlock returned, 'If you put me to death, it is not becauſe I go under the name of a Jeſuit, but of a Quaker: therefore I appeal to the laws of my own nation.' But inſtead of taking notice of this, one ſaid, that he was in their hands, and had broken their law, and they would try him. Wenlock ſtill appealed to the law of his own nation: yet the jury being called over, went out, but quickly returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon the ſecretary ſaid, 'Wenlock Chriſtiſon, hold up your hand.' 'I will not,' ſaid Wenlock, 'I am here and can hear thee.' Then the ſecretary cried, 'Guilty or not guilty?' 'I deny all guilt,' replied Wenlock, 'for my conſcience is clear in the ſight of God.' But the governor ſaid, 'The jury hath condemned thee.' Wenlock anſwered, 'The Lord doth juſtify me; who art thou that condemneſt?'

They then voted as to the ſentence of death, but were in a manner confounded, for ſeveral could not vote him guilty of death. The governor ſeeing this diviſion, ſaid, 'I could find in my heart to go home:' being in ſuch a rage, that he flung ſomething furiouſly on the table; which made Wenlock cry, 'It were better for thee to be at home than here, for thou art about a bloody piece of work.' Then the governor put the court to vote again; but this was done confuſedly, which ſo incenſed the governor, that he ſtood up and ſaid, 'You that will not conſent, record it: I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment.' Thus we ſee that to be drunk with blood, doth not quench the thirſt after blood; for Endicot the governor, ſeeing others backward to vote, precipitately pronounced judgment himſelf, and ſaid, 'Wenlock Chriſtiſon, hearken to your ſentence: You muſt return to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, and there you muſt be hanged until you are dead, dead, dead.' To which Wenlock ſaid, 'The will of the Lord be done, in whoſe will I came amongſt you, and in whoſe counſel I ſtand, feeling his eternal power, that will uphold me unto

the laſt gaſp.' Moreover he cried thus: 'Known be it unto you all, that if ye have power to take my life from me, my ſoul ſhall enter into everlaſting reſt and peace with God, where you yourſelves ſhall never come. And if ye have power to take my life from me, the which I do queſtion, I do believe you ſhall never more take Quakers' lives from them: note my words; do not think to weary out the living God, by taking away the lives of his ſervants. What do you gain by it? for the laſt man that you have put do death, here are five come in his room. And if ye have power to take my life from me, God can raiſe up the ſame principle of life in ten of his ſervants, and ſend them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, ſaith my God.' The holy confidence with which he uttered theſe words ſhew, and the ſequel made it appear plainly, that ſomething ſupernatural was contained in them: and it is remarkable, that among the impriſoned Quakers, there were then ſeveral that had been baniſhed on pain of death; and among theſe alſo Elizabeth Hooton; and Edward Wharton ſtaid in his habitation contrary to his ſentence of baniſhment.

Wenlock having received ſentence of death, was brought to priſon again, where having been detained five days, the marſhal and a conſtable came to him with an order from the court for his enlargement, with twenty-ſeven more of his friends, then in priſon for their teſtimony to the Truth, ſaying they were ordered by the court to make him acquainted with their new law. 'What means this?' ſaid Wenlock, 'Have ye a new law?' 'Yes,' ſaid they. 'Then ye have deceived moſt people,' ſaid Wenlock. 'Why?' ſaid they. 'Becauſe,' ſaid he, 'they did think the gallows had been your laſt weapon. Your magiſtrates ſaid that your law was a good and wholeſome law, made for your peace, and the ſafeguard of your country. What, are your hands now become weak? The power of God is over you all.'

Thus the priſon doors were opened, and Wenlock, with twenty-ſeven more of his friends, as aforeſaid, ſet at liberty, ſave that two of them, viz. Peter Pearſon and Judith

Brown, being ſtripped to the waiſt, and faſtened to a cart's tail, were whipped through the town of Boſton with twenty ſtripes apiece.

Now though not long after an order came from the king, as will be ſaid anon, whereby theſe perſecutors were charged to deſiſt from putting the Quakers to death, yet it ſeems they had got ſome ſcent of the king's diſpleaſure, who had a mind to ſtop their bloody career: for having got a book written by George Biſhop, containing a relation of the cruel perſecution in New England, and reading a paſſage concerning major-general Deniſon, who, to put off thoſe that complained of their wicked proceedings, ſaid, 'This year ye will go to complain to the parliament, and the next year they will ſend to ſee how it is: and the third year the government is changed.' He took much notice of this, and calling to the lords to hear it, ſaid, 'Lo, theſe are my good ſubjects of New England: but I will put a ſtop to them.'

It was not long before an opportunity was offered; for the news of William Leddra's death being come into England, with an information of the danger that others were in of going the ſame way, their friends took it ſo to heart, eſpecially Edward Burrough, that having got audience of the king, he ſaid to him there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not ſtopped would over-run all. To which the king replied, 'But I will ſtop that vein.' Then Burrough deſired him to do it ſpeedily; 'for we know not,' ſaid he, 'how many may ſoon be put to death.' The king anſwered, 'As ſoon as you will. Call (ſaid he to ſome preſent) the ſecretary, and I will do it preſently.' The ſecretary being come, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, going again to the king, to deſire diſpatch of the matter, the king ſaid he had no occaſion at preſent to ſend a ſhip thither; but if they would ſend one, they might do it as ſoon as they could. E. Burrough then aſked the king if it would pleaſe him to grant his deputation to one called a Quaker, to carry the mandamus to New England. The king anſwered, 'Yes, to whom you will.' Whereupon E. Burrough named one Samuel Shattock, who being an in-

habitant of New England, was baniſhed on pain of death, if ever he returned thither. And the king accordingly granted the deputation to him, with full power to carry the mandamus, which was as followeth:

'CHARLES R.

'Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Having been informed that ſeveral of our ſubjects amongſt you, called Quakers, have been, and are impriſoned by you, whereof ſome have been executed, and others (as hath been repreſented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like: we have thought fit to ſignify our pleaſure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of thoſe people called Quakers amongſt you, now already condemned to ſuffer death, or other corporal puniſhment, or that are impriſoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any farther therein; but that you forthwith ſend the ſaid perſons (whether condemned or impriſoned) over into this our kingdom of England, together with the reſpective crimes or offences laid to their charge; to the end that ſuch courſe may be taken with them here, as ſhall be agreeable to our laws, and their demerits. And for ſo doing, theſe our letters ſhall be your ſufficient warrant and diſcharge.

'Given at our court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

'By his majeſty's command,
'William Morris.'

The ſuperſcription was:

To our truſty and well-beloved John Endicot, Eſq. and to all and every other the governor, or governors of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter ſhall be; and to all and every the miniſters and officers of our ſaid plantations and colonies whatſoever, within the continent of New England.'

Thus favourable the king manifeſted himſelf; and in England perſecution for religion was a little at a ſtand; but it was but a kind of reſpite. G. Fox the younger, a man of excellent qualifications, and great boldneſs, foreſaw an imminent ſtorm; and leſt any careleſſneſs might enter among his friends, in the Fourth month he wrote the following exhortation to them:

'What my heavenly Father hath determined for theſe men to do, no man can ſtop it: O that patience might be abode in by all that know his name, and his will ſubmitted unto by them that he hath called. O be ſtill, ſtrive not, but drink the cup which our Father ſuffereth to be given; I know it will be bitter to ſome; but whoſoever ſtriveth againſt it ſhall come to loſs and ſhame: for the Lord will yet further try his people, till it be fully and clearly manifeſt who are the approved in his ſight. This he will certainly do; therefore let not the preſent calm beget a wrong ſecurity in any, for lo the day haſtens, and cometh ſwiftly, that another ſtorm muſt ariſe; and in vain will it be to fly to the tall cedars and ſtrong oaks for ſhelter; for nothing but the name of the Lord can preſerve in that day.

'George Fox, the younger.'

That this G. Fox did not reckon amiſs, when in this exhortation he ſaid the day haſtens that another ſtorm muſt ariſe, we ſhall ſee ere long: but firſt we muſt take a view of things in America.

This mandamus to the rulers of New England being obtained, as hath been ſaid, quick diſpatch was thought neceſſary to ſend it thither. And Samuel Shattock being empowered by the king to carry it, an agreement was made with one Ralph Goldſmith, who was maſter of a good ſhip, and alſo one of thoſe called Quakers, for three hundred pounds, (goods or no goods) to ſail in ten days. He then immediately made all things ready to ſet ſail, and with a proſperous gale arrived in about ſix weeks time be-

fore the town of Boſton in New England, upon a Firſt-day of the week. The townſmen ſeeing a ſhip come into the bay with Engliſh colours, ſoon came on board, and aſked for the captain. Ralph Goldſmith told them he was the commander. Then they aſked him whether he had any letters; and he ſaid 'Yes.' Whereupon they aſked if he would deliver them; but he ſaid, 'No, not to-day.' So they went aſhore, and reported there was a ſhip full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among them, who they knew was by their law liable to be put to death, for coming in again after baniſhment: but they knew not his errand nor authority.

All being thus kept cloſe, and none of the ſhip's company ſuffered to go on ſhore that day, next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldſmith, the commander of the veſſel, went on ſhore; and ſending the men that landed them back to the ſhip, they two went through the town to the governor John Endicot's door, and knocked. He ſending a man to know their buſineſs, they ſent him word their buſineſs was from the king of England, and that they would deliver their meſſage to none but the governor himſelf. Thereupon they were admitted to go in, and the governor came to them, and commanded Shattock's hat to be taken off, and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he laid off his hat; and ordering Shattock's hat to be given him again, he looked upon the papers, and then going out, went to the deputy-governor, and bid the king's deputy and the maſter of the ſhip follow him. Being come to the deputy-governor, and having conſulted with him about the matter, he returned to the two aforeſaid perſons, and ſaid, 'We ſhall obey his majeſty's command.' After this, the maſter of the ſhip gave liberty to the paſſengers to come aſhore, which they did, and met together with their friends of the town, to offer up praiſes to God for this wonderful deliverance.

Now for as much as ſeveral of their friends were yet in priſon at Boſton, the following order was given forth by the council not long after;

To William Salter, keeper of the priſon at Boſton.

'You are required by authority, and order of the general court, forthwith to releaſe and diſcharge the Quakers, who at preſent are in your cuſtody. See that you do not neglect this.

'By order of the court,

'Edward Rawſon, Secretary.'

Boſton, 9th Dec. 1661.

They then conſulted what to do that they might not incur the king's diſpleaſure; and it was agreed to ſend a deputation to him. Firſt, colonel Temple was ſent to acquaint the king with their having ſet the Quakers at liberty; and he was followed not long after by the chief prieſt John Norton, and Simon Broadſtreet one of the magiſtrates.

The year was now ſpent: but before I conclude it I muſt take notice, as a pregnant inſtance of the marvellous viciſſitude of mundane affairs, that in the fore-part of this year, the body of O. Cromwell, which had been buried with great ſtate in Weſtminſter Abbey, was digged up, as were alſo the bodies of Bradſhaw and Ireton, which three corpſe were carried in carts to Tyburn, and there hanged on the gallows. Then the executioner chopped off the heads, ſtamped with his foot on the bodies, which were tumbled into a pit, dug near the gallows; and the heads were expoſed on the top of Weſtminſter Hall, where I remember to have ſeen them. And that now befel Cromwell which he ſaid about ſeven years before in his ſpeech to the parliament, as hath been mentioned in its due place, viz. That he would rather be rolled into the grave, and buried with infamy, than give his conſent to the throwing away one of the fundamentals of that government, to wit, liberty of conſcience. And yet he ſuffered perſecution to go on, as hath been related at large: but now, according to his ſaying, he was rolled with infamy into the grave; which may ſerve indeed for a remarkable inſtance of the juſtice and equal judgments of God.

About this time a book came out at London, bearing the title of Semper Idem, [i. e. Always the ſame] or a Parallel of fanaticks. The author concealed his name; but he made it appear ſufficiently, that he was a Papiſt, and it may be a jeſuit: for he inveighed not only againſt the Quakers and Baptiſts, but alſo againſt the Preſbyterians, and even Epiſcopalians, and conſequently againſt all Proteſtants. Nay, the martyrs that were burnt in the bloody reign of queen Mary, eldeſt daughter to king Henry the Eighth, were no leſs vilified than the Quakers, in the ſaid book, by the ſcornful name of rebels and fanaticks. This book was ſold publickly, and it ſeemed that none durſt oppoſe it, for fear of diſpleaſing the court. But E. Burrough, who was of an undaunted courage, and ſo continued till his death, employed his pen to refute it, and gave forth his anſwer in print, plainly ſhewing what the anonymous author aimed at, viz. That he would have the cruel uſage of fire and faggots revived, and wiſhed to ſee the burning of reputed hereticks brought again into vogue. Which was the more to be taken notice of, becauſe ſuch a publication of vilifying the martyrs with calumnies, had not been ſeen at London for above an hundred years; and all the groundleſs poſitions of the ſaid author were very notably anſwered by the ſaid E. Burrough.

And ſince perſecution in the latter end of this year began to appear with open face again, he publiſhed a book, which he called Antichriſt's Government juſtly detected. This he dedicated to all the rulers, &c. in the (ſo called) Chriſtian world; and therein, with ſound arguments, manifeſted the unlawfulneſs and injuſtice of perſecution, and from whence it had its riſe; and how dangerous it was to impoſe religion.

Next he treated at large concerning hereſy, and what puniſhment pertained to ſuch as are truly convicted of it. But leſt any might think that he was for oppoſing the duty of the civil magiſtrate againſt malefactors, he ſaid concerning the puniſhment of hereſy, (which he ſtated to be only an eccleſiaſtical cenſure) that he only intended this, where the error of a man and his hereſy in his mind and

judgment, did only extend to the hurt of his own ſoul, and againſt God, and not to the harm of his neighbour's perſon or eſtate. But (thus continued he) if his error and hereſy do extend farther than only againſt God and his own ſoul, even to outward wrongs, or evils, or violence, or viſible miſchiefs committed, as murders, or other the like crimes againſt men, to the injuring of others, then I forbid not outward external puniſhment, to be corporally inflicted upon the perſon and eſtate of ſuch a man; but it ought to be done, and that by the laws of men, provided for the ſame end; even ſuch a man's error, in ſuch his wrong dealing, may juſtly and lawfully be puniſhed with death, baniſhment, or penalties, according to the deſert of the crime, &c. The author alſo writ circumſtantially concerning the government of antichriſt, and ſhewed the deceit that was in it, and who were the ſubjects of his kingdom.

It was ſomewhat before this time that George Fox the younger, being a priſoner, and ſeeing an intent of promoting popery, writ the following letter to the king:

'The King of kings hath beheld, yea, the King of kings hath ſeen even all thy actings in the dark, and he hath traced thy walking in obſcure places; and thou haſt not hid thy counſels from the Almighty, but he hath ſeen all the intents of thy heart, and thy good words have not at all deceived him, nor thoſe that purely ſtood in his counſels; for he hath ſeen the ſnares, and beheld the pits which privily have been preparing for the innocent, (even in the time when ſmooth words have been given) and he hath ſhewed them unto others: Oh! that thou wouldeſt have taken counſel of the Lord, and obeyed the ſame, thou ſhouldeſt have been proſpered: but thou haſt taken counſel of them which have cauſed thee to err: thou haſt alſo ſought to exalt and eſtabliſh thyſelf, and thy own honour, and not the Truth and honour of God only; which if thou hadſt truly done (in the ſelf-denial) God would have honoured thee: thou haſt not taken the Lord for thy ſtrength and ſtay, but thou haſt leaned to that which cannot help thee, even to that which will prove a broken

reed unto thee, if thou comeſt to prove its ſtrength. Thou haſt greatly diſhonoured and grieved the Lord, by thy ſetting up miniſters which he loathes, and by thy providing a forced maintenance for them by an unjuſt law, that ſo they may yet make a prey upon his people, who for conſcience-ſake cannot put into their mouths, being ſpiritually gathered therefrom by the word of the Lord. Thou haſt alſo grieved the Spirit of the Lord, in that thou haſt not put a difference betwixt that which the Spirit of the Lord moved, and that which is moved by the evil luſts of men; and hereby thou haſt juſtified that which God hath condemned, and condemned that which he hath juſtified, and will juſtify in the ſight of his enemies. O, friend, it is not the perſon of any man which the Lord regards, but it is righteouſneſs which he hath reſpect to, and ſo far as man (whatever he may be) by the drawing of the Truth comes into righteouſneſs, and acts therein, ſo far hath the Lord unity with him, and no farther: theſe things ſhould have been conſidered by thee. Thou haſt alſo grieved the Holy Ghoſt by thy ſuffering all theſe wicked and profane ſhews and ſports (which have abounded ſince thy coming in) by which the Lord's good creatures have been abuſed, waſted, and devoured. Thou haſt highly diſpleaſed the Lord God, by thy ſuffering perſecution to be acted in thy name, even whilſt thou in words haſt promiſed liberty; yea, many are this day in holes and priſons, for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, and obeying the doctrine of Chriſt. Oh! the Lord is grieved with the pride and wickedneſs that is lived in, both in thy family and dominions, and thou thyſelf haſt not been ſuch a pattern and example amongſt them as thou oughteſt to have been. O, friend! when I behold the wickedneſs, cruelty and oppreſſion, that abounds in this nation in open view, and alſo the ſecret abominations which are committed, and are plotting and lurking in the chambers; verily my life is even bowed down becauſe of the fierce wrath of the Almighty, which I ſee is kindled; and becauſe of the great deſtruction which I ſee attends the wicked, whoſe ends and counſels the Lord will fruſtrate, and upon whom he will pour out everlaſting contempt: yea, and it hath been oft in me, before thou cameſt laſt

into the land, and alſo ſince, even when it hath been ſhewn me, what idolatry is intended in ſecret to be brought in, that certainly it had been better for thee that thou hadſt never come, for I have ſeen it tending to thy deſtruction. And when I have ſeen the abomination and cruelties which are committed and intended, there hath a pity aroſe in me towards thee for thy ſoul's ſake; and it hath been my deſire, if it might ſtand with the will of God, that he would put it into thy heart to go out of the land again, that ſo thy life might be preſerved, and that thou mighteſt have time to repent; for although many men flatter and applaud thee for ſelf ends, yet I ſee the Lord is diſpleaſed with thy ways. Let no man deceive thee by feigned words; God will not be mocked: ſuch as thou ſoweſt, ſuch muſt thou reap. Thou canſt not hide thyſelf from the Lord, nor deliver thyſelf from the ſtroke of his hand: O conſider, how ſoon hath the Lord taken away thy brother, who, according to outward appearance, might have lived longer than thee! O, think not that men can preſerve thee, though all the nations about promiſe to help thee! Yet when the Lord appears againſt thee, thou muſt fall; verily there is a great deſolation near, thy hand cannot ſtay it; God hath decreed that he may exalt his own kingdom: the nations are like a boiling pot, a little flame will ſet them on fire; and the windy doctrine of the prieſts ſhall help to kindle it: Oh the day will be terrible, who may abide it? The ſtubble will be conſumed, and the chaff ſhall be burned; the ungodly ſhall be abaſed, for they cannot ſtand in judgment; but the ſeed ſhall be exalted. O what ſhall I ſay that might be for thy ſafety? Verily I can ſay little, the Lord's decree muſt ſtand, the Lord is highly diſpleaſed, and his wrath is near to be revealed: and he is ſwift in his goings, and he will ſhorten the days of his enemies for his elect ſake. O that thy ſoul might be ſaved in the day of the Lord; my ſpirit is in ſuffering for thee, my ſoul is afflicted within me becauſe of the approachings of the day of thy calamity, from which no man can deliver thee. This is the Truth that muſt ſtand, and in love to thy ſoul it is declared, by him who muſt deal uprightly with all men: though for it I ſuffer outwardly, yet I have a witneſs in thy conſcience,

unto which I am made manifeſt; and peace with the Lord is my portion, which is better than an earthly crown.'

'George Fox, the younger.'

This was given him the 9th day of the Eighth month, 1660.

This letter (a clear evidence of the author's innocent courage) was delivered to the king, who read it, and ſeemed to be reached thereby, and touched at heart: but his brother, the duke of York, was diſpleaſed with it, and being violently ſet againſt the author, adviſed the king to uſe ſeverity towards him; but the king being good-natured, ſaid, 'It were better for us to mend our lives.'

Whilſt the ſaid G. Fox was priſoner in Lambeth houſe, he writ alſo a ſmall treatiſe, called, 'England's ſad Eſtate and Condition lamented.' Herein he reproved the grievous abominations committed among the inhabitants, oppreſſion by perſecution, and the hypocriſy of the prieſts. He alſo predicted the peſtilence, as may be mentioned hereafter in due place; and ſignified not obſcurely, that endeavours would be uſed publickly to introduce ſuperſtition and idolatry: but that thoſe who intended to do ſo, ſhould be fruſtrated by the Lord in their attempts. And that others, whoſe worſhip alſo did diſpleaſe the Lord, ſhould grind and waſte one another: but that beyond their expectation, he would pluck out from them, and preſerve a holy ſeed. And that after he ſhould have executed his vengeance upon the rebellious and treacherous dealers, he would then bring forth the remnant of his holy ſeed, which ſhould be preſerved from their fury; and then they ſhould ſpread over all, and ſtand in dominion. 'But,' thus continued he, 'although theſe things, touching the holy remnant, ſhall certainly be fulfilled in their ſeaſon, yet before they will be fully accompliſhed, great will be the trials of many of the righteous, and there will be great judgments executed in thee, O land, by him, who oftimes maketh a fruitful land barren, becauſe of the wickedneſs of them that dwell therein.' This, and much more he writ, and publiſhed it in print. Several of his predictions we have ſeen fulfilled, as in the progreſs of this hiſtory

may appear: and this laſt we muſt refer to time. After the writing of this treatiſe, he alſo gave forth the following prayer:

'Surely it was thou, O Lord, that gave bounds unto the ſea, that the floods thereof could not overwhelm thy choſen: thou canſt let forth the winds, and ſuffer a ſtorm; and thou canſt make a calm when thou pleaſeſt. Have thou the glory of all, thou King of ſaints, thou Saviour of Iſrael. Thou canſt do whatever thou pleaſeſt, therefore will we truſt in thy name, neither will we fear what men can do unto us, becauſe thou wilt not forſake us; but thou wilt plead our cauſe in the ſight of our adverſaries, and they ſhall know that thou art our God, who art able to ſave to the uttermoſt. O Lord, our righteouſneſs, we will praiſe thy name; for thy mercies endure for ever. Our eyes, O God, are unto thee, for we have no other helper. Our faith, O Lord, ſtandeth in thee, who canſt not forget thy people. Thou haſt revealed and brought up Jacob, who wreſtleth with thee, and prevails as a prince, therefore muſt the bleſſing come. O Lord, the birth, the birth, crieth unto thee, thine own elect, which long hath been oppreſſed. Thou canſt not deny thyſelf, therefore have we faith, and hope, which maketh not aſhamed. O Lord, how unſearchable are thy ways! Thou haſt even amazed thy people with the depth of thy wiſdom; thou alone wilt have the glory of their deliverance; and therefore haſt thou ſuffered theſe things to come to paſs. O Lord, thou art righteous in all thy judgments: only preſerve thy people which thou haſt gathered, and wilt gather unto thyſelf, in the day of trial; that ſo they may ſing of thy power, and magnify thy name in the land of the living.'

This G. Fox writ alſo in priſon ſeveral other papers and epiſtles, for exhortation and conſolation of his friends: but his work was ſoon done, ſo that not long after he departed this life, which was in this, or the next year. He was, as may be ſeen from his writings, a man of extraordinary reſignation and courage; and that he gave up his life, if

required, may appear from a ſmall book that he writ, being priſoner in Lambeth houſe, which he called, 'The Dread of God's power uttering its Voice through Man, unto the Heads of the Nation.' Herein he exhorted the rulers very earneſtly to do juſtice; and ſaid amongſt the reſt, 'Friends, I muſt deal plainly with you in the ſight of God, who hath made me a prophet to the nation. I may not flatter any of you. My life is in the hand of my Maker, and not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without his providence. He hath redeemed my ſoul from hell, and my mind from the earth; and he hath given me his good Spirit to lead me. I am henceforth no more my own, but I am the Lord's, who hath formed me to his praiſe, and hath brought me forth, that I may ſound forth his powerful Truth amongſt the people. Therefore muſt I not fear man, neither muſt I be afraid of the ſons of men.'

Thus undaunted he ſhewed himſelf: but it was not long before he made his exit, of which I cannot but ſay ſomething. In his ſickneſs I find, that though he was weak in body, yet he was ſtrong in ſpirit, ſo that he would even ſing for joy of heart. He exhorted his friends to keep in unity, foreſeeing (it may be) that ſomething would riſe which might give occaſion for diviſion: and then with much fervency of ſpirit he prayed God, and exhorted his friends, to keep their garments unſpotted of the world, becauſe great was the day of trial that was at hand. Afterwards recommending them to the Lord, he took his leave of them, and ſlept in perfect peace with the Lord, being of ſound memory to the laſt. Now the duſt was returned to the earth, and the ſpirit unto God who gave it. Thus he was freed of all danger of loſing the crown of immortal life, which man by temptation, and the caſualties of this life, is liable unto, if he continueth not diligently watchful. But this valiant was now beyond the reach of all temptations, and ſo I leave him, that I may paſs on to other matters.

In this year E. Burrough writ a paper to the king and his council, which he called, 'A juſt and Righteous Plea,' in which he propoſed at large, the reaſons why the people

called Quakers, refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, viz. That it was not becauſe they would not be faithful to the king, but only for conſcience-ſake, ſince Chriſt to expreſsly had commanded his followers, "Swear not at all," which command they durſt not tranſgreſs. Yet to aſſure the government of their faithfulneſs, he ſaid thus:

'We are now, and ſhall be faithful, innocent, and peaceable, in our ſeveral ſtations and conditions, under this preſent government of king Charles the Second, whom we acknowledge ſupreme magiſtrate and governor over this kingdom; and for conſcience-ſake we are obedient and ſubmiſſive to him, as ſuch, in all his commands, either by doing and performing of what he juſtly requireth, or by patient ſuffering under whatſoever is inflicted upon us, in the matters for which we cannot be obedient for conſcience-ſake, when any thing is required of us different from the juſt law of God. And to this ſubjection to the king and his government, we are bound by the law of righteouſneſs; and ſuch hath ever been our principle and practice, and is unto this day, even to be quiet, and peaceable, and patient, under every authority that is ſet over us; and not in unrighteouſneſs, to plot, or contrive, or rebel, againſt any government or governors, nor to ſeek our own deliverance from injuſtice and oppreſſion in ſuch a way. And we are perſuaded to ſeek the preſervation of the king's perſon and authority, by all juſt and lawful means, and not to rebel againſt him with carnal weapons; and ſo far as his government is in juſtice, mercy, and righteouſneſs, we declare true and faithful ſubjection and obedience thereunto; and wherein it is otherwiſe, we ſhall be ſubject by patient ſuffering what is unequally impoſed upon us, and yet not rebel in any turbulent way of conſpiracies and inſurrections: for our principles are not for war, but for peace with all men ſo much as in us lies; neither may we render evil for evil to any, but are to be ſubject to the king and his government, actively or paſſively, upon the conditions aforementioned.

'And we renounce all foreign authority, power, and juriſdiction of the pope, or any elſe, from having any

ſupremacy whatſoever over the king, or any the good ſubjects of England. And this we declare, acknowledge, and teſtify, in the fear and preſence of God (to whom we and all mankind muſt give an account), and that without ſecret equivocation, or any deceitful mental reſervation.'

Thus fully E. Burrough declared himſelf, and gave alſo a circumſtantial relation of the practice of his friends meeting together, or their way of publick worſhip, thereby to aſſure the government of their peaceable behaviour and fidelity. But all this proved in vain; for it being well known that the Quakers denied ſwearing, they continually were vexed and perſecuted, under a pretence of not giving due ſatisfaction of their being faithful to the government, and ſo tranſgreſſing the laws.

Now the deputies of New England came to London, and endeavoured to clear themſelves as much as poſſible, but eſpecially prieſt Norton, who bowed no leſs reverently before the archbiſhop, than before the king; and thus fawning upon the Epiſcopalians, they found means to keep in a condition to vex the Quakers, ſo called, though they were forbidden to put them to death: and that many of the biſhops were great enemies to the ſaid Quakers, appeared plainly from the cruel perſecution which after a ſhort calm aroſe in England.

But to return to the New-England deputies, they would fain have altogether excuſed themſelves; and prieſt Norton thought it ſufficient to ſay, that he did not aſſiſt in the bloody trial, nor had adviſed to it: but John Copeland, whoſe ear was cut off at Boſton, charged the contrary upon him: and G. Fox, the elder, got occaſion to ſpeak with them in the preſence of ſome of his friends; and aſked Simon Broadſtreet, one of the New-England magiſtrates, whether he had not a hand in putting to death, thoſe they nick-named Quakers? He not being able to deny this, confeſſed he had. Then G. Fox aſked him and his aſſociates that were preſent, whether they would acknowledge themſelves to be ſubjects to the laws of England; and if they did, by what laws they put his friends to death? They anſwered, they were ſubjects to the laws of England;

and they had put his friends to death by the ſame law, as the Jeſuits were put to death in England. Hereupon G. Fox aſked, whether they did believe that thoſe his friends, whom they had put to death, were Jeſuits, or jeſuitically affected? They ſaid, 'Nay.' Then replied G. Fox, 'Ye have murdered them; for ſince ye put them to death by the law that Jeſuits are put to death here in England, it plainly appears, you have put them to death arbitrarily, without any law.' Thus Broadſtreet finding himſelf and his company enſnared by their own words, aſked, 'Are you come to catch us?' But he told them, they had catched themſelves, and thy might juſtly be queſtioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinſon (one of thoſe that were put to death) were in town, it was probable he would queſtion them, and bring their lives into jeopardy: for he not being of the Quakers perſuaſion, would perhaps not have ſo much regard to the point of forbearance, as they had. Broadſtreet ſeeing himſelf thus in danger, began to flinch and to ſculk; for ſome of the old royaliſts were earneſt with the Quakers to proſecute the New-England perſecutors. But G. Fox and his friends ſaid, they left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it. Broadſtreet however, not thinking it ſafe to ſtay in England, left the city, and with his companions went back again to New-England.

Not long before this time, G. Fox, with the help of John Stubs and Benjamin Furly, publiſhed a book, called, 'A Battledoor.' In this book were ſet forth examples of about thirty languages, to ſhew that every language had its particular denomination for the ſingular and the plural number, in ſpeaking to perſons; and in every place where the deſcription began, the ſhape of a battledoor was delineated. This work was promoted to publick view by G. Fox, to ſhew the learned (if poſſible to convince them) that the cuſtom of thoſe called Quakers, to ſay Thou to a ſingle perſon, though it were to the king, and not You, was not irregular nor abſurd, but had been uſed anciently; and that therefore thy could not juſtly be charged with unmannerlineſs, becauſe they followed not the common

cuſtom, which was crept in by the pride of men. Now though Ger. Croeſe doth diſapprove in G. Fox, that he put his name to this book as well as J. Stubs and B. Furly, yet I do not think it ſo improper as the ſaid author doth; for G. Fox was a great promoter of that work; and though he was not ſkilled in languages, and ſome were for calling him an idiot, or a fool, yet I know him to have been a man of good underſtanding, and of deep judgment. In his journal he freely owns, that John Stubs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in the compiling of the ſaid book, which he put them upon, and added alſo ſome things to it; ſo that in ſome reſpect he might be eſteemed author too. At the end of the book he added:

'The pope ſet up [You] to [One] in his pride, and it is pride which cannot bear Thou and Thee to one, but would have You, from the author of and their father in their pride, which muſt not but have the word Thou, which was before their father the pope was, which was God's language, and will ſtand when the pope is ended.

'G. F.'

This book (in which J. Stubs and B. Furly gave alſo directions for learners to read the Hebrew, Oriental, and other languages) was liberally diſpoſed of; ſome of them were preſented to the king and his council, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the biſhop of London, and alſo one to each univerſity. The king confeſſed that the diſtinction between plural and ſingular, in regard of perſons, was the proper language of all nations; and the archbiſhop being aſked what he thought of it, was ſo at a ſtand, that he could not tell what to ſay to it; for it appears he would not commend it, neither could he reſolve to diſapprove it. Yet it did ſo inform and convince people, that many afterward were not near ſo much offended at ſaying Thou and Thee to a ſingle perſon, as they were before.

Now many Papiſts and Jeſuits began to fawn upon thoſe called Quakers, and ſaid publickly, that of all the ſects the Quakers were the beſt, and moſt ſelf-denying people; and that it was great pity that they did not return to holy mother church: and though they might have been in

hopes thereby to have gained proſelytes from the Quakers, yet they were diſappointed. In the mean-while they did but ill ſervice to the Quakers thereby; for this gave occaſion to their enemies to divulge, that there was an affinity and colluſion between the Quakers and the Papiſts. Some Jeſuits ſignifying that they would willingly diſcourſe with the Quakers, G. Fox conſented to it, and in order thereunto, time and place were appointed: whereupon two of the loyaliſts came, being dreſſed like courtiers, and they aſked the names of G. Fox and thoſe with him. G. Fox then aſked them the ſame queſtion he had once before (as hath been ſaid already) aſked a Jeſuit, viz. whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the primitive times; from the ſpirit, and power, and practice that they were in, in the apoſtles time. The Jeſuit to whom the queſtion was put, ſaid he would not anſwer it. G. Fox aſked him, why? but he would give no reaſon. His companion then ſaid, they were not degenerated from the church in the primitive times. Then G. Fox aſked the other, whether he was of the ſame mind; and he ſaid, 'Yes.' G. Fox, to give no room to any excuſes of a miſtake, repeated his queſtion thus: Whether the church of Rome now was in the ſame purity, practice, power, and ſpirit, that the church in the apoſtles time was in. The Jeſuits ſeeing how exact G. Fox would be with them, ſaid it was preſumption in any to ſay, they had the ſame power and ſpirit, which the apoſtles had. But G. Fox told them, it was preſumption in them to meddle with the words of Chriſt and his apoſtles, and make people believe they ſucceeded the apoſtles, and yet be forced to confeſs, they were not in the ſame power and ſpirit, that the apoſtles were in. 'This,' ſaid he, 'is a ſpirit of preſumption, and rebuked by the apoſtles ſpirit.' Thereupon he ſhewed them how different their fruits and practices were, from the fruits and practices of the apoſtles. This ſo diſpleaſed the Jeſuits, that one of them ſaid, 'Ye are a company of dreamers.' 'Nay,' ſaid G. Fox, 'ye are the dreamers, who dream ye are the apoſtles ſucceſſors, and yet confeſs, ye have not the ſame power and ſpirit, which the apoſtles were in.' Then he began to tell them

alſo, how they were led by an evil ſpirit; and that this ſpirit had induced them to pray by beads, and to images, and to put people to death for religion. He ſpoke yet more; but the Jeſuits ſoon grew weary of this diſcourſe, and went away, giving charge afterwards to thoſe of their perſuaſion, not to diſpute with the Quakers, nor to read any of their books.

Sometime after G. Fox went to Colcheſter, where he had very large meetings. From thence he went to Coggeſhall; not far from which, there was a prieſt convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by him and his friends; and he had a meeting in his houſe. And after having viſited his friends in their meetings thereabouts, he returned to London, where he found more work: for John Perrot, of whom mention hath been made already that he was at Rome, had ſo far complied with his vain imaginations, that he thought himſelf farther enlightened than G. Fox, and his friends; and from this preſumption he would not approve, that when any one prayed in a meeting, others ſhould put off their hats, calling this a formality, and a common cuſtom of the world, which ought to be departed from. And ſince novelties often draw people after them, ſo it was in this caſe, inſomuch that he got a pretty many adherents. But he did not ſtand here; for as one error proceeds from another, ſo he made another extravagant ſtep, and let his beard grow; in which he was followed by ſome. In the mean-while G. Fox laboured both by word and writing, to ſtop his progreſs: and though moſt of his friends alſo bore teſtimony againſt it, yet there paſſed ſeveral years before this ſtrange fire was altogether extinguiſhed: to the quenching whereof, it contributed not a little that Perrot, who now walked in an erroneous path, grew worſe from time to time, even to that degree, that being come into America, he fell into manifeſt ſenſualities, and works of the fleſh: for he not only wore gaudy apparel, but alſo a ſword; and being got into ſome place in the government, he became a ſevere exactor of oaths, whereas before he had profeſt that for conſcience-ſake he could not ſwear. Before I leave Perrot, I will inſert here a letter writ by him from Rome, when he was releaſed from priſon: and

though I believe he was then in a better ſtate than afterward, yet in that letter ſome ſparks of ſpiritual pride may be ſeen, which though then under ſome limitation, yet in proceſs of time ſo broke forth, that it cauſed his fall. The letter was thus:

'O Iſrael; the hoſt of the moſt high God; his majeſty hath fulfilled to me the viſion of my head, having ſhewed himſelf to be the Holy One, and Juſt: he hath lately delivered me from the priſon of the city of Rome, beſides the two lambs with me, whoſe faces, through God, are turned to you wards: for which I beſeech you in the holy ſpirit of meekneſs, to bleſs the name of the Lord God. Give thanks to him for his power. The God of life promote you all in the virtue of his mercy and forgiveneſs, and keep you in the power of his everlaſting love, unto the end.

'JOHN.'

Written to you all without the gates of Rome, the 2d day of the Fourth month, 1661.

Send this forward and read my life in your meetings.

He added not his ſirname, in imitation (as it ſeems) of the apoſtle John. He omitted it likewiſe in another letter he writ from the priſon at Rome, which began thus:

'I John the priſoner, being in the ſenſe of the Spirit of life with you all,' &c.

Who were the two lambs he mentions in his letter, I cannot tell; whether they were perſons that had been impriſoned with him in the inquiſition gaol, and converted by him, as he thought; or whether he meant John Stubs and Samuel Fiſher, I know not; it may rather be ſuppoſed that he meant Charles Bayley and Jane Stoakes, who went to Rome to procure his liberty; but J. Stubs and S. Fiſher came away long before; yet if I am not miſtaken, it was

about this time that theſe were at Rome, and they perhaps having endeavoured to obtain his liberty, departed before him towards England.

When Perrot afterward lived in America, about the beginning of the year 1665, John Taylor writ thus from Jamaica concerning him:

'One of the judges of this place told me, that he never had ſeen one who ſo ſeverely exacted an oath from people as John Perrot did: for he ſaith, that if they will go to hell, he will diſpatch them quickly. And another judge that was alſo preſent, ſaid, that Perrot had altogether renounced his faith, and aimed at nothing but his profit.'

Such a one was John Perrot, though even ſome wiſe men admired him for a time; but he became a man of a rough behaviour. Whether he ever repented ſincerely, I cannot tell. Robert Rich, who took too much part in the extravagancies of James Naylor, as hath been related, did alſo combine with Perrot, and became eſtranged from the Quakers, and in that condition he died: but he was of the number of thoſe, of whom the apoſtle John ſaid, "They went out from us, but they were not of us."

Now ſince perſecution continued in England, Edward Burrough, who continually was laborious with the pen to oppoſe this evil, writ alſo a ſmall book, which he called, 'The Caſe of Free Liberty of Conſcience in the Exerciſe of Faith and Religion, preſented unto the King and both Houſes of Parliament.' In this treatiſe he ſhewed, that to deprive honeſt and peaceable people of liberty of conſcience in the exerciſe of worſhip to God, was unjuſt, an intrenching on God's ſovereignty, and an uſurpation of his authority. He alſo recommended it to conſideration, that to impoſe by force a religion upon men, was the way to fill the land with hypocrites. And he ſhewed with ſound reaſons, that to perſecute people for the exerciſe of religion and their worſhipping of God, muſt unavoidably tend to deſtroy trading, huſbandry, and merchandize. To which he added, that ſuch as were called hereticks were puniſhed as malefactors, whereas drunkards and other vicious per-

ſons were left unpuniſhed; which to inculcate with more ſtrength, he made uſe of the words of Dr. Taylor, a biſhop in Ireland, who ſaid thus: 'Why are we ſo zealous againſt thoſe we call hereticks, and yet great friends with drunkards, and ſwearers, and fornicators, and intemperate and idle perſons? I am certain a drunkard is as contrary to the laws of chriſtianity as an heretick: and I am alſo ſure that I know what drunkenneſs is; but I am not ſo ſure that ſuch an opinion is hereſy,' &c.

It happened about this time in England that ſome covetous perſons, to engroſs inheritances to themſelves, would call the marriages of thoſe called Quakers in queſtion. And it was in this year that ſuch a cauſe was tried at the aſſizes at Nottingham. A certain man dying, and leaving his wife with child, and an eſtate in copyhold lands: when the woman was delivered, one that was near of kin to her deceaſed huſband, endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate: and the plaintiff's counſel willing to blacken the Quakers, ſo called, aſſerted the child to be illegitimate, becauſe the marriage of its parents was not according to law; and ſaid bluntly, and very indecently, that the Quakers went together like brute beaſts. After the counſel on both ſides had pleaded, the judge, whoſe name was Archer, opened the caſe to the jury, and told them, that there was a marriage in Paradiſe, when Adam took Eve, and Eve took Adam; and that it was the conſent of the parties that made a marriage. And as for the Quakers, ſaid he, he did not know their opinion; but he did not believe they went together as brute beaſts, as had been ſaid of them, but as Chriſtians; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir. And the better to ſatisfy the jury, he related to them this caſe: 'A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a deſire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witneſſes that he did take ſuch a woman to be his wife; and the woman declared, that ſhe took that man to be her huſband. This marriage was afterwards called in queſtion: but all the biſhops did at that time conclude it to be a lawful marriage.' The jury having received this

inſtruction, gave in their verdict for the child, and declared it legitimate.

It hath been mentioned before, that G. Fox being priſoner at Derby, in the year 1650, was exceedingly vexed and ill treated by the keeper of the priſon. But this man being ſtruck with the terrors of the Lord, became ſuch a notable convert, that in the year 1662, he writ the following letter to G. Fox:

'Dear Friend,

'Having ſuch a convenient meſſenger, I could do no leſs than give thee an account of my preſent condition, remembering that to the firſt awakening of me to a ſenſe of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleaſed to make uſe of thee as an inſtrument; ſo that ſometimes I am taken with admiration, that it ſhould come by ſuch means as it did; that is to ſay, that Providence ſhould order thee to be my priſoner, to give me my firſt real ſight of the Truth. It makes me many times to think of the gaoler's converſion by the apoſtles. Notwithſtanding my outward loſſes are ſince that time ſuch, that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I ſhall find, that all theſe light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now inſtead of keeping a priſon, I am rather waiting when I ſhall become a priſoner myſelf. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earneſtly deſire to hear from thee, and of thy condition, which would very much rejoice me. Not having elſe at preſent, but my kind love unto thee, and all Chriſtian friends with thee, in haſte I reſt

'Thine in Chriſt Jeſus,

'Thomas Sharman.'

Derby, the 22d of the Fourth month, 1662.

I have heretofore made ſome mention of the impriſonment of Catharine Evans, and Sarah Cheevers, by the inquiſition at Malta. It was about this time that they were releaſed: for G. Fox and Gilbert Latey, having under-

ſtood that the lord d'Aubigny could procure their liberty, went to him, and having informed him concerning their impriſonment, deſired him to write to thoſe in authority at Malta for their releaſe. This he promiſed to do, and told them if they would come again within a month, perhaps they might hear of their diſcharge. They went again to him about that time, but he ſaid he thought his letters had miſcarried; yet he promiſed he would write again, and ſo he did; which had ſuch effect, that the ſaid two women were diſcharged of their long impriſonment. G. Fox had now opportunity to reaſon with this lord (who was a Roman Catholick prieſt in orders) about religion, and he brought him to confeſs, that Chriſt had enlightened every man that cometh into the world with his ſpiritual light; and that he had taſted death for every man; and that the grace of God, which brings ſalvation, hath appeared to all men; and that it would teach them, and bring their ſalvation if they did obey it. Then G. Fox aſked him what the Romaniſts would do with all their relicks and images, if they did own and believe in this light, and receive the grace to teach them, and bring their ſalvation? And he anſwered, thoſe things were but policies to keep people in ſubjection.

But leaving theſe diſcourſes, I will now give a clear and circumſtantial relation of the impriſonment of the fore-mentioned Catharine Evans, and Sarah Cheevers, chiefly collected from letters and papers, written by them in priſon, and ſent from thence to England, where they were publiſhed in print not long after their return, in the year 1662.

In the year 1658, theſe women having drawings in their mind to travel towards Alexandria, went in a ſhip from England to Leghorn in Italy; and having been thirty-one days between Plymouth and Leghorn, they at length ſafely landed at that city; where they found ſome of their countrymen and friends, and ſtayed there ſeveral days, diſperſing many books when occaſion offered. They ſpoke alſo with people of various degrees, without being moleſted by any. From thence they got paſſage in a Dutch ſhip bound for Alexandria, or Scanderoon; but the maſter of the ſhip being in company with another ſhip going to Malta, went

alſo thither, though he had no buſineſs in the place: but before they came there, Catharine fell into ſuch an anguiſh of mind, that ſhe cried out, 'Oh! we have a dreadful cup to drink at that place!' Being come into the harbour, and ſtanding on the deck of the ſhip, and looking upon the people who ſtood on the walls, ſhe ſaid in her heart, 'Shall ye deſtroy us? If we give up to the Lord, then he is ſufficient to deliver us out of your hands: but if we diſobey our God, all theſe could not deliver us out of his hand.' And ſo all fear of man was taken from them.

The next day, being the Firſt-day of the week, they went on ſhore, where the Engliſh conſul met them, and aſked them what they came there for; they anſwered what they thought convenient, and gave him ſome books. Then he told them there was an inquiſition; and kindly inviting them to his houſe, ſaid all that he had was at their ſervice while they were there. They accepting of this invitation, went thither, and many came to ſee them, whom they called to repentance, ſo that ſeveral became tender. About night they went on ſhip-board, and the next day came again into the city, and going to the governor, he told them he had a ſiſter in the nunnery, who deſired to ſee them. Thereupon they went to the nunnery, and talked with the nuns, and gave them books: and one of their prieſts, who brought them into the chapel, would have them bow to the high altar, but they refuſed, being grieved becauſe of the idolatry committed there, and went to the conſul's again, where they ſtaid ſome weeks. During that time, they once went into one of the places of worſhip in the time of worſhip; and Catharine ſtanding in the midſt of the people, turned her back to the high altar, and kneeling down, ſhe lifted up her voice in prayer to the Lord. The prieſt that officiated, put off his ſurplice, and kneeled near her till ſhe had done. Then he reached forth his hand to them to come to him, and offered her a token, which ſhe taking to be the mark of the beaſt, refuſed. Thereupon he put the piece into Sarah's hand, but ſhe gave it him again, and ſhewed him her purſe that ſhe had to give, if any had need, and as yet was in no

want. He then aſked if they were Calviniſts or Lutherans? And they anſwered, 'Nay;' he aſked if they would go to Rome to the pope. They denying this, he aſked if they were Catholicks; to which they ſaid they were true Chriſtians, ſervants of the living God. But ſince they had yet learned but little of the language ſpoken there, they expreſſed themſelves very defectively; what they did, was partly in words and partly by ſigns, as well as they could; and many that came about them were amazed: however at laſt they departed peaceably. Some time after they went again to a maſs-houſe, where the ſacrament, as they call it, was adminiſtered: there were many lights, and great coſtlineſs and fineries; and being grieved becauſe of their idolatry, they ſtood about three-quarters of an hour, weeping and trembling, eſpecially Catharine: and this ſo ſtruck the congregation with amazement, that ſome removed farther from them for fear. At length they both went out, but yet under ſuch a trembling, that they went along the ſtreet reeling and ſtaggering, ſo that they became a wonder to all that ſaw them.

They were about three months at the houſe of the Engliſh conſul; and he, for that reaſon, being under a ſuſpicion, did not what he might have done to ſave them; but in ſome reſpect he delivered them up to the inquiſition, though by his oath he was obliged to protect the Engliſh there. In the mean-while he kept them in his houſe, and ſuffered them not to go abroad, though the governor had told him he might let them go about their buſineſs; 'For,' ſaid he, 'They are honeſt women.' The conſul might alſo have let them go free, before they came under the power of the black rod. Now they perceiving that ſomething to their prejudice was in agitation, and making account already that a priſon would be their lot, they ſignified that they ſuſpected him, and told him that Pilate would do the Jews a ſervice, and yet waſh his hands in innocency. He being at a loſs, required a ſign of them, if they were the meſſengers of God. And they gave him to underſtand, that this might ſerve for a ſign: that it would be well with them; but that it ſhould not go off well with him.

Afterwards it happened that they were ſent for by the inquiſition: and that day the conſul's wife brought them ſome victuals; but as ſhe paſſed by, Catharine was ſmitten, as with an arrow, to the heart, and ſhe ſeemed to hear a voice, ſaying, 'She hath obtained her purpoſe,' Then Catharine would not taſte of the meat, but went aſide, and wept exceedingly. The conſul having called her, told her, the inquiſition had ſent for them, having received letters from Rome, but that he did hope they ſhould be ſet free: which however was not true, for he knew (as they underſtood afterwards) there was a room prepared for them in the priſon of the inquiſition. Neither was it long ere there came the chancellor, the conſul, and one with the black rod, who brought them before the lord inquiſitor; and he aſked them whether they had changed their minds; for it ſeems that had been required of them before. But they anſwered 'No,' and that they ſhould not change from the Truth. Then he aſked what new light it was they talked of; they anſwered, it was no new light, but the ſame the prophets and apoſtles bore teſtimony to. Next he aſked how this light came to be loſt ſince the primitive times: they replied, it was not loſt; men had it ſtill in them, but they did not know it, by reaſon that the night of apoſtacy had overſpread the nations. Then he ſaid, if they would change their minds, and do as they would have them, they ſhould ſay ſo, or elſe they would uſe them as they pleaſed. But they, ſignifying that they would not change, ſaid, 'The will of the Lord be done.' He then aroſe, and went away with the conſul, leaving them there: and the man with the black rod, and the keeper, took and put them into an inner room in the inquiſition, which had only two little holes in it for light and air. This place was ſo exceeding hot, that it ſeemed as if their intent was to ſtifle them, as we may ſee in the ſequel.

Not long after they were brought before the inquiſitors to be farther examined, and they not only aſked their names, but alſo the names of their huſbands and parents, and what children they had, and alſo why they came thither? To which they anſwered, they were ſervants of the living

God, come there to call them to repentance. The next day they were called again, but then examined aſunder; and Sarah being aſked whether ſhe was a true Catholick, ſaid, that ſhe was a true Chriſtian, worſhipping God in Spirit and in Truth. Then they held forth a crucifix to her, and would have her ſwear that ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth. To which ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth, but ſhe would not ſwear; for Chriſt had commanded, "Swear not at all." The Engliſh conſul who was preſent, endeavoured to perſuade her to ſwear, and ſaid that none ſhould do her any harm. She having ſome books with her, they were taken from her; and they aſked her, wherefore ſhe brought thoſe books; to which ſhe anſwered, becauſe they could not ſpeak their language. Then they aſked her, what George Fox was? She anſwered, 'A miniſter.' Farther they aſked, wherefore ſhe came thither? And ſhe replied, to do the will of God as ſhe was moved of the Lord. The next queſtion was, how the Lord did appear unto her: to which ſhe anſwered, 'By his Spirit.' And being aſked whether ſhe did ſee his preſence, and hear his voice, her anſwer was, ſhe heard his voice, and ſaw his preſence. They then aſked what he ſaid to her? She anſwered, that he required of her to go over the ſeas to do his will. This made them aſk how ſhe knew it was the Lord who required this of her? To which ſhe anſwered, that ſince he had ſignified to her, that his living preſence ſhould go along with her, ſhe found him to perform his promiſe, for ſhe did feel his living preſence. After this they went away.

Two days after the inquiſitors came and called for Catharine, and offering her the crucifix, they told her, the magiſtrates commanded her to ſwear, that ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth. To which ſhe ſaid, that ſhe ſhould ſpeak the truth, for ſhe was a witneſs for God; but ſhe ſhould not ſwear, ſince a greater than the magiſtrates ſaid, "Swear not at all; but let your yea, be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatſoever is more, cometh of evil." Then ſaid they, 'You muſt obey the juſtice; and he commands you to ſwear.' She returned, 'I ſhall obey juſtice, but if I ſhould ſwear, I ſhould do an unjuſt thing; for the juſt

(Chriſt) ſaid, Swear not at all.' Then they aſked her, whether ſhe did own that Chriſt that died at Jeruſalem? She anſwered, 'We own the ſame Chriſt and no other; he is the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever.' Next they aſked her, what ſhe would do at Jeruſalem: ſhe anſwered, ſhe did not know that ſhe ſhould go thither; but ſhe intended to have gone to Alexandria. They aſked what to do: her anſwer was, 'The will of God: and (ſaid ſhe) if the Lord opened my mouth, I ſhould call people to repentance, and declare to them the day of the Lord, and direct their minds from darkneſs to light.' They aſked her alſo, whether ſhe did ſee the Lord: ſhe anſwered, God was a ſpirit, and he was ſpiritually diſcerned.

Now, though from the anſwers of theſe women little could be got to blame them, yet they were kept cloſe priſoners, which ſeemed to grieve the Engliſh conſul, for he came to them with tears in his eyes, and ſaid he was ſorry as for his own fleſh: for it ſeems he had received ſomething for delivering them up, which he would willingly have given back, if thereby he could have obtained their liberty: but a ſlaviſh fear poſſeſſed him, and he never had peace while he lived. Some days after this came a magiſtrate, two friars, the man with the black rod, a ſcribe, and the keeper of the inquiſition to examine them; and they were again required to ſwear: but they anſwered as before, that Chriſt ſaid, "Swear not at all;" and that the apoſtle James gave the ſame charge. Hereupon the magiſtrate aſked if they would ſpeak truth: and they ſaid, 'Yes.' He then aſked whether they believed the creed; to which they ſaid, they did believe in God, and in Jeſus Chriſt, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and ſuffered at Jeruſalem under Pontius Pilate, and aroſe again from the dead the third day, and aſcended to his Father, and ſhall come to judgment, to judge both quick and dead. He farther aſked, how they did believe the reſurrection: and they anſwered, that they believed that the juſt and the unjuſt ſhould ariſe, according to the Scriptures. Next he ſaid, 'Do you believe in the ſaints, and pray to them?' To which the anſwer was, 'We believe the communion of ſaints, but we do not pray to them, but to God only,

in the name of Jeſus.' His next queſtion was, whether they did believe in the Catholick church: and they anſwered, they did believe the true church of Chriſt, 'but the word Catholick (ſaid they) we have not read in Scripture.' He alſo aſked if they believed in purgatory: to which they ſaid, 'No; but a heaven and a hell.' Then one of the friars, who was an Engliſhman, ſaid, we were commanded to pray for the dead; for, thoſe that are in heaven have no need; and for thoſe that are in hell, there is no redemption; therefore there muſt be a purgatory: and he aſked if they believed the holy ſacrament: to which their anſwer was, they never read the word ſacrament in Scripture. The friar replied, 'Where you read in your bibles ſanctification, it is ſacrament in ours.' And he ſaid, their holy ſacrament was bread and wine, which they converted into the fleſh and blood of Chriſt, by the virtue of Chriſt. 'Then,' ſaid the women, 'ye work miracles, for Chriſt's virtue is the ſame as it was when he turned water into wine, at the marriage in Cana.' The friar ſaid, 'If we do not eat the fleſh, and drink the blood of the Son of God, we have no life in us.' They replied, 'The fleſh and blood of Chriſt is ſpiritual, and we do feed upon it daily; for that which is begotten of God in us, can no more live without ſpiritual food, than our temporal bodies can without temporal food.' Then he ſaid, 'You never hear maſs.' 'But we,' ſaid they, 'hear the voice of Chriſt; he only hath the words of eternal life; and that is ſufficient for us. He ſaid, 'Ye are heretick and heathens;' to which they replied, 'They are heretick that live in ſin and wickedneſs, and ſuch are heathens that know not God.'

Then it was aſked them who was the head of their church: they told him, 'Chriſt.' It was further aſked what George Fox was: and they ſaid, 'He is a miniſter of Chriſt.' And it being aſked whether he ſent them, their anſwer was, 'No: the Lord did move us to come.' Then the friar ſaid, 'Ye are deceived, and have not the faith; though ye had all virtues.' And they replied, 'Faith is the ground from whence virtues proceed.' Hereupon it was told them, if they would take the holy ſacrament they

might have their liberty; or elſe the pope would not leave them for millions of gold; but they ſhould loſe their ſouls and bodies too. To this they ſaid, 'The Lord hath provided for our ſouls, and our bodies are freely given up to ſerve him.' Then it was aſked them if they did not believe marriage was a ſacrament: and they anſwered, it was an ordinance of God. It was farther aſked if they did believe men could forgive ſins: and their anſwer was, that none could forgive ſins but God only. After ſome other words to and fro, the women aſked, 'Wherein have we wronged you, that we ſhould be kept priſoners all the days of our life? Our innocent blood will be required at your hands.' The friar ſaid he would take their blood upon him. They replied, the time would come he ſhould find he had enough upon him without it. Then it was told them the pope was Chriſt's vicar, and what he did was for the good of their ſouls. To which they anſwered, 'The Lord hath not committed the charge of our ſouls to the pope, nor to you neither; for he hath taken them into his own poſſeſſion: glory be to his name for ever.' Then it was ſaid unto them they muſt be obedient. And they returned, they were obedient to the government of Chriſt's Spirit or light. The friar ſaid, 'None have the true light but the Catholicks; the light that you have is the ſpirit of the devil.' 'Woe (ſaid they) to him that curſeth Jeſus; can the devil give power over ſin and iniquity? That would deſtroy his own kingdom.' 'You,' replied the friar, 'are laughed at and mocked of every one.' 'But,' ſaid they, 'what will become of the mockers?' 'It was no matter,' he ſaid: 'you run about to preach, and have not the true faith.' They returned, 'The true faith is held in a pure conſcience, void of offence towards God and men. Every one hath the true faith, that believeth in God, and in Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent: but they that ſay they do believe, and do not keep his commandments, are liars, and the truth is not in them.' The friar confeſſed this to be true, though he was continually very troubleſome to them with threats, to make them turn; and to this end they were locked up in a room, ſo exceeding hot, that it was ſaid it

was impoſſible they could live long in it. They were alſo ſo exceedingly ſtung by gnats, when they lay in bed, that their faces became ſwoln, as if they had been ſick of the ſmall-pox, ſo that many began to be afraid of them; and the friar ſaid to Sarah, he ſpied an evil ſpirit in her face.

At another time being examined, they were aſked, how many of their friends were gone forth into the miniſtry, and into what parts: they anſwering to that query what they knew, it was told them, all that came where the pope had any thing to do, ſhould never go back again. But they ſaid, the Lord was as ſufficient for them, as he was for the children in the fiery furnace, and their truſt was in God. Catharine being ſickly, was aſked why ſhe looked ſo; whether her ſpirit was weak: ſhe anſwered, 'Nay: my body is weak, becauſe I eat no meat.' The friar hearing this, offered her a licenſe to eat fleſh; for it was in their Lent. But ſhe refuſed this, and ſaid, ſhe could not eat any thing at all. And going afterwards to bed, ſhe lay there night and day for twelve days together, faſting and ſweating, for ſhe was in much affliction, and great was her agony.

After having lain ten days, there came to her two friars, the chancellor, the man with the black rod, a phyſician, and the keeper. One of the friars commanded Sarah to go out of the room, and then pulled Catharine's hand out of the bed, and ſaid, 'Is the devil ſo great in you, that you cannot ſpeak?' To which ſhe ſaid, 'Depart from me, thou worker of iniquity: the power of the Lord is upon me, and doſt thou call him devil?' Hereupon he took his crucifix to ſtrike her on the mouth: and ſhe aſked him, whether it were that croſs that crucified Paul to the world, and the world unto him. This ignorant monk ſaid it was. But ſhe denied it, and ſaid, 'The Lord hath made me a witneſs for himſelf, againſt all workers of iniquity.' He then bade her be obedient, and went to ſtrike her, at which ſhe ſaid, 'Wilt thou ſtrike me?' And he ſaying he would, ſhe further ſaid, 'Thou art out of the apoſtle's doctrine, for they were no ſtrikers. I deny thee to be any of them who went in the name of the Lord.' To

which he ſaid, he had brought her a phyſician in charity; and ſhe returned, 'The Lord is my phyſician, and my ſaving health.' The monk growing angry, ſaid ſhe ſhould be whipped and quartered, and burnt that night at Malta, and her mate too. But ſhe told him modeſtly, ſhe did not fear; the Lord was on her ſide; and he had no power but what he had received; and if he did not uſe it to the ſame end the Lord gave it him, the Lord would judge him. At theſe words they were all ſtruck dumb, and went away. Then the friar went to Sarah, and told her that Catharine called him worker of iniquity. 'Did ſhe,' ſaid Sarah, 'art thou without ſin?' To which he ſaid he was. 'Then,' replied Sarah, 'ſhe hath wronged thee.'

Late in the evening, ſomething was proclaimed at the priſon gate, by beating of a drum, and early in the morning ſome came again with a drum and guns. It ſeems to me that this was done on purpoſe to frighten theſe poor women, and to make them believe that they ſhould be put to death; for indeed they looked for little leſs, having for ſeveral weeks expected that they ſhould be led to the ſtake: but they were fully reſigned, and given up to what the Lord might be pleaſed to permit. In the meanwhile Catharine continuing ſickly, the friar came again with the phyſician. But ſhe told him, ſhe could not take any thing, unleſs ſhe felt freedom. He then ſaid, they muſt never come forth of that room while they lived: and pretending to be kind to them, he further ſaid, 'You may thank God and me, that it is no worſe; for it was like to be worſe.' Thereupon they ſaid, that if they had died, they had died as innocent as ever any ſervants of the Lord. He then ſaid, it was well they were innocent; and turning to Sarah, bade her take notice what torment Catharine ſhould be in at the hour of death; ſaying, thouſands of devils would fetch her ſoul to hell. But Sarah told him, ſhe did not fear any ſuch thing. He then aſked Catharine, if ſhe did not think it expedient for the elders of the church to pray over the ſick. And ſhe ſaid, 'Yea, ſuch as are moved of the Spirit of the Lord.' He then fell down on his knees, and did howl, and wiſh bitter wiſhes upon himſelf, if he had not the true faith. The

phyſician in the mean-while was enraged, becauſe ſhe did not bow to him.

Now whilſt Catharine was ſick, Sarah was not without great affliction; for it grieved her to ſee her dear companion ſo ill; and ſhe eaſily foreſaw, that if Catharine died, her own ſufferings would be heavier. But yet ſhe was given up to the will of the Lord, and would not in the leaſt grudge at Catharine's eternal reſt. But in time Catharine began to mend, and grow hungry; and eating, ſhe was refreſhed. But the room wherein they were locked was ſo exceſſively hot, that they were often fain to riſe out of their bed, and lie down at the chink of the door for air to fetch breath; and this heat was the greater, becauſe it came not only from without, but within alſo; which ſo affected them, that their ſkin was parched, the hair fell off their heads, and they fainted often; and their afflictions were ſo great, that when it was day, they wiſhed for night, and when it was night, they wiſhed for day; yea, through human weakneſs, they deſired death, eating their bread weeping, and mingling their drink with tears. Once Catharine aſked the monks, who came to her with a phyſician, and ſaid it was in charity, whether they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and bring a phyſician to keep them longer alive? To this the friar ſaid, the inquiſitor would loſe his head if he ſhould take them thence; and it was better to keep them there, than to kill them. Then they writ to the inquiſitor, and laid their innocency before him; and ſaid alſo, if it were their blood they thirſted after, they might take it any other way, as well as to ſmother them in that hot room. But this ſo incenſed him, that he ſent the friar to them, who took away their ink-horns, their bibles being taken from them before. They aſked then, why their goods were taken away: to which it was anſwered, 'All is ours; and your lives too, if we will.' Then they aſked, how they had forfeited their lives; to which it was told them, 'For bringing books and papers.' They replied, if there were any thing in them that was not true, they might write againſt it. To this the monk ſaid, they ſcorned to write to fools and aſſes, that did not know true Latin. And it was further

told them, the inquiſitor would have them ſeparated, becauſe Catharine was weak, and ſhe ſhould go into a cooler room; but Sarah ſhould abide there. Then Catharine took Sarah by the arm, and ſaid, 'The Lord hath joined us together, and woe be to them that part us. I had rather die here with my friend, than part from her.' This ſo ſtruck the friar, that he went away, and came no more in five weeks, and the door of their room was not opened in all that time.

Then the monks came again to part them, but Catharine was ſick, and broken out from head to foot. They thereupon ſent for a doctor, and he ſaid, they muſt have air, or elſe they muſt die. This was told the inquiſitor, and he ordered the door to be ſet open ſix hours in a day. But ten weeks after they were parted; which was ſuch a grievous affliction, that they declared, death itſelf would not have been ſo hard to them. But the monks ſaid they corrupted each other, and that being parted, they would bow and ſubmit. But they ſaw themſelves diſappointed; for the women were ſtronger afterwards than before, the Lord fitting them for every condition. Before they were parted, the friars brought them a ſcourge of ſmall hempen cords, aſking them if they would have it; and ſaying they were uſed to whip themſelves till the blood came. But the women ſaid, that could not reach the devil, he ſat upon the heart. Then the monks ſaid, 'All the people of Malta are for you; if ye will be Catholicks, none but will like you.' To which they returned, 'The Lord hath changed us into that which changeth not.' The monks then ſaid, 'All our holy women do pray for you: and ye ſhall be honoured of all the world, if ye will turn.' They replied, 'The world lies in wickedneſs; and the honour and glory of the world we have denied.' To this the monks ſaid, 'Ye ſhall be honoured of God too; but now ye are hated of all.' 'This,' ſaid one of the women, 'is an evident token whoſe ſervants we are. The ſervant is not greater than his Lord.'

Once, on a Firſt-day of the week, the friars came, and commanded them to kneel down with them to prayer. They ſignified they could not pray but as they were moved

by the Lord. Then the friars commanded them the ſecond time, and kneeled down by their bed-ſide, and prayed after this manner; which being done, they ſaid to the women, 'We have tried your ſpirits; now we know what ſpirit ye are of.' But they told them they could not know that, unleſs their minds were turned to the light of Chriſt in their conſciences. The Engliſh friar then growing angry, ſhewed them his crucifix, and bade them look on it. But they told him, the Lord ſaith, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf the likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them; but I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." The friar ſeeing Sarah ſpeak ſo boldly to him, called for the irons to chain her. She then bowed her head, and ſaid to him, 'Not only my hands and feet, but my neck alſo for the teſtimony of Jeſus.' The friar ſeeming appeaſed, ſaid he would do them any good he could; for he ſaw what they did was not in malice. And the friars came often, and ſaid to them, 'If ye would do but a little ye ſhould be ſet at liberty; but you will do nothing at all, but are againſt every thing.' To which they returned, that they would do any thing that might tend to God's glory.

While they were impriſoned here, it happened that the inquiſition-houſe was new built or repaired, which took up about the ſpace of a year and an half; and during this time, ſome of the great ones came often to ſee the building, which gave opportunity to theſe women to ſpeak to them, and to declare the Truth in the name of the Lord.

Now, though they were threatened by the monks for preaching the light of Chriſt ſo boldly, yet not only the magiſtrates, but the lord inquiſitor grew moderate towards them, and gave order they ſhould have pens, ink, and paper to write to England. And they ſeemed inclined to have them ſet at liberty; but the friars worked mightily againſt it; and had laboured about three quarters of a year to part them, before they could bring it to paſs.

And when at length they had effected it, they told Catharine that they ſhould never ſee one another's faces again.

In the mean-while Catharine being ſickly, had little ſtomach to eat, and had no mind to eat any thing but what came from Sarah to her. And having told one of the friars that ſhe wanted ſomebody to waſh her linen, and to prepare ſome warm victuals for her, he ſent to Sarah to know if ſhe would do it for her; and ſhe ſaid ſhe would. And by that means they for ſome weeks heard of one another every day; and the friar ſaid once to Catharine, 'You may free yourſelf of miſery when you will; you may make yourſelf a Catholick, and have your freedom to go where you will:' to which ſhe told him, 'Thus I might have a name that I did live when I was dead: thou haſt Catholicks enough already. Endeavour to bring ſome of them to the light in their conſciences, that they may ſtand in awe and ſin not.' But he was ſo eager, that he ſaid he would loſe one of his fingers if ſhe and Sarah would be Catholicks. Then ſhe told him it was Babylon that was built with blood, but Sion was redeemed through judgment.

Many ways were uſed to draw them off; and once they would have perſuaded her to ſet a picture at her bed's head, for a repreſentation: but ſhe ſaid, as with abhorrence, 'What, do ye think I want a calf to worſhip? Do ye walk by the rule of Scriptures?' To which the friar ſaid, 'We do; but we have traditions too.' She replied, 'If your traditions derogate or diſſent from the fundamentals of Chriſt's doctrine, the prophets and apoſtles, I deny them in the name of the Lord.' But he aſſerted that they did not. Then ſhe aſked what rule they had to burn thoſe that could not join with them for conſcience ſake: and he returned, 'St. Paul did worſe, for he gave them to the devil:' and further ſaid, that they did judge all damned that were not of their faith. Then ſhe objected to him ſeveral of the ſuperſtitious rites of the church of Rome, and mentioned alſo the forbidding of marriage, which, ſaid ſhe, is a doctrine of devils, according to the ſaying of the apoſtle. The friar being put to a nonplus, told her that St. Peter was the pope of Rome, and did

build an altar there, and the pope was his ſucceſſor, and he could do what he would. But ſhe refuted this with ſound reaſon. He then boaſting of the antiquity of their church, ſhe ſignified that the church ſhe was of was yet older; 'For,' ſaid ſhe, 'our faith was from the beginning; and Abel was of our church.' The friar being at a loſs, and not longer able to hold out againſt Catharine, went to Sarah, and talked with her at the ſame rate; and ſhe alſo told him Abel was of our church: to which he ſaid, 'Abel was a Catholick;' and quite overſhooting himſelf, he ſaid likewiſe, 'And Cain and Judas were ſo.' To which Sarah returned, 'Then the devil was a Catholick; and I will not be one: I will not turn; though ye would tear me to pieces, I believe the Lord would enable me to endure it.'

At another time the ſaid friar, whoſe name was Malachy, came again to Catharine, and told her if ſhe would be a Catholick, ſhe ſhould ſay ſo; otherwiſe they would uſe her badly, and ſhe ſhould never ſee the face of Sarah again, but ſhould die by herſelf, and a thouſand devils ſhould carry her ſoul to hell. She then aſked him if he were the meſſenger of God to her: and he ſaid, 'Yes.' 'Why, what is my ſin,' ſaid ſhe, 'or wherein have I provoked the Lord, that he doth ſend me ſuch a meſſage?' 'It is,' returned the monk, 'becauſe you will not be a Catholick.' Whereupon ſhe ſaid, 'I deny thee and the meſſage too, and the ſpirit which ſpeaks in thee; for the Lord never ſpoke ſo.' He growing angry, ſaid that he would lay her in a whole pile of chains, where ſhe ſhould ſee neither ſun nor moon. She intimating how reſigned ſhe was, ſaid he could not ſeparate her from the love of God in Chriſt Jeſus, lay her wherever he would. And he further ſaying he would give her to the devil, ſhe reſumed, 'I do not fear all the devils in hell; the Lord is my keeper. Though thou hadſt the inquiſition, with all the countries round about it on thy ſide, and I was alone by myſelf, I do not fear them; if they were thouſands more, the Lord is on my right hand; and the worſt they can do, is but to kill the body, they can touch my life no more than the devil could Job's.' Then the monk

ſaid ſhe ſhould never go out of that room alive. To which ſhe courageouſly ſaid, 'The Lord is ſufficient to deliver me; but whether he will or no, I will not forſake the living fountain, to drink at a broken ciſtern. And ye have no law to keep us here, but ſuch a law as Ahab had for Naboth's vineyard.' The monk then curſing himſelf, and calling upon his gods, ran away; and as he was pulling the door, he ſaid, 'Abide there, member of the devil.' To which ſhe ſaid, 'The devil's members do the devil's works; and the woes and plagues of the Lord will be upon them for it.'

He then went and told the inquiſitor of it, who laughed at him; and before he came again, Catharine was moved out of that room: when he came, he brought one of the inquiſitor's men with him, and two very good hens, and ſaid, the lord inquiſitor had ſent them in love to her. To which ſhe ſaid, ſhe received his love, but yet ſhe ſhewed herſelf not very ready to accept them; and ſignified that ſhe was willing to pay for them, being loath to be chargeable to any, whilſt ſhe had of her own. The friar, who it ſeems would have had them lay down their money at his feet, ſaid they muſt not count any thing their own, for in the primitive times they ſold their poſſeſſions, and laid them down at the apoſtles feet. He further ſaid, 'You ſhall not want any thing, though we ſhould ſpend a thouſand crowns. But you are proud, becauſe you will not take the inquiſitor's hens which he ſent you in charity.' She then aſking what kind of charity this was, ſince he kept her in priſon; the friar ſaid, it was for the good of their ſouls he kept them in priſon; farther adding, 'If you had not been going to preach, ye might have gone where ye would.' She returned, 'Our ſouls are out of the inquiſitor's reach. Why ſhould your love extend more to us than to your own family: for they commit all manner of ſin, which you cannot charge us with. Why do not ye put them into the inquiſition, and bid them turn?' He then ſaid, 'You have not the true faith;' and ſhewing her his crucifix, aſked her, if ſhe thought he did worſhip that: and ſhe aſked him, what then did he with it:' to which he anſwered, it was a repreſentation. And ſhe

replied, it did not repreſent Chriſt, for he was the expreſs image of his Father's glory, which is light and life. 'But,' continued ſhe, 'if thou canſt put any life in any of thy images, then bring them to me. What repreſentation had Daniel in the lion's den, or Jonah in the whale's belly? They cried unto the Lord, and he delivered them.' The friar, who could not abide to hear her ſpeak ſo much againſt idols, ſaid ſhe talked like a mad woman, adding, 'I will give you to the devil.' She not fearing this, ſaid, 'Give thy own, I am the Lord's.' He then ſtood up, and ſaid, 'I will do to you as the apoſtles did to Ananias and Sapphira.' She then ſtanding up alſo, ſaid, 'I deny thee in the name of the Lord the living God, thou haſt no power over me.' Then away he went with the hens to Sarah, and told her that Catharine was ſick, and the lord inquiſitor had ſent two hens, and ſhe would be glad to eat a piece of one, if ſhe would dreſs one of them preſently, and the other to-morrow. Sarah no leſs circumſpect and cautious than Catharine, and unwilling to receive this gift before ſhe knew what might be expedient, anſwered him accordingly as Catharine did. Then he carried the hens away again, ſaying, 'You would fain be burnt, becauſe you would make the world believe, you love God ſo well as to ſuffer in that kind.' Catharine hearing this, ſaid, 'I do not deſire to be burnt; but if the Lord ſhould call me to it, I believe he will give me power to undergo it for his Truth; and if every hair of my head was a body, I could offer them up all for the teſtimony of Jeſus.

The friar coming afterwards, again aſked Catharine whether ſhe had not been inſpired of the Holy Ghoſt to be a Catholick, ſince ſhe came into the inquiſition: ſhe ſaid, 'No:' but he maintaining the contrary, ſaid, 'You are thoſe who call the Spirit of the Holy Ghoſt the Spirit of the devil.' 'No:' replied they (who though they were parted could hear one another), 'the Spirit of the Holy Ghoſt in us will reſiſt the devil; and the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt is not wrought in the will of man, nor in man's time; but in God's will and time.' More diſcourſe they had about this matter, and then aſking for

their Bibles, which had been taken from them, he ſaid they ſhould never ſee them again, for they were falſe.

Thus they were often troubled and importuned by the friars, who generally came two at a time, though ſometimes but one. One of theſe often lifted up his hand to ſtrike them, but did not: for they not being moved by fear, he was put out of countenance, and would ſay they were good women, and he would do them any good. As indeed ſometimes he did work for them, and would ſay it was for God's ſake, and that they ought to thank him for it; to which they replied, thoſe that did any thing for God, did not look for a reward from man; which once made him ſo angry, that he ſaid they were the worſt of all creatures, and that they ſhould be uſed worſe than the Turks, Armenians, and Lutherans. Whereupon one of them ſaid, 'The pure life was ever counted the worſt; and if we ſuffer, we are the Lord's, and can truſt him. Do what ye will with us, we do not fear any evil tidings: we are ſettled and grounded in Truth; and the more ye perſecute us, the ſtronger we grow.' For this they experienced indeed, according to what they ſignified in their letters, though they were ſeparated a year from each other. The friars coming once to Sarah, told her if ſhe would ſhe might go out of the priſon, and ſay and do nothing. And ſhe ſaying ſhe would on that account, they ſaid they would come next morning. But Sarah perceived their deceit, and therefore when they came, ſhe, to avoid the ſnare, could not reſolve to go forth, though the friars behaved themſelves friendly, and told her that the inquiſitor had ſaid, if they wanted linen, woolen, ſtockings, ſhoes, or money, they ſhould have it.

Once it happened that an Engliſhman who lived there, having heard that Sarah was in a room with a window next the ſtreet, got up by the wall, and ſpoke a few words to her; but he was violently haled down, and caſt into priſon upon life and death; for he was one they had taken from the Turks, and made a Papiſt of him. The friars coming to them to know whether he had brought them any letters, they ſaid 'No.' Neither had Catharine ſeen him; yet it was told them he was like to be hanged.

Of this Sarah gave information to Catharine, by writing a few lines to her (for it ſeems they then could not hear one another), and ſhe told her, ſhe thought the Engliſh friars were the chief actors of this buſineſs. This grieved Catharine, and ſhe wrote to Sarah again (for they had a private way to ſend to each other). In this letter, after her ſalutation, ſhe ſaid to Sarah, that ſhe might be ſure the friars were the chief actors; but that ſhe believed the Lord would preſerve that poor Engliſhman for his love, and that ſhe was made to ſeek the Lord for him with tears; and that ſhe deſired her to ſend him ſomething once a day, if the keeper would carry it; that ſhe herſelf was raviſhed with the love of God to her ſoul, and her beloved was the chiefeſt of ten thouſands; and that ſhe did not fear the face of any man, though ſhe felt their arrows: moreover that ſhe had a proſpect of their ſafe return into England. And in the concluſion, ſhe bade Sarah take heed, if ſhe was tempted with money. But this letter (by what means they never knew) came to the Engliſh friars hands, who tranſlating it into Italian, delivered it to the lord inquiſitor; and afterwards came with the inquiſitor's deputy to Catharine, and ſhewed her both the papers, and aſked her if ſhe could read it: viz. the Engliſh one: 'Yea,' ſaid ſhe, 'I writ it.' 'O, did you indeed?' ſaid he' 'And what is it you ſay of me here?' 'Nothing but what is true,' replied ſhe. Then he ſaid, 'Where is the paper Sarah ſent? Give it, or elſe I will ſearch your trunk, and every where elſe.' She then bidding him ſearch where he would, he ſaid, ſhe muſt tell him who it was that brought her ink, or elſe ſhe ſhould be tied with chains preſently. And ſhe returned ſhe had done nothing but what was juſt and right in the ſight of God; and what ſhe did ſuffer on that account would be for Truth's ſake. And ſhe would not meddle with the poor workmen. Then he ſaid, 'For God's ſake tell me what Sarah did write.' And ſhe told him ſomething, and ſaid, what ſhe ſpoke was truth. 'But,' returned he, 'you ſay it is much we do not tempt you with money.' And this indeed happened afterwards. The deputy then took Catharine's ink, and threw it away; and ſo they went alſo; and the poor Engliſhman was releaſed

the next morning. They now coming to Sarah, told her that Catharine honeſtly had confeſſed all, and that ſhe had beſt to confeſs too: and they threatened her with a halter, and that they would take away her bed and trunk, and her money too: to which Sarah ſaid, it may be ſhe might not ſend to Catharine any more: and ſhe aſked the deputy, whether he was a miniſter of Chriſt, or a magiſtrate: if he were a magiſtrate, ſaid ſhe, he might take her money, but ſhe would not give it him. He then growing angry, ſaid ſhe was poſſeſſed; to which ſhe returned, if ſo, then it was with the power of an endleſs life.

Thus from time to time they ſuffered many aſſaults; and ſometimes it ſo happened that thoſe who came to ſee them, were ſtruck to the heart, which offended the friars. Now at length their money was almoſt gone, they having ſometimes employed it for victuals. But the friars told them they might have kept their money for other ſervices; for they ſhould have maintained them whilſt they kept them priſoners. To this they ſaid they could not keep their money, and be chargeable to others. Then it ſo fell out that their ſtomachs were taken away, and they did eat but little for three or four weeks, till at length they found themſelves obliged to faſting for ſeveral days together: which made the friars ſay, that it was impoſſible that people could live with ſo little meat as they did. And it was told them the lord inquiſitor had ſaid, they might have any thing they would. To which they ſignifying that it was not in their own will they faſted, ſaid they muſt wait to know the mind of the Lord, what he would have them to do. They continued weak, eſpecially Sarah, who apprehending her death near, did therefore dreſs her head as ſhe would lie in the grave. They both were ſo feeble that they could not put on their clothes, neither put them off, being alſo unable to make their beds. And though they deſired to be together in one room, yet the friars would not permit it. In this condition they concluded they were like to die; but heaven had provided otherwiſe.

Catharine about that time, being exerciſed in ſupplication to the Lord, that it might pleaſe him to put an end to their

trial, which way it ſeemed good in his ſight, thought ſhe heard a voice ſaying, 'Ye ſhall not die;' and ſhe took this to be a heavenly voice: and from that time they felt themſelves refreſhed with the living preſence of the Lord, to their great joy and comfort, ſo that they felt freedom to eat again; and then they were provided with good victuals; but yet they were under a fear of eating any thing which in ſome reſpect might be counted unclean; and therefore they cried unto the Lord, and ſaid, 'We had rather die than eat any thing that is polluted and unclean.' And Catharine believed it was ſaid to her from the Lord, 'Thou mayeſt as freely eat, as if thou hadſt wrought for it with thy hands.' And Sarah, who ſometimes had wrought for others in the inquiſition houſe, was perſuaded that it was told her by inſpiration, 'Thou ſhalt eat the fruit of thy hands, and be bleſſed.' And ſo they did eat, and for eight or ten days, they got whatever they did call for. But afterwards they were ſo ſtraitened for want of food, that it did them more hurt than their faſt. Yet they being preſerved alive, the friars ſaid, 'The Lord keeps them alive by his mighty power, becauſe they ſhould be Catholicks.' To which they returned, it ſhould be known one day the Lord had another end in it. But the friars told them plainly, there was no redemption for them. Whereupon they ſaid, With the Lord there was mercy and plenteous redemption: and they bade them take heed, 'ye be not found fighters againſt God.' To which the friars returned, 'Ye are fooliſh women.' 'Then we are,' replied they, 'the Lord's fools; and they are dear and precious in his ſight.' The friars then ſhewing their ſhaven crowns, ſaid that they were the Lord's fools; and, pointing to their gowns, ſaid they did wear them for God's ſake, to be laughed at by the world. One of the friars about this time did what he could to ſend Catharine to Rome; and not ſucceeding, he ſaid they ſhould go both. But this not taking effect, the friar was ſent thither with a paper, containing matter of charge againſt Catharine; but ſhe ſpeaking zealouſly to the ſcribe, pronounced woe againſt it, and defied it in the name of the Lord. Before the friar departed, he told Sarah that Catharine was a witch, and that

ſhe knew what was done elſewhere. He ſaid this, becauſe once telling Catharine abundance of lies, ſhe told him ſhe had a witneſs for God in her, which was faithful and true; and ſhe believed this witneſs.

After he was gone, the Engliſh conſul came to her with a dollar from a maſter of a ſhip, who came from Plymouth. She told him ſhe did receive her countryman's love, but could not receive his money. He then aſked her what ſhe would do if ſhe would take no money; to which ſhe anſwered, 'The Lord is my portion, and thus I cannot want any good thing. We were in thy houſe near fifteen weeks, didſt thou ſee any cauſe of death and bonds in us?' And he ſaying No, ſhe ſignified to him, that in ſome reſpect he had been acceſſary to their impriſonment, and had not been ignorant of the intent: 'Thou kneweſt,' ſaid ſhe, 'that a room was provided for us in the inquiſition; and had not we been kept alive by the mighty power of God, we might have been dead long ſince.' Endeavouring to excuſe himſelf, he ſaid, 'How could I help it?' Then ſhe put him in mind of what happened at his houſe, when they were there, and how they called them to repentance, and forewarned them. To which he ſaid, 'However it be, it will go well with you.' Then ſhe told him how he required a ſign of her, when they were at his houſe, if they were the ſervants of the Lord God: and ſhe aſked him, whether that was not true they ſpoke to him: 'Thou art a condemned perſon, and ſtandeſt guilty before God; yet nevertheleſs repent, if thou canſt find a place.' While ſhe thus ſpoke to him, his lips quivered, and he trembled, ſo that he could ſcarce ſtand upon his legs: and though otherwiſe a very handſome man, and in his prime, yet he now looked as one that was pining away: and this was a ſufficient ſign for the whole city, if they had duly taken notice of it. Catharine having refuſed the piece of money, he went to Sarah with it: but ſhe likewiſe told him ſhe could not take it; but if he had a letter for them, ſhe ſhould be free to receive it. He ſaying he had not any, aſked her what ſhe did want; and ſhe anſwered, the Lord was her ſhepherd, ſhe could not want any good thing; but ſhe did long for her freedom. He, not willing to

diſcourage her, ſaid, 'That you may have in time.' But he did not live to ſee it, for the next time they heard of him he was dead.

Whilſt the friar was gone to Rome, it was told them they were alſo to be ſent thither; and there was indeed great working about it; but it ſeems they could not agree in the matter. In the mean-while Catharine and Sarah remained ſeparated, and there were five doors between them with locks and bolts; and yet Sarah ſometimes found an opportunity either by the careleſſneſs of the keeper, or that it was done on purpoſe, to come where ſhe could ſee Catharine; and how much ſoever the friars did watch them, yet ſhe came to Catharine's door by night. But being once diſcovered, ſhe was locked up again; yet not long after the doors were again open, ſo that they ſat in ſight of each other.

Sometimes there were of divers nations brought priſoners into the inquiſition; and the friars, and other great men, endeavoured in their way, to make Chriſtians of them. Then theſe women would often ſhew them the errors of popery, and declare the Truth, for which they were willing to ſuffer death, if required: but this was taken very ill. At length it happened that two Engliſhmen came into the city, and tried to obtain their liberty, but in vain. Yet a little while after, the magiſtrates ſent for and aſked them whether they were ſick; or, whether they did want any thing; ſaying they might write to England, ordering the ſcribe to give them ink and paper.

Not long after came one Francis Steward, a captain of a ſhip, and a friar of Ireland, who both took great pains to get them releaſed; and their friends in England had not been wanting in any thing that might procure their liberty. But the time for it was not yet come. The ſaid captain, and the new Engliſh conſul, endeavoured much to procure their liberty; but it was not in the magiſtrates power, for the inquiſitor ſaid, he could not ſet them free without an order from the pope. Yet Catharine and Sarah were brought into the court chamber, and the Engliſh conſul aſked them if they were willing to go back to England: and they ſaid, Yes, if it were the will of God

they might. The captain of the ſhip, who alſo was there, ſpoke to them with tears in his eyes, and told them what he had done in their behalf, but in vain. 'It is the inquiſitor, ſaid he, 'who will not let you go free: you have preached among theſe people.' To which they ſaid, that they had witneſſed the Truth, which they were willing to maintain with their blood. He replied, if they could be ſet free, he would freely give them their paſſage, and provide for them. And they returned, his love was as well accepted of the Lord, as if he did carry them. He alſo offered them money, but they refuſed to take any. They then gave him a relation of their impriſonment and ſufferings, and ſaid they could not change their minds, though they were to be burnt to aſhes, or chopped in ſmall pieces. The friar then drawing near, ſaid they did not work: but this was not true, for they had work of their own, and did work as they were able. They alſo told him their work and buſineſs was in England. He confeſſing this was true, ſaid they had ſuffered long enough, and too long, and that they ſhould have their freedom within a ſhort time, but that there wanted an order from the pope. In the mean-while it grieved the captain that he could not obtain their liberty; and going away, he prayed God to comfort them; and they beſought the Lord to bleſs and preſerve him unto everlaſting life, and never to let him, nor his, go without a bleſſing from him, for his love. For he ventured himſelf exceedingly in that place, by labouring to get their freedom.

After he was gone, they met with worſe uſage, and the inquiſitor coming, looked upon them with indignation; for the taking away of their lives was again on foot, and their doors were ſhut up for many weeks. After ſome time the inquiſitor came again into the tower where they ſate; and Sarah called to him, and deſired the door might be opened for them to go down into the court to waſh their clothes. He then ordered the door to be opened once a week; and not long after it was open every day. And ſince it had been ſaid, that they could not be releaſed without the pope's leave, Sarah ſaid to him, 'If we are the pope's priſoners, we appeal to the pope: ſend us

therefore to him.' But thoſe that had their abode in the inquiſition, eſpecially the friars, were their mortal enemies, although they would ſometimes have fed them with the beſt of their victuals, and given them whole bottles of wine, if they would have received it; and it troubled them exceedingly, that they refuſed to eat and drink with them; which they did, becauſe they looked upon them as their fierce perſecutors.

Once there came two or three Engliſh ſhips into the harbour, and the Engliſh conſul telling them of it, ſaid, that he did what he could for them, but that they would not let them go, unleſs they would turn Catholicks, and that therefore they muſt ſuffer more impriſonment yet. Before Sarah knew theſe ſhips were come thither, ſhe ſaw them in the night in a dream, and heard a voice ſaying that they could not go yet. When the ſhips were gone, they were ſent for, and it was aſked them if they would be Catholicks; to which they anſwered, they were true Chriſtians, and had received the Spirit of Chriſt. One of the magiſtrates ſhewing them the croſs, they told him, they did take up the croſs of Chriſt daily, which was the power of God to crucify ſin and iniquity. Knowing that there was a friar, who, as the captain had told them, took a great deal of pains for them, but not ſeeing him there (for he ſecretly favouring them, was now abſent), they ſaid to thoſe that were preſent, 'One of your fathers hath promiſed us our liberty.' But this availed nothing. Yet they acknowledged his kindneſs, and told him afterwards, he would never have cauſe to repent it. A friar once coming to them, ſaid, 'It is God's will ye ſhould be kept here, or elſe we could not keep you.' On which Catharine told him, 'The Lord ſuffers wicked men to do wickedneſs, but he doth not will them to do it; he ſuffered Herod to take off John the Baptiſt's head, but he did not will him to do it: he ſuffered Stephen to be ſtoned, and Judas to betray Chriſt; but he did not will them to do ſo; for if he had, he would not have condemned them for it.' The friar hereupon aſking, 'Are we then wicked men?' She anſwered, 'They are wicked men that work wickedneſs.' 'But,' ſaid he, 'you have not

the true faith.' To which ſhe anſwered, 'By faith we ſtand, and by the power of God we are upheld. Doſt thou think it is by our own power and holineſs we are kept from a vain converſation, from ſin and wickedneſs?' He then ſaying that was their pride, ſhe told him, 'We can glory in the Lord, we were children of wrath once as well as others; but the Lord hath quickened us that were dead, by the living word of his grace, and hath waſhed, cleanſed, and ſanctified us in ſoul and ſpirit, in part, according to our meaſures; and we do preſs forward towards that which is perfect.' He then ſaid, 'Ye are good women; but yet there is no redemption for you, except ye will be Catholicks.' This was the old leſſon of the friars, who, at another time, ſaid, 'Ye may be Catholicks, and keep your own religion too; and ye ſhall not be known to be Catholicks, except ye were brought before a juſtice.' To which they returned, 'What, ſhould we profeſs a Chriſt we ſhould be aſhamed of?'

Some of thoſe that came to ſee them would pity them for not turning Catholicks; but others ſhewed their hatred, by crying that they muſt be burnt, and by bawling, 'Fuoco, fuoco,' (fire, fire). Whilſt they were ſeparated from each other, Catharine was often much concerned for Sarah, and afraid that ſhe ſhould be enſnared; for one of the friars many times accoſted her with fawning words: but they both continued ſtedfaſt, and were often raviſhed by the inward joy and conſolation they felt. Catharine in one of her letters ſaid, that the ſpirit of prayer was once upon her, but that ſhe was afraid to ſpeak to the Lord, for fear ſhe ſhould ſpeak one word that would not pleaſe him. And then it was returned from the Lord, 'Fear not, daughter of Sion; aſk what thou wilt, and I will grant it thee, whatſoever thy heart can wiſh.' But ſhe deſired nothing of the Lord, but what would make for his glory, whether it were her liberty, or bondage, life or death. And in this reſignedneſs ſhe found herſelf accepted of the Lord.

Sometimes they ſpoke ſo effectually to thoſe that came to them, that they could not gainſay them, but were made to confeſs that God was with them; though others would

make a hideous noiſe, and cry, 'Jeſu Maria,' and run away, as people that were ſtruck with fear. Catharine's priſon being ſo near the ſtreet, that ſhe could be heard of thoſe that went by, ſhe was moved ſometimes to call them to repentance, and to turn to the light wherewith they were enlightened, which would lead them out of all their wicked ways and works, to ſerve the true and living God, in ſpirit and in truth. This ſo reached ſome, that they did ſigh and groan, and ſtay to hear her; but not long, it being forbidden upon great pain. Yet ſome that paſſed by to their worſhip-houſes, were ſo wicked, that they threw ſtones at her window, and often made a ſad noiſe, and howled like dogs.

Thus they were aſſaulted both from abroad, and within doors from the friars, who fiercely threatened them for their bold teſtimony againſt idolatry. Once when they ſhewed Sarah the Virgin Mary and her babe pictured againſt a wall, and would have her look upon it, ſhe, to ſhew her zeal againſt idol-worſhip, ſtamped with her foot, and ſaid, 'Curſed are all images, and image makers, and thoſe that fall down to worſhip them.'

It happened that ſome French and Spaniſh ſhips came to join with the cavaliers of Malta, to fight againſt the Turks; Sarah hearing this, ſaid, 'God is angry, God is angry; go not forth to kill one another; Chriſt came not to deſtroy life, but to ſave it.' This ſhe told many who were perſuaded of obtaining a victory; but it fell out otherwiſe, for their fleet was beaten by the Turks, and they returned with great damage.

A friar coming once to Catharine, aſked her why ſhe did not work; which made her ſay to him, 'What work doſt thou?' He anſwered, 'I write.' To which ſhe returned, 'I will write too, if thou wilt bring me pen, ink, and paper.' He not willing ſhe ſhould write, ſaid, 'St. Paul did work at Rome; and by knitting ſhe might get about three halfpence a day.' She told him, 'If we could have that privilege among you, which Paul had at Rome under Cæſar, who was a heathen prince, we would have wrought, and not have been chargeable to any; for he lived in his own hired houſe two years, preaching the

goſpel and doctrine of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.' She aſked him alſo, whether he knew the holy war of God? 'And if thou knoweſt it,' ſaid ſhe, 'then thou canſt not but know that we cannot be without exerciſe day nor night.' This ſtopped his mouth; beſides, it was well known, that they ſpent not their time idly; for they knit ſtockings for thoſe that were ſerviceable to them; they made garments for the poor priſoners, and mended their clothes; though they were not willing to work for the friars, who ſometimes coming to her, kneeled down, and would have Catharine to ſay after them the words they ſpoke. But this ſhe refuſed to do, though it made theſe men grow more angry. Such and the like occurrences ſo grieved her, that once in anguiſh of ſpirit ſhe cried out to God, 'It were better for me to die than to live thus.' For being almoſt continually conſtrained to teſtify againſt idolatry and ſuperſtition, ſhe would have been willing to have laid down her life for a teſtimony againſt it, if it had been required of her. And when once the friars told her that Sarah was to be carried to Rome, whilſt ſhe ſhould ſtay at Malta, it ſo grieved her, that with ſupplication, ſhe aſked the Lord if he did not count her worthy to go to Rome alſo, and to offer up her life there, for the teſtimony of Jeſus; becauſe, if ſhe was at liberty to chuſe, ſhe would rather do ſo, than return without her to England.

At another time, when it was told them that their bibles were falſe, Catharine aſked the friar that ſaid ſo, 'Wherein are they falſe?' He replied, becauſe the books of the Maccabees were not in them. To which ſhe anſwered, that though ſomething might be wanting, yet the reſt might be good for all that: but if ſomething were added, then the bible was corrupted. This ſtruck at ſome additions ſhe had ſeen in the bibles there. Then he aſked her whether ſhe did not think that every one muſt bow at the name of Jeſus; and ſhe anſwering, 'Yea,' he ſaid, 'Jeſus,' and bade her to kneel down, or to bow herſelf. To which ſhe ſaid, that her heart and whole body was bowed down under the name of Jeſus; but that ſhe would not bow at the will of him, or any body elſe. 'He that departs from iniquity (thus ſhe continued), bows before the

name of Jeſus; but they that live in ſin and wickedneſs, do not bow before the Son of God.' Then he ſaid, that he and his companions ſtood in the ſame power, and were led by the ſame ſpirit as the apoſtles. Which made her aſk, why then they abuſed that power, and uſed carnal weapons? He anſwered, they did not do ſo, for their inquiſition, nay, even their chains and fetters were ſpiritual. Then he aſked her, whether ſhe did not think all thoſe damned that were not of her perſuaſion; ſhe ſaid, 'No, Chriſt hath not taught us ſo; for thoſe that are to-day in a ſtate of reprobation, the Lord, if it pleaſe him, can call to-morrow out of it.' He then ſaid, 'We think you damned, and all thoſe that are not of our belief.' To which ſhe returned, 'The judgment of man doth not hurt us.'

Sometimes ſome came to the priſon upon their ſaints days, and aſked them what day it was: and they not being acquainted with thoſe ſaints, would anſwer, 'We do not know it.' When the others then told them, that it was ſuch or ſuch a ſaint's day, and that this ſaint would puniſh them that night, becauſe they did not obſerve his day; they anſwered, that they knew the ſaints to be at peace with them, and that therefore they did not fear them. Another time a friar came and told them, it was ſeventeen days to Chriſtmas, and that the Virgin Mary conceived that preſent day. On which Catharine made this remark, that indeed this was very ſingular, that ſhe did go with child but ſeventeen days. Such like occurrences grieved her exceedingly, when ſhe conſidered the groſs darkneſs theſe people were in: and as ſhe was crying to the Lord in prayer, that it ſeemed that all their travail and labour was fruitleſs, ſhe felt this anſwer; 'Be not grieved, though Iſrael be not gathered, the ſeed of Malta is to increaſe into multitude; that which ye have ſown ſhall not die, but live.'

After Catharine and Sarah had been impriſoned at Malta about three years, there came one Daniel Baker, who did whatever he could, and went alſo to the inquiſitor, to obtain their liberty, but in vain; for he required that ſome Engliſh merchants at Leghorn, or at Meſſina, ſhould engage for

four thouſand dollars, that they, being releaſed, ſhould never return into thoſe parts. But they were unwilling to enter into thoſe terms, as not knowing what the Lord one time or other might require of them. Daniel, ſeeing he could not obtain their deliverance this way, offered himſelf to be impriſoned inſtead of them; and this not being accepted, he went yet further, and ſignified, that he was willing to lay down his life for their liberty, if it was not to be purchaſed otherwiſe. Great love indeed! of which but few inſtances are to be found. And they hearing of this, were touched with exceeding great admiration. In the mean-while, he found a way to get ſome letters delivered to them, and writ alſo himſelf, both to comfort and exhort them to ſtedfaſtneſs. At length he found means alſo to ſpeak to them; for on a time, as they ſtood at the priſon grates, he being come in their ſight, ſaluted them in theſe words: 'The whole body of God's elect, right dearly beloved, own your teſtimony, and ye are a ſweet ſavour unto the Lord and his people.' To which one of them anſwered, that it was a trouble to them that they could not be more ſerviceable. This made his heart melt with pity and compaſſion, conſidering the wonderful mercy of the Lord in preſerving them without fainting in that ſharp trial: and they beholding one another at a diſtance through the iron grates, were mutually refreſhed at that ſeaſon. They afterwards writ to him, and ſignified with the moſt tender expreſſions, how highly they valued his great love; and alſo ſent him letters for their friends and relations in England; and he neglected not to write back again to them during his ſtay, which was in the forepart of the year 1662. But he was forced to leave them priſoners there: yet the time of their redemption drew nigh, which was brought about at the inſtance of George Fox and Gilbert Latey, by writing to the lord Aubigny, as hath been ſaid already.

Some time before Daniel Baker came to Malta, it had been told them, that if they would turn Catholicks, they might dwell at Malta. To which their anſwer was, that they were true Catholicks. One of the magiſtrates ſaid, that if they would not turn Catholicks, they muſt yet

ſuffer long impriſonment by the pope's order. And yet it was not true that there was ſuch an order. It was alſo told them, if they would kiſs the croſs, they ſhould be releaſed; and they might ſtay at the houſe of the Engliſh conſul, until an opportunity offered to carry them to England. In the mean-while they heard that the pope had given order to let them paſs to England without doing them any hurt. But however it was, they were preſerved well contented, and they ſaid reſolutely, that they would not kiſs the croſs, nor purchaſe their liberty at that rate. It ſeems the conſul aimed at ſome advantage by their releaſement; for he told them that the inquiſitor had ſaid, if any one would engage for three or four thouſand dollars to be paid if ever they came thither again, they ſhould be ſet at liberty. This he ſaid alſo to D. Baker, and added, that if none would engage, they muſt die in priſon, and that this was the pope's order. After Baker's departure, word was ſent to ſome Engliſh merchants, concerning ſuch an engagement; but none appeared willing to enter into it; and the priſoners were ſo far from deſiring, that they ſpoke againſt it. Yet there were many that ſought to obtain their liberty, ſhewing themſelves willing to engage for what was reaſonable; but all their endeavours were in vain.

Once they faſted three days, and though it was a cold ſeaſon, they ſat upon the ground, with very little clothes, without ſtockings or ſhoes, having nothing upon their heads but aſhes. The inquiſitors ſeeing it, wondered exceedingly; and Sarah began to ſpeak zealouſly againſt ſuperſtition and idolatry. And when the time of their faſt was expired, Catharine compoſed the following

HYMN TO GOD.

ALL praiſe to him that hath not put
  Nor caſt me out of mind,
Nor yet his mercy from me ſhut,
  As I could ever find.

Infinite glory, laud, and praiſe
Be given to his name,
Who hath made known in theſe our days
His ſtrength and noble fame.

Oh none is like unto the Lamb!
Whoſe beauty ſhineth bright,
O glorify his holy name,
His majeſty and might.

My ſoul praiſe thou the only God,
A fountain pure and clear,
Whoſe chryſtal ſtreams ſpread all abroad,
And cleanſeth far and near.

The well-ſprings of eternity,
Which are ſo pure and ſweet,
And do ariſe continually,
My bridegroom for to meet.

My ſweet and dear beloved one,
Whoſe voice is more to me
Than all the glory of the earth,
Or treaſures I can ſee.

He is the glory of my life,
My joy and my delight,
Within the boſom of his love
He clos'd me day and night.

He doth preſerve me clean and pure
Within his pavill'on,
Where I with him ſhould be ſecure,
And ſaved from all wrong.

My ſoul praiſe thou the Lord, I ſay,
Praiſe him with joy and peace;
My ſp'rit and mind both night and day,
Praiſe him and never ceaſe.

O magnify his majeſty,
His fame and his renown,
Whoſe dwelling is in Sion high,
The glory of his crown.

O praiſes, praiſes to our God,
Sing praiſes to our King;
O teach the people all abroad,
His praiſes for to ſing.

A Sion ſong of glory bright,
That doth ſhine out ſo clear;
O manifeſt it in the ſight
Of nations far and near;

That God may have his glory due,
His honour and his fame,
And all his ſaints may ſing anew
The praiſes of his name.

After Catharine had joyfully ſung thus, ſhe went to the well in the court, and drank much water in the ſight of the priſoners, as did Sarah alſo: for they were very dry, and Sarah waſhing her head alſo in cold water, they cried out in their language, 'Ye will kill yourſelves, and go to the devil.' But this they did not fear, neither caught they any cold, and ſo became a wonder to others.

About half a year after Daniel Baker was gone, it came into Catharine's heart, that if ſhe could ſpeak with the inquiſitor, he would grant them their liberty. And it was not long after that he came to the inquiſition court chamber, which they hearing, deſired to ſpeak with him, which was granted, and being admitted into his preſence, they told him they had not wronged or defrauded any, but had ſuffered innocently almoſt four years for conſcience-ſake, &c. After this the inquiſitior was very courteous to them, and promiſed their liberty in a few days, ſaying he would ſend for the conſul, and get him to engage for five hundred dollars to be paid for them if ever they came again. And in caſe the conſul denied this, he would ſend

to Rome to the pope, to ſet them at liberty without any obligation.

Not many days after the inquiſitor came with his lieutenant, the chancellor, and others, and after ſome diſcourſe, aſked them whether they would return back again to their huſbands and children, if it were the will of God: to which they anſwered, it was their intent in the will of God ſo to do. Hereupon they were releaſed, and the inquiſitor took his leave very courteouſly of them, and wiſhed them a proſperous return into their own country; ſo likewiſe did the magiſtrates, and the inferior officers, not requiring one pennyworth for fees or attendance; yet in their own freedom they gave ſomething to the keeper, and ſome poor men.

Being thus ſet at liberty, they kneeled down, and prayed God never to lay to their charge what they did unto them, becauſe they knew them not. And then they were delivered into the conſul's hands, who told them that he had engaged for them to get them free; but they could never find that it was true. Now they were kept eleven weeks at the conſul's houſe, before they could get a paſſage from thence. Catharine in the mean-while, being under a great concern, becauſe of a judgment that was impending over the city, writ a paper to the rulers of Malta, in which ſhe ſaid, that on the 25th of the month called Auguſt, it came upon her from the Lord to write thus to them in his name, 'My wrath is kindled againſt you, and my judgment is ſet up amongſt you, becauſe of your hard-heartedneſs and unbelief. I the Lord, who deſire the death of no man, but that all ſhould return unto me and live, have caſt my ſervants amongſt you, contrary to their will, and without their knowledge, to go and forewarn you of the evil that was coming upon you. For all the wicked ſhall be brought to judgment. I will eſtabliſh my beloved Son upon his throne, and he ſhall rule in his princely power, and reign in his kingly majeſty, whoſe right it is over all; and his own ſpiritual government ſhall he ſet up in all places, righteous rule and pure worſhip in Spirit and in Truth. There is nothing that can prevent the Lord, who ſaith, If ye will not hear my ſervant, which

ſpeaketh my word, whom ye proved almoſt theſe four years, whoſe life hath been harmleſs and ſpotleſs, in pure innocency amongſt you, then will I bring woe upon woe, and judgment upon judgment upon you, till the living ſhall not be able to bury the dead. My mouth hath ſpoken it, and my zeal will perform it; and every man's hand ſhall be upon his loins for pain; for the day of recompence is come. But if you will hear my ſervant which ſpeaketh in my name, and return in your minds to the light in your conſciences, which convinceth of all evil, and deny all evil thoughts, words, and actions, then will I pour out my ſpirit upon you, and will ſoon cure you of your diſeaſes, and heal you of your pain.'

This, and more ſhe writ, and delivered to the conſul to give it to the grand maſter, and the reſt of the governors; but the conſul not being pleaſed with it, threatened her with impriſonment again. What farther became of the paper I do not find, but this, that on the 8th of October, there was great thunder and lightning, which ſet on fire and blew up one of the powder-houſes about a mile out of the city, and another powder-houſe was thrown down; and in the city five houſes were overthrown, moſt of the glaſs windows of the palaces and other houſes broke, the doors flew off their hooks, the walls torn, and the whole city terribly ſhaken, ſo that being at midnight, a cry went through the whole city, and the bells were rung. At the bed's feet where Catharine and Sarah lay, was a glaſs window, which alſo was broken, but they received no hurt, though the houſe was ſo ſhaken that they did exceedingly fear and quake; but being given up unto the Lord to live and die, their fear was ſoon taken from them, and turned into joy in the Lord. When it was day the conſul came to them, and they being ſtill and quiet, he aſked whether they were not dead: and while he was ſpeaking others came in, telling what was done in the city; and he told them that even the ſhips in the harbour had ſuffered damage. Then they ſaid, 'One woe is paſt, and behold another woe cometh quickly, if ye do not repent.'

Some days after Sarah faſted, ſitting upon the ground with aſhes upon her head, her neck and ſhoulders bare;

and ſhe ſpoke to the conſul to deſire the grand maſter to proclaim a faſt, and to make the people to meet together to wait upon the Lord, with their minds turned to him, that ſo he might turn away his judgments from them; for the hour of his judgments was come, wherein the painted harlot ſhould be ſtripped naked, and receive a cup of trembling from the hand of the Lord. The conſul performed this meſſage to the magiſtrates, and the friars ſaid the woman had a good intent. Some time after the inquiſitor came, and talking with them, ſaid, 'Your intent is good, but the devil hath deceived you.' And they aſked him whether the devil could give power over ſin: to which he ſaid, the devil could transform himſelf into an image of light, and conſented to, but yet ſaid he could not [illegible] the children of light; though they that [illegible] could not diſcern him. He could not [illegible] this, but went away, and the conſul, who was preſent, wrought againſt them to get them into bondage again, but in vain. Many now died in the town of a violent fever: whether [illegible] faſter followed upon their prediction, I cannot [illegible]

At length there came [illegible] of England's frigates, called the Saphire, [illegible] by captain Samuel Titſwel, who took them [illegible] ſome knights of Malta; among whom [illegible] brother, who often ſpoke to the captain [illegible] not want any thing that was in the ſhip, [illegible] them, if they came to Malta again, they ſhould not be perſecuted ſo. And to the captain he ſaid, 'If they go to heaven one way, and we another, yet we ſhall all meet together at laſt.' But they told him that Chriſt Jeſus, the Light of the World, was the only way to the Father.

Departing from Malta, after ſome time they came to Leghorn, where the merchants ſhewed them great kindneſs, and ſent wine and other things for their refreſhment, proffering them alſo money; but they were unwilling to accept it. From thence they came to Tangier, which the king of England had in marriage with the daughter of the king of Portugal. This place was at that time beſieged by the Moors, yet Catharine and Sarah entered the town, and

many came flocking into the houſe where they were lodged, for they boldly exhorted the people to depart from wickedneſs. They alſo went to the governor, who was courteous to them, and took their admonitions in good part, and promiſed to follow their counſel. And he would have given them money, but they took none, though they accepted his love; for he commanded that none of the garriſon ſhould abuſe them either in word or deed, upon pain of ſevere puniſhment: yet the Portugueſe and Iriſh were ready enough to have done them miſchief. They being inclined to go out to the Moors, deſired the governor to let them go forth, but he told them they muſt expect from that ſavage people nothing but cruel death, or bonds for ever: and though they ſignified to him that they believed the Lord would preſerve them, ſince they were perſuaded that he required of them to go to the Moors, yet the governor in a friendly manner withheld them from going. Being thus ſtopped, they believed that the Lord accepted of their good will. When they went aboard again, though in another ſhip, ſeveral took ſhipping with them, from a belief, that on their account, they ſhould have a ſafe paſſage. The captain and others that were in the ſhip, behaved themſelves very civily towards them; and though they met with tempeſts, yet at length they arrived ſafe in England.

Catharine afterwards related, that when (in the inquiſition) ſhe was for many days together in expectation that they ſhould be burnt, ſhe ſaw in a dream in the night, a large room, and a great wood fire in the chimney, and ſhe beheld one ſitting in a chair by the fire, in the form of a ſervant, whom ſhe took to be the Eternal Son of God: likewiſe ſhe ſaw a very amiable well-favoured man-child, ſitting in a hollow chair over the fire (not appearing to be above three-quarters of a year old, and having no clothes on but a little fine linen about the upper parts) and the fire flamed about it; yet the child played, and was merry. She would then have taken it up, for fear it ſhould have been burnt; but he that ſat in the chair bid her let it alone. Then turning about ſhe ſaw an angel, and he that ſat in the chair bid her take up the child, which ſhe

did, and found it had no harm; and then awaking, ſhe told her dream to Sarah, and deſired her not to fear, ſince the heavenly hoſt thus followed them.

I have collected this relation of the occurrences of theſe women at Malta, from ſeveral papers and letters, which not long after their return home were publiſhed in print. And ſince no due order was obſerved there, and many things mentioned, which to avoid prolixity I have paſſed by, as not very material, I may have haply miſſed in ſome caſe or other, as to the order or ſeries of time, but yet I think the matters of fact are not mutilated. Now to give the reader an idea of the frame of theſe women's minds, and their ſufferings, I will inſert ſome of their letters: among thoſe which they writ to their friends in England, was this following:

'O dearly beloved friends, fathers, and elders, and pillars of God's ſpiritual houſe, and brethren and ſiſters in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the meaſure of love and life of our God, do we ſalute you all, and do embrace you in that which is eternal, and we do greatly rejoice, and glorify the name of our heavenly Father, that he hath counted us worthy to be partakers of the death and ſufferings of his bleſſed Son with you; though we be the leaſt of God's flock, yet we are of the true fold, whereof Chriſt Jeſus is ſhepherd; and he hath had as tender a care over us, as he hath had of any of his lambs which he hath called forth in this the day of his power, and hath carried us through and over as great afflictions as moſt of our brethren and ſufferers for his name, both in mockings, ſcoffings, ſcornings, reproaches, ſtripes, contradictions, perils at land, and perils at ſea, fiery trials, cruel threatnings, grief of heart, ſorrow of ſoul, heats and colds, faſtings and watchings, fears within, and fightings without; terrible temptations and perſecutions, and dreadful impriſonments, and buffetings of Satan; yet in all theſe our trials, the Lord was very gracious unto us, and did not abſent himſelf from us, neither ſuffered his faithfulneſs to fail us, but did bear us up, and keep us from fainting in the midſt of our extremity. We had not another to make our moan to, but the Lord

alone; neither could we expect a drop of mercy, favour, or refreſhments, but what he did diſtil from his living preſence, and work by his own ſtrength; for we ſat one in one room, and the other in another, near a year; as owls in deſarts, and as people forſaken in ſolitary places. Then did we enjoy the preſence of the Lord, and did behold the brightneſs of his glory, and we did ſee you, our dear friends, in the light of Jeſus, and did behold your order, and ſtedfaſtneſs of your faith and love to all ſaints, and were refreſhed in all the faithful-hearted, and felt the iſſues of love and life which did ſtream from the hearts of thoſe that were wholly joined to the fountain, and were made ſenſible of the benefit of your prayers.

'O the ſorrows, the mournings, the tears! "But thoſe that ſow in tears, ſhall reap in joy." A true ſorrow begets a true joy; and a true croſs a true crown: for when our ſorrows did abound, the love of God did abound much more: the deeper the ſorrows, the greater the joys; the greater the croſs, the weightier the crown.

'Dear friends and brethren, marvel not that Iſrael is not gathered, our judgment remains with the Lord, and ſo do our labours; for it was not for want of travail, nor pain, nor love to their ſouls; for we could have been contented to have fed upon the graſs on the ground, ſo we might have had our freedom amongſt them: for, had it not been for the great oppoſition, they would have followed after us, as chickens after a hen, both great and ſmall. But oh! the ſwelling ſeas, the raging and foaming waves, ſtormy winds and floods, and deep waters, and high mountains and hills, hard rocks, rough ways, and crooked paths, tall cedars, ſtrong oaks, fruitleſs trees, and corrupted ones, that cumber the ground, and hinder the righteous ſeed to be ſown, and the noble plants from being planted. Oh! they ſhut up the kingdom againſt the ſimple-hearted, and hide the key of knowledge from the innocent ones, and will not enter into the kingdom themſelves, nor ſuffer them that would enter, but ſtir up the magiſtrates to form carnal weapons, thinking to prevent the Lord of taking to him his inheritance, and to diſpoſſeſs his Son, who is heir of all, that he might not have a dwelling-

place among them, nor a habitation nigh them; becauſe that his light will diſcover their darkneſs, and his brightneſs will burn up all their abominations, and marr their beauty, and ſtain their glory, their pomp, and their pride, that it may periſh as the untimely figs, and fall as the flower of the field, and wither as the graſs upon the houſe-top. Oh! the belly of hell, the jaws of Satan, the whole myſtery of iniquity is at the height, and all manner of abomination that makes deſolate, ſtands where it ought not, and is upholden by a law, that upon pain of death none muſt ſpeak againſt it, nor walk contrary to it. But praiſes to our God, he carried us forth to declare againſt it daily. Oh! the blind guides, the ſeducing ſpirits, that do cauſe the people to err, and compel them to worſhip the beaſt and his image, and have his mark in their foreheads, and in their hands, and to bow to pictures and painted walls, and to worſhip the things of their own hands, and to fall down to that which their own fingers have faſhioned, and will not ſuffer them to look towards Sion upon pain of death, nor to walk towards Jeruſalem upon pain of faggot and fire, but muſt abide in Babel, and believe whatſoever they ſpeak or do to be truth. But oh! the ways, the worſhips, the faſhions, forms, cuſtoms, traditions, obſervations, and imaginations, which they have drawn in by their dark divinations, to keep the poor people in blindneſs and ignorance, ſo that they periſh for want of knowledge, and are corrupted, becauſe the way of Truth is not made known among them; they are all in the many ways, out of the one true living way, and their ways be ſo many and ſo monſtrous, that they are unrehearſable; but the Lord our God hath kindled a fire in the midſt of them, that will conſume all forms, faſhions, cuſtoms, and traditions of men, and will burn up the briers, thorns, and tares, ſtubble, and fruitleſs trees, and corrupted ones; and will blaſt all the fruits, works, and labours of wicked and ungodly men, with the mildews of his wrathful indignation, and will ſcatter all his enemies with the whirlwinds of his diſpleaſure. They do not know the Scriptures: their bibles would grieve any honeſt heart to behold them, becauſe of the corruption.'

This letter was ſigned by both of them, though perhaps Catharine was the writer, who alſo writ a letter of exhortation to the popiſh inquiſitor at Malta, and another to friar Malachy. Among the letters ſhe writ to her huſband and children, I count the following really worthy to be delivered to poſterity:

For the hands of John Evans, my right, dear, and precious huſband, with my tender-hearted children, who are more dear and precious to me than the apple of my eye.

'Moſt dear and faithful huſband, friend, and brother, begotten of my eternal Father, of the immortal ſeed of the covenant of light, life, and bleſſedneſs, I have unity and fellowſhip with thee day and night, to my great refreſhment, and continual comfort. Praiſes, praiſes be given to our God for evermore, who hath joined us together in that which neither ſea nor land can ſeparate or divide.

'My dear heart, my ſoul doth dearly ſalute thee, with my dear and precious children, who are dear and precious in the light of the Lord, to thy endleſs joy, and my everlaſting comfort; glory be to our Lord God eternally, who hath called you with a holy calling, and hath cauſed his beauty to ſhine upon you in this the day of his power, wherein he is making up of his jewels, and binding up of his faithful ones in the bond of everlaſting love and ſalvation, among whom he hath numbered you of his own free grace; in which I beſeech you, dear hearts, in the fear of the Lord, to abide in your meaſures according to the manifeſtation of the revelation of the Son of God in you. Keep a diligent watch over every thought, word and action, and let your minds be ſtaid continually in the light, where you will find out the ſnares and baits of ſatan, and be preſerved out of his traps, nets, and pits, that you may not be captivated by him at his will. Oh, my dear huſband and children, how often have I poured out my ſoul to the everlaſting Father for you, with rivers of tears night and day, that you might be kept pure and ſingle in the ſight of our God, improving your talents as wiſe vir-

gins, having oil in your veſſels, and your lamps burning, and clothed with the long white robes of righteouſneſs, ready to enter the bed chamber, and to ſup with the Lamb, and to feed at the feaſt of fat things, where your ſouls may be nouriſhed, refreſhed, comforted, and ſatisfied, never to hunger again.

'My dear hearts, you do not want teaching; you are in a land of bleſſedneſs, which floweth with milk and honey, among the faithful ſtewards, whoſe mouths are opened wide to righteouſneſs, to declare the eternal myſteries of the everlaſting kingdom, of the endleſs joys and eternal glory; whereunto all the willing and obedient ſhall enter, and be bleſſed for ever.

'My dear hearts, the promiſes of the Lord are large, and are all Yea and Amen to thoſe that fear his name; he will comfort the mourners in Sion, and will cauſe the heavy-hearted in Jeruſalem to rejoice, becauſe of the glad tidings: they that do bear the croſs with patience, ſhall wear the crown with joy; for it is through the long ſuffering and patient waitings, the crown of life and immortality comes to be obtained. The Lord hath exerciſed my patience, and tried me to the uttermoſt, to his praiſe, and my eternal comfort, who hath not been wanting to us in any thing in his own due time; we are witneſſes he can provide a table in the wilderneſs, both ſpiritual and temporal. Oh, the endleſs love of our God, who is an everlaſting fountain of all living refreſhment, whoſe cryſtal ſtreams never ceaſe running to every thirſty ſoul, that breatheth after the ſprings of life and ſalvation.

'In our deepeſt affliction, when I looked for every breath to be the laſt, I could not wiſh I had not come over ſea, becauſe I knew it was my eternal Father's will to prove me, with my dear and faithful friend. In all afflictions and miſeries the Lord remembered mercy, and did not leave nor forſake us, nor ſuffer his faithfulneſs to fail us; but cauſed the ſweet drops of his mercy to diſtil upon us, and the brightneſs of his glorious countenance to ſhine into our hearts, and was never wanting to us in revelations or viſions. Oh, how may I do to ſet forth the fulneſs of God's love to our ſouls: no tongue can expreſs it, no

heart can conceive it, nor mind can comprehend it. Oh, the raviſhments, the raptures, the glorious bright ſhining countenance of our Lord God, who is our fulneſs in emptineſs, our ſtrength in weakneſs, our health in ſickneſs, our life in death, our joy in ſorrow, our peace in diſquietneſs, our praiſe in heavineſs, our power in all needs or neceſſities; he alone is a full God unto us, and to all that can truſt him. He hath emptied us of ourſelves, and hath unbottomed us of ourſelves, and hath wholly built us upon the ſure foundation, the rock of ages, Jeſus Chriſt, the Light of the World, where the ſwelling ſeas, nor raging foaming waves, nor ſtormy winds, though they beat vehemently, can be able to remove us. Glory, honour, and praiſe, is to our God for ever, who out of his everlaſting treaſures, doth fill us with his eternal riches day by day; he did nouriſh our ſouls with the choiceſt of his mercies, and doth feed our bodies with his good creatures, and relieve all our neceſſities in a full meaſure. Praiſes, praiſes be to him alone, who is our everlaſting portion, our confidence, and our rejoicing, whom we ſerve acceptably with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a conſuming fire.

'Oh, my dear huſband, and precious children, you may feel the iſſues of love and life, which ſtream forth as a river to every ſoul of you, from a heart that is wholly joined to the fountain. My prayers are for you day and night without ceaſing; beſeeching the Lord God of power to pour down his tender mercies upon you, and to keep you in his pure fear, and to increaſe your faith, to confirm you in all righteouſneſs, and ſtrengthen you in believing in the name of the Lord God Almighty, that you may be eſtabliſhed as Mount Sion, that can never be moved. Keep your ſouls unſpotted of the world, and love one another with a pure heart fervently; ſerve one another in love, build up one another in the eternal, and bear one another's burdens for the Seed's ſake, and ſo fulfil the law of God. This is the word of the Lord unto you, my dearly beloved.

'Dear hearts, I do commit you into the hands of the Almighty, who dwelleth on high, and to the word of his grace in you, who is able to build you up to everlaſting

life, and eternal ſalvation. By me, who am thy dear and precious wife, and ſpouſe, in the marriage of the Lamb, in the bed undefiled,

'K. E.'

'My dearly beloved yoke-mate in the work of our God, doth dearly ſalute you. Salute us dearly to our precious friends in all places. I do believe we ſhall ſee your faces again with joy.'

This was written in the Inquiſition at Malta, in the 11th month, in the year 1661.

The following letter was written by Sarah to her huſband Henry Cheevers, and children:

'My dear huſband, my love, my life is given up to ſerve the living God, and to obey his pure call in the meaſure of the manifeſtation of his love, light, life, and Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, his only begotten Son, whom he hath manifeſted in me, and thouſands, by the brightneſs of his appearing, to put an end to ſin and ſatan, and bring to light immortality, through the preaching of the everlaſting goſpel, by the ſpirit of propheſy, which is poured out upon the ſons and daughters of the living God, according to his purpoſe; whereof he hath choſen me, who am the leaſt of all: but God, who is rich in mercy, for his own name-ſake hath paſſed by mine offences, and hath counted me worthy to bear teſtimony to his holy name, before the mighty men of the earth. Oh the love of the Lord to my ſoul! My tongue cannot expreſs, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, to conceive of the things that God hath laid up for them that fear him.

'Therefore doth my ſoul breathe to my God for thee and my children, night and day, that your minds may be joined to the light of the Lord Jeſus, to lead you out of ſatan's kingdom, into the kingdom of God, where we may enjoy one another in the life eternal, where neither ſea nor land can ſeparate; in which light and life do I

ſalute thee, my dear huſband, with my children, wiſhing you to embrace God's love, in making his truth ſo clearly manifeſt amongſt you; whereof I am a witneſs, even of the everlaſting fountain that hath been opened by the meſſengers of Chriſt, who preach to you the word of God, in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, directing you where you may find your Saviour, to purge and cleanſe you from your ſins, and to reconcile you to his Father, and to have unity with him and all the ſaints, in the light, that ye may be fellow-citizens in the kingdom of glory, reſt and peace, which Chriſt hath purchaſed for them that love him, and obey him. What profit is there for to gain the whole world, and loſe your own ſouls? Seek firſt the kingdom of God and the righteouſneſs thereof, and all other things ſhall be added to you. Godlineſs is great gain, having the promiſe of this life that now is, and that which is to come; which is fulfilled to me, who have taſted of the Lord's endleſs love and mercies to my ſoul; and from a moving of the ſame love and life do I breathe to thee my dear huſband, with my children; my dear love ſalutes you all; my prayers to my God are for you all, that your minds may be joined to the light, wherewith you are lightened, that I may enjoy you in that which is eternal, and have communion with you in the ſpirit. He that is joined to the Lord, is one ſpirit, one heart, one mind, one ſoul; to ſerve the Lord with one conſent. I cannot by pen or paper, ſet forth the large love of God, in fulfilling his gracious promiſes to me in the wilderneſs, being put into priſon for God's Truth, there to remain all the days of my life, being ſearched, tried, examined upon pain of death, among the enemies of God and his Truth; ſtanding in jeopardy for my life, until the Lord had ſubdued and brought them under by his mighty power, and made them to feed us, and would have given us money or clothes; but the Lord did deck our table richly in the wilderneſs. The day of the Lord is appearing, wherein he will diſcover every deed of darkneſs, let it be done never ſo ſecretly; the light of Chriſt Jeſus will make it manifeſt in every conſcience; the Lord will rip up all coverings that are

not of his own ſpirit. The God of peace be with you all. Amen.

'Written in the Inquiſition priſon by
'Sarah Cheevers.'

Several other letters both ſhe and Catharine writ to their huſbands, friends, and relations. But ſince great part of my narrative was fetched from thence, I paſs them by. But by theſe inſerted, one may ſee that they were not women of a dull temper, but ingenious and chearful.

In a letter of Sarah's to her friends in Ireland, I find theſe words:

'My life is given up to the ſervice of the Lord: bonds, chains, bolts, irons, double doors, death itſelf, is too little for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and for the word of God; ſo the ſeed be gathered, it is but a reaſonable ſacrifice. Bonds and afflictions betide the goſpel of Chriſt. Thoſe that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.'

And in a letter to Daniel Baker, Catharine ſaid,

'The time is too little for me to diſcloſe the twentieth part of the terrible trials; but whenſoever we were brought upon any trial, the Lord did take away all fear from us, and multiplied our ſtrength, and gave us power and boldneſs to plead for the Truth of the Lord Jeſus, and wiſdom of words to ſtop the mouths of the gainſayers; but then they would ſay, we had not the true faith, but we had all virtues. Dearly beloved, pray for us, that we fall not, nor fail; whereby our enemies may have any advantage to rejoice, and ſay, we ſerved a god that could not ſave us, and called upon a god that could not deliver us; as if we were like them, to call upon ſtocks, ſtones, pictures, and painted walls, and dead things that cannot hear, ſee, nor ſpeak. We do beſeech thee to tell all our dear friends, fathers, and elders, the pillars of the ſpiritual building, with all the reſt of our Chriſtian brethren, that we do deſire their prayers, for we have need of them.'

This letter they concluded with the following Poem:

HOW ſtrong and pow'rful is our King
To all that do believe in him?
He doth preſerve them from the ſnare,
And teeth of thoſe that would them tear.

We that are ſuff'rers for the ſeed,
Our hearts are wounded, and do bleed
To ſee th' oppreſſion, cruelty,
Of men that do thy Truth deny.

In priſons ſtrong, and dungeons deep,
To God alone we cry and weep:
Our ſorrows none can learn nor read,
But thoſe that in our path do tread.

But he whoſe beauty ſhineth bright,
Who turneth darkneſs into light,
Makes cedars bow, and oaks to bend
To him that's ſent to the ſame end.

He is a fountain pure and clear,
His cryſtal ſtreams run far and near,
To cleanſe all thoſe that come to him
For to be healed of their ſin.

All them that patiently abide,
And never ſwerve nor go aſide,
The Lord will free them out of all
Bondage, captivity, and thral.

They compoſed ſeveral others, which fell into the hands of their enemies, and copies of them were given to the inquiſitor. But now I leave them; and yet before I return to tranſactions in England, I ſhall relate a ſingular caſe of Daniel Baker, who being come to Smyrna, with intent to travel from thence to Conſtantinople, was ſtopped by the Engliſh conſul, and ſent to the Iſle of Zant, where a ſhip lay bound for Venice, in which he embarked, and

coming into that city, he ſtaid there a week, and went from thence to Leghorn, with intent to take ſhipping there for England: but during his ſtay in that place he inwardly felt drawings towards Malta, to try whether he could be helpful to Catharine and Sarah, that were priſoners there, ſince he had ſeveral times been ſtirred up thereto; and though the difficulty of the matters had kept him back, yet he could not have peace in his mind, before he gave himſelf up to that ſervice; and ſo he embarked in a French ſhip for Sicily: and coming to Syracuſe, he ſtaid there five days, and then ſet ſail for Malta; where being arrived, he got admittance to the pope's inquiſitor, to whom he ſpoke in the Italian tongue on this wiſe: 'I am come to demand the juſt liberty of my innocent friends, the Engliſh women in priſon in the inquiſition.' The inquiſitor aſked him if he were related to them as huſband or kinſman, and whether he came out of England on purpoſe with that meſſage. To this Daniel anſwered, that he came from Leghorn for that ſame end. But the inquiſitor told him they ſhould abide in priſon till they died, except ſome Engliſh merchants, or others that were able, would engage for the value of three or four thouſand dollars, that they ſhould never return into thoſe parts. His requeſt being thus denied, he went to the Engliſh conſul, and ſpoke with him and ſeveral others: but all his endeavours proved vain; and he himſelf was threatened with the inquiſition; and the pope's deputy would have had him bound, that he ſhould neither ſpeak good nor evil to any body, while he was on the iſland, ſave to him and the conſul.

After a ſtay here of three weeks, he paſſed again to Italy, and from thence took ſhipping for England: but being come into the Streights of Gibraltar, he ſaw that the high mountain there, was the ſame place he had ſeen the foregoing year in a dream, when priſoner in Worceſter gaol in England. Here the ſhip wherein he was, with ſeveral other veſſels, lay about a month, becauſe of the contrary wind, ſo that they could not ſet ſail. In the mean-while being under a burden, he perceived there was a ſervice for him aſhore; but, conſidering this to be

dangerous, he wiſhed to have been excuſed of it; but felt no peace before he fully gave up, whatever either bonds or death might enſue. Whilſt the fleet lay here wind-bound, divers ſhips attempted to paſs through, but could not: and the like temptation attended him as that of Jonah, viz. to flee from the place, and ſo to eſcape the burden under which he laboured. But he found, as afterwards ſignified in a printed relation, that obedience was his duty, though it was required of him to be a ſign againſt the idolatry of the church of Rome. He then told the maſter of the ſhip in which he was a paſſenger, ſomething of the matter, and ſaid that he believed that God would ſoon give opportunity for the fleet to paſs away, after this ſervice was performed. The maſter was hard to be perſuaded to put him aſhore, yet at length he ſuffered it, upon the day they uſed to call Maunday Thurſday. Being now landed, he went to the town, and ſo into the maſs-houſe, where he found the prieſt at the high altar, upon his knees, in his white ſurplice, adoring the hoſt. After he had awhile been viewing this idolatry, he felt the indignation of God kindled in his heart againſt it: and turning his back upon the prieſt and his dead god, he ſet his face towards the people, and ſaw the multitude upon their knees alſo, worſhipping they knew not what. In this poſture, ſpreading forth his arms, he ſlipped off his upper garment, and rent it from top to bottom in divers pieces, which he caſt from him with indignation: then he took his hat from off his head, as being the uppermoſt covering of man, and caſting it down, ſtamped upon it with his feet, and appearing in ſackcloth covering, he, with a loud voice, thrice ſounded repentance, and ſaid that the life of Chriſt and his ſaints was ariſen from the dead. And ſo he paſſed away unmoleſted, ſounding the ſame meſſage with repentance through the ſtreets, till he came to the ſea-ſide, where he kneeled down to pray, and gave thanks to the Lord for his wonderful preſervation, and that he had ſuffered no man to touch or do him any harm. Being on ſhore, he delivered a paper, written in the Spaniſh tongue, to the governor and inhabitants of Gibraltar, with ſome Latin books. That to the governor, &c. was as followeth:

'Behold, behold, the great day of God is come, and of his wrath, and of the wrath of his Lamb. The hour of his judgment is come. Wherefore, oh inhabitants of the earth, repent, repent, repent! Fear God, and give glory and honour to him that made heaven and earth and the fountains of waters. Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth. John heard another voice from heaven ſaying, "Come out of her my people, that ye partake not of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. Theſe are the words of the power of Chriſt, that is contrary to the falſe church. Behold, behold, plagues, plagues, plagues are coming upon the church of Rome, and upon her heads in all parts of the world.'

Daniel being now come again on ſhip-board, the next day the Lord gave them a fair wind, and all the fleet ſet ſail; and after ſome time he arrived ſafe in England. But being come to London, it was not long, ere he, who had travelled without hurt in foreign parts, was impriſoned by his countrymen, as will be related hereafter: and being ſhut up in priſon, he writ a narrative of his travels, from which I took my relation.

About this time John Stubbs returned into England, having been in the dominions of the great Turk. But I do not find that he met with any ſingular occurrences, but that he had ſpread ſome books. He and Alexander Parker coming to London, found G. Fox there, with whom they travelled towards Briſtol: by the way they had ſeveral meetings, and being come to Briſtol, they underſtood that the officers were likely to come and diſturb the meeting. Yet on the Firſt-day of the week they went thither, and A. Parker ſtood up firſt to preach; but while he was ſpeaking, the officers came and took him away. Then G. Fox ſtood up and preached undiſturbed, ſo that the meeting ended peaceably. And he, ſtaying in town that week, viſited his friends, and was viſited by them. The next Firſt-day ſome of his friends came to him, and endeavoured to perſuade him not to go to the meeting that day; 'For,' ſaid they, 'the magiſtrates have threatened to take thee away, and that in order thereto, have raiſed

the trained bands.' G. Fox deſired them to go their way to the meeting, without telling them what he intended to do. Yet not long after he went thither: but being met by ſome of his friends, they did what they could to ſtop him; and, 'What,' ſaid one, 'Wilt thou go into the mouth of the beaſt?' 'Wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon?' ſaid another. But G. Fox would not ſuffer himſelf to be thus prevented, but went on. Being come thither he perceived a concern and fear upon his friends for him, but his preaching there was ſo powerful, that all fear departed from them; and having concluded his ſermon with a prayer, he ſtood up again and told the auditory, now they might ſee there was a God in Iſrael that could deliver: for the officers and ſoldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time: and they were in a great rage that they had miſſed him; for it was reſolved on now to perſecute the Quakers, and, if poſſible, to root them out.

G. Fox, after having tarried yet ſome days at Briſtol, went through Wiltſhire and Berkſhire, back again to London: yet he did not ſtay long there, but travelled towards Leiceſterſhire, and paſſing by Barnet Hills, he found there one captain Brown, a Baptiſt, whoſe wife belonged to the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers. This captain, for fear his wife ſhould go to meetings and be caſt into priſon, had left his houſe at Barrow, and taken a place on the ſaid hills, thinking himſelf more ſafe there. G. Fox going to ſee the wife, and being come into the houſe, aſked him how he did: 'How I do!' ſaid he, 'the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me, a runnagate, a Cain, as I am: God may look for a witneſs for me, and ſuch as me; for if all were no faithfuller than I, God would have no witneſs left in the earth.' In this condition Brown lived there on bread and water, and thought it too good for him; but at length he returned with his wife to his own houſe at Barrow, where he came to be convinced of the Truth profeſſed by thoſe called Quakers, and died in it; and a little before his death, he ſaid that though he had not borne a teſtimony for Truth in his life, he would bear a teſtimony in his death; deſiring to be buried in his orchard in a plain way.

But I return to G. Fox, who being come into Leiceſterſhire, went to Swanington, to the houſe of a widow woman, where at night came one called the lord Beaumont, and a company of ſoldiers, who took him out of the hall where he was, and brought him to the ſaid lord, who aſked him his name: to which he anſwered, 'My name is George Fox, and I am well known by that name.' 'Aye,' ſaid Beaumont, 'you are known all the world over.' Then he put his hands into George's pockets to ſearch them, and pulled out his comb-caſe, and afterwards commanded one of the officers to ſearch for letters: which made G. Fox ſay, that he was no letter carrier, aſking him why he came amongſt a peaceable people with ſwords and piſtols without a conſtable; ſince this was contrary to the king's proclamation; and it could not be ſaid there was a meeting; for G. Fox had been talking in the hall only with the widow woman and her daughter. Beaumont ſending then for the conſtables, gave them charge to watch G. Fox, and ſome that were with him that night; accordingly the conſtables ſet a watch upon them, and next morning brought them to Beaumont's houſe, who then told them they met contrary to the act: for not long before this time the parliament, by the inſtigation of the clergy, had made an act againſt conventicles, containing that if any were convicted of having been at a conventicle, they ſhould incur a fine not exceeding five pounds, or impriſonment not above three months. G. Fox ſaying to the lord Beaumont, that he did not find them in a meeting, and ſo there was no tranſgreſſion of the ſaid act, Beaumont aſked him, whether he would take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy: to which G. Fox anſwered, 'I never took any oath in all my life.' And deſired him to ſhew that oath, that they might ſee whether it was not the diſcovery of Popiſh recuſants. But Beaumont being unwilling, cauſed a mittimus to be made, which mentioned that they were to have had a meeting: a cunning artifice indeed to vex an innocent people. And with the mittimus he charged the conſtables to convey them to Leiceſter gaol. The conſtable who was charged to bring G. Fox and his friends to priſon, was loath to do it himſelf, and

being harveſt time, it was hard to get any body to go with them; and therefore they would have given them the mittimus to carry it themſelves to the gaoler. This they refuſed, though ſometimes ſome of their friends had done ſo: for the conſtables had ſuch experience of their fidelity, that they durſt truſt them even in ſuch a caſe, without fearing the bird would eſcape. Then the conſtable hired a poor man, who was loath to go with them on this errand. Yet they rode with him through the country, being five in number, and ſome carried their bibles open in their hands, and paſſing through towns, they told people they were the priſoners of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, going to ſuffer bonds for his name's ſake. Being come to Leiceſter, and gone into an inn, the maſter of the houſe ſeemed ſomewhat troubled that they ſhould go to priſon; but they being unwilling to conſult with lawyers, to which they were adviſed, ſuffered themſelves to be had to priſon; where being come, G. Fox aſked whether the gaoler or his wife was maſter: and it was told him, 'The wife,' who though ſhe was lame, and not able to go without crutches, yet would beat her huſband when he came within her reach, if he did not do as ſhe would have him.

G. Fox perceiving from this that without her leave he ſhould not be able to agree with her huſband, got ſomebody to bargain with her for a room, for him and his friends, and to leave it to them to give her what they would; to which ſhe conſented. But then it was told the priſoners, the gaoler would not ſuffer them to fetch any drink out of the town into the priſon; but what beer they drank they muſt take it of him, and that, as was eaſily to be gueſſed, ſhould be at a dear rate.

This made G. Fox ſay, he could remedy that; for ſince the gaoler could not deny them water, he would get a a pail of it once a day, and put ſome wormwood into it, and that might ſerve their turn. So long as G. Fox was in priſon there, he and his friends had a meeting every Firſt-day of the week in the yard, to which came not only the debtors and felons that were priſoners, but alſo ſeveral people out of the town and country; whereby

many were convinced of the truth he preached, and continued to be faithful witneſſes for it.

Whilſt G. Fox was confined there, ſeveral more of his friends were ſent to priſon, to the number of about twenty. And when the ſeſſions came they were brought before the juſtices, who tendered to them the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy: for this was the ordinary ſnare, when no other thing could be found to lay hold on. But G. Fox told them he never took any oath in his life; 'And ye know we cannot ſwear becauſe Chriſt and his apoſtles forbade it; and therefore this is but as a ſnare to us; yet if ye can prove that after Chriſt and his apoſtles forbade ſwearing, they ever did command Chriſtians to ſwear, then we will take theſe oaths; otherwiſe we are reſolved to obey Chriſt's Command, and the apoſtle's exhortation.' To this it was returned that they muſt take the oath to manifeſt their allegiance to the king. G. Fox, to ſhew that he was not unfaithful to the king, told them, that formerly he had been ſent up a priſoner by colonel Hacker, from that town to London, under pretence that he held meetings to plot for bringing in king Charles. Then he deſired that their mittimus might be read, which ſet forth the cauſe of their commitment to be, that they were to have a meeting. And he ſaid alſo, that the lord Beaumont could not by the act ſend them to gaol, unleſs they had been taken at a meeting; and therefore he urged the reading of the mittimus, that it might be ſeen how wrongfully they were impriſoned. But whatever he ſaid, they would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury, and indicted the priſoners for refuſing to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. When the jury was ſworn and inſtructed, as they were going out, one that had been an alderman ſpoke to them, and recommended them to have a good conſcience: but one of the jury being a peeviſh man, told the juſtices there was one affronted the jury. Whereupon he was called up, and to try whether he was a Quaker, the oath was alſo tendered to him, and he took it; and thus the ſnare intended againſt him did not hold.

Whilſt the priſoners ſtood waiting, a cut-purſe had put his hand into the pockets of ſome of them, which they told the

juſtices of, and ſhewed them the man. They then called him up, and upon examination he could not deny the fact, yet they let him go free, juſt as if the robbing of thoſe called Quakers was no crime.

It was not long before the jury returned, and brought the priſoners in guilty. And then the juſtices whiſpered together, and bade the gaoler take the priſoners and carry them back to gaol. But a little after they were in priſon again, the gaoler came to them, and ſaid, 'Gentlemen, it is the court's pleaſure that ye ſhould all be ſet at liberty,' &c. Thus they were releaſed on a ſudden, which was indeed remarkable, becauſe the jury had brought them in guilty; on which paſſing of ſentence muſt have followed. But G. Fox's liberty ſeems to have been owing to the following cauſe: he had a letter from the lord Haſtings, who having heard of his impriſonment, had written from London to the juſtices of the ſeſſions to ſet him at liberty. This letter he had not as yet delivered to the juſtices, who perhaps had ſome knowledge of the ſaid lord's mind from another hand, which made them reſolve on this ſudden diſcharge. G. Fox being now free, carried this letter to the lord Beaumont, who having opened and read it, ſeemed ſomewhat troubled; and yet threatened him, if he had any more meetings at Swanington, he would diſperſe them, and ſend him to priſon again. But notwithſtanding theſe threatenings, he and his friends went to Swanington, and had a meeting there without being diſturbed. From thence he travelled to London, where we will leave him, and in the mean-while ſee what happened elſewhere.

Some time before, Thomas Goodair and Benjamin Staples were impriſoned at Oxford, and being brought into the court of judicature before Sir William Walter, who ſate there as judge, and Goodair being examined and nothing found againſt him, the oath of allegiance was tendered, to which he anſwered, that he acknowledged the king as ſupreme ruler in civil temporal matters, and that he was willing to obey him in all juſt commands. 'But,' ſaid he, 'if king Charles and thoſe who are in authority under him, enjoin me to any thing contrary to the command of Chriſt, then I will rather obey Chriſt than king Charles, or thoſe

in authority under him. It is for conſcience ſake that I cannot ſwear, though I could gain the whole world thereby; for Chriſt hath forbidden it, and ſaid "Swear not at all;" and James ſaith, "Above all things ſwear not." But whatever Goodair ſaid was in vain, for they would needs have him ſwear. He continuing to refuſe ſwearing, juſtice Walker aſked thoſe that were with him on the bench, whether they had any thing to ſay againſt his paſſing ſentence againſt them: to which they having ſaid no, he ſpoke thus to Goodair, 'Hearken to your ſentence: you are out of the king's protection. All your lands, real eſtate, and chattels, are forfeited, and ſhall be ſeized for the king's uſe: and you are to remain priſoner during the king's pleaſure.' Then he bade the gaoler take Goodair away, who aſked whether the gaoler had charge to fetter him; for he had been fettered as thieves and felons, before he had been brought into the court. Whereupon the judge anſwered, 'The gaoler may do with you what he will: for you are now out of the king's protection.' Then he was led away, and B. Staples brought to the bar, to whom the oath being alſo tendered, and he refuſing to take it, the ſame ſentence was paſſed on him. Both being returned to priſon, the gaoler ſaid to the other priſoners that were there for evil or debts, 'If ye want coats, ye may take thoſe of the Quakers, for they are now out of the protection of the law.' But one of the priſoners was ſo honeſt as to ſay he would rather go naked, than take away thoſe mens coats. How long they were in priſon, and whether they died there, or were at length releaſed, I know not*

But now I return to Ambroſe Rigg, who being come to Hurſt Pierpoint in Suſſex, had a meeting there at the houſe of his father-in-law, captain Thomas Luxford; this ſo diſpleaſed the prieſt Leonard Letchford, that Rigg was taken and brought before the juſtices, Walter Burril, Niſel Rivers, and Richard Bridger, who being minded to bring

* They both were ſuppoſed to be diſcharged at the next general gaol delivery: for T. Goodair in 1666, had been priſoner ſome years at Warwick, being premunired without legal trial or judgment. At length he died at Selby in Yorkſhire, 1693.——J. Whiting's Account.

him under ſufferings, tendered him the oath of allegiance; and he, ſaying that for conſcience ſake he could not ſwear, was forthwith ſent to Horſham priſon, and at the time of the aſſizes brought into the court, where judge Samuel Brown then ſate, and paſſed the ſentence of premunire upon him. Then he was carried back, and by the inſtigation of the ſaid Leonard Letchford, committed cloſe priſoner, where he continued above ten years, and ſuffered during that time much hardſhip by the malice of the gaolers, ſince ſuch priſoners as he was, are ſhut out of the king's protection. In the mean-while the aforeſaid prieſt Letchford ſummoned Rigg's wife for tithes, and ſhe refuſing payment, was alſo impriſoned at the proſecution of this prieſt; and then he ſeized her goods, taking away alſo that which her huſband had earned in priſon by his hand labour, not leaving him and his wife a bed to lie on; nay, he alſo took away a pot they had borrowed from other priſoners to boil victuals in, and vaunted he had Rigg ſo faſt, that it was not in the king's power to releaſe him. But notwithſtanding his wicked boaſt, yet to his great diſquiet and vexation, he lived to ſee Rigg releaſed by the king under the great ſeal. And Thomas Luxford, A. Rigg's father-in-law, being alſo become one of the ſociety of thoſe called Quakers, and refuſing to pay him tithes, felt likewiſe the effect of his fury; for he cauſed him alſo to be caſt into gaol, where he kept him ſix years; and the priſoners being then releaſed by the ſheriff, he was excommunicated by Letchford, and afterwards at his ſuit, by virtue of the ſtatute *De Excommunicatio capiendo*, ſhut up again in priſon, from which he was ſet at liberty by an act of parliament.

Not long after, Letchford got a warrant to ſue alſo ſome others of the Quakers ſo called, belonging to his pariſh, for not paying tithes: but before he could get them impriſoned, it happened that having at night gone to bed healthy, in the morning he was found ſtiff dead in his bed, according to the teſtimony of his neighbours; and this prevented the ſtroke he had levelled againſt others.

Not being willing to finiſh this relation abruptly, I am advanced in time, but now I return to the year 1662. In

the middle of this year, Sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, both vigorous champions againſt king Charles the Firſt, and having been in great authority under the former government, were brought to their trial. Vane behaved himſelf with very great preſence of mind: how far he was guilty I am not to inquire; but he was declared guilty, and afterwards beheaded on Tower-hill. He was reputed to be a man of great knowledge, having been one of the chief members of the long parliament, and alſo an oppoſer of Cromwell: for he was an entire republican, and had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration of ſtate affairs. Lambert, who had been an eminent general, ſaved his life: for ſince Vane, as Ludlow ſaith, pleaded for the lives and liberties of his country, and Lambert for his own, he evaded the ſtorm, which took away Vane. Lambert now, though condemned to death, begged mercy, and was confined to perpetual impriſonment, and carried to a ſmall iſle near Plymouth, where he finiſhed his days.

Seeing on the inſurrection of the Fifth monarchy-men, occaſion was taking to make an act againſt plotting, and ſeditious meetings, the perſecution againſt the Quakers increaſed, under a pretence that their meetings were dangerous, and to the terror of the king's ſubjects, and an act was made againſt thoſe who refuſed to take an oath, as appeared by the title of it, viz.

An act for preventing miſchiefs and dangers that may ariſe by certain perſons called Quakers, and others refuſing to take lawful oaths.

'Whereas of late times, certain perſons under the name of Quakers, and other names of ſeparation, have taken up, and maintained ſundry dangerous opinions and tenets, and (amongſt others) that the taking of an oath, in any caſe whatſoever, although before a lawful magiſtrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God; and the ſaid perſons do daily refuſe to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens, that the truth is wholly ſuppreſſed, and the adminiſtration of juſtice much obſtructed: and whereas the ſaid perſons, under a

pretence of religious worſhip, do often aſſemble themſelves in great numbers in ſeveral parts of this realm, to the great endangering the publick peace and ſafety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a ſecret and ſtrict correſpondence amongſt themſelves, and in the mean-time ſeparating and dividing themſelves from the reſt of his majeſty's good and loyal ſubjects, and from the publick congregations, and uſual places of divine worſhip:

II. 'For the redreſſing therefore, and better preventing the many miſchiefs and dangers that do, and may ariſe by ſuch dangerous tenets, and ſuch unlawful aſſemblies, (2) Be it enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons aſſembled in parliament, and by authority of the ſame, that if any perſon or perſons, who maintain that the taking of an oath, in any caſe ſoever (although before a lawful magiſtrate) is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God, from and after the four-and-twentieth day of March, in this preſent year of our Lord, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-one, ſhall wilfully and obſtinately refuſe to take an oath, whereby the laws of the realm he or ſhe is, or ſhall be, bound to take the ſame, being lawfully and duly tendered, (3) or ſhall endeavour to perſuade any other perſon, to whom any ſuch oath ſhall in like manner be duly and lawfully tendered, to refuſe and forbear the taking of the ſame, (4) or ſhall by printing, writing, or otherwiſe, go about to maintain and defend that the taking of an oath in any caſe whatſoever, is altogether unlawful; (5) and if the ſaid perſons, commonly called Quakers, ſhall at any time after the ſaid four-and-twentieth day of March, depart from the places of their ſeveral habitations, and aſſemble themſelves to the number of five, or more, of the age of ſixteen years, or upwards, at any one time, in any place, under pretence of joining in a religious worſhip, not authoriſed by the laws of this realm, (6) that then in all and every ſuch caſes, the party ſo offending, being thereof lawfully convict, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confeſſion, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, ſhall loſe and forfeit to the king's majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for

the firſt offence, ſuch ſum as ſhall be impoſed upon him or her, not exceeding five pounds; (7) and if any perſon or perſons, being once convicted of any ſuch offence, ſhall again offend therein, and ſhall in form aforeſaid be thereof lawfully convicted, ſhall for the ſecond offence forfeit to the king, our ſovereign lord, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſuch ſum as ſhall be impoſed upon him or her, not exceeding ten pounds: (8) the ſaid reſpective penalties to be levied by diſtreſs, and ſale of the parties goods ſo convicted, by warrant of the parties before whom they ſhall be ſo convicted, rendering the overplus to the owners, if any be: (9) and for want of ſuch diſtreſs, or non-payment of the ſaid penalty within one week after ſuch conviction, that then the ſaid parties ſo convicted ſhall for the firſt offence be committed to the common gaol, or houſe of correction, for the ſpace of three months; and for the ſecond offence during ſix months, without bail or mainprize, there to be kept to hard labour: (10) which ſaid monies ſo to be levied, ſhall be paid to ſuch perſon or perſons, as ſhall be appointed by thoſe before whom they ſhall be convicted, to be employed for the increaſe of the ſtock of the houſe of correction, to which they ſhall be committed, and providing materials to ſet them on work: (11) and if any perſon after he, in form aforeſaid, hath been twice convict of any the ſaid offences ſhall offend the third time, and be thereof, in form aforeſaid, lawfully convict, that then every perſon ſo offending, and convict, ſhall for his or her third offence, abjure the realm; or otherwiſe it ſhall and may be lawful to, and for his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to give order, and to cauſe him, her, or them, to be tranſported in any ſhip or ſhips, to any of his majeſty's plantations beyond the ſeas.

III. 'And it is ordained and enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every juſtice of *oyer* and *terminer*, juſtices of aſſize, and gaol-delivery, and the juſtices of the peace, ſhall have full power and authority, in every of their open and general quarter-ſeſſions, to enquire, hear and determine all and every the ſaid offences, within the limits of their commiſſion to them directed, and to make proceſs for the execution of the ſame, as they may do

againſt any perſon being indicted before them of treſpaſs, or lawfully convicted thereof.

IV. 'And be it alſo enacted, that it ſhall, and may be lawful to, and for any juſtice of peace, mayor, or other chief officer, of any corporation, within their ſeveral juriſdictions, to commit to the common gaol, or bind over, with ſufficient ſureties to the quarter-ſeſſion, any perſon or perſons offending in the premiſſes, in order to his or their conviction aforeſaid.

V. 'Provided always, and be it hereby further enacted, that if any of the ſaid perſons ſhall, after ſuch conviction as aforeſaid, take ſuch oath or oaths, for which he or ſhe ſtands committed, and alſo give ſecurity that he or ſhe ſhall for the time to come forbear to meet in any ſuch unlawful aſſembly as aforeſaid, that then, and from thenceforth, ſuch perſon and perſons ſhall be diſcharged from all the penalties aforeſaid; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

VI. 'Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and ſingular lords of the parliament, for every third offence committed againſt the tenor of this act, ſhall be tried by their peers, and not otherwiſe.'

This act cauſed E. Burrough to write a ſmall book, called, 'The Caſe of the People called Quakers ſtated, to ſhew the falſehood of the accuſations charged upon them.' Firſt he ſhewed in this treatiſe, that ſuppoſe the Quakers were hereticks and erroneous people, which was never yet proved; yet we found no examples in Scripture that ſuch ſhould be impriſoned, or afflicted with corporal puniſhments. Having treated of this matter at large, he laid down the ſtate of their way of meeting and worſhip, appealing to others on this account, with theſe words:

'What judgment do our neighbours give in this caſe? They ſay, concerning our meetings, that they have known us to meet together in ſuch manner, for divers years, in towns and villages, and never knew, nor underſtood of any harm or danger therein, nor ever were any way pre-

judiced, either in their perſons or eſtates, in our meetings. The very witneſs of God in all our neighbours does teſtify, and give judgment, that our meetings have always been peaceable and quiet, and that we come together in peace and good order, and part in the ſame, and no perſon hath been harmed by ſuch our meetings; enquire of the neighbourhood, and they will tell you they believe in their conſciences our meetings are for good, and have good effects, and are not evil, nor bring forth any evil to any.

'And as for the manner of our meeting and ſitting together, it is orderly and decently, and of good report among men; and for any doctrine that ever was there held, or heard by any, none can truly accuſe it to be either error, or hereſy, or ſedition; but on the contrary, they know it witneſſeth againſt all ſin and iniquity, and tends to the turning of people from ungodlineſs and unrighteouſneſs to truth and holineſs: and many can tell this is effected by our doctrine preached in our meetings; and our neighbours can witneſs that we part again in peace and good order, and in convenient time; and they can ſhew you they are not terrified, nor the peace of the land diſturbed (on our part) by our meetings, which are in God's fear, and to the glory of his name, which all ſober men know are according to the law of God, and goſpel, and primitive Chriſtian example.

'We are accuſed as heinous offenders, and impriſoned, becauſe it is ſuppoſed we do not ſubmit to obey the known laws of the land, but break them, and will not conform to the church, pay tithes, take oaths, have meetings together, &c. though we know the laws of the land command theſe things.

'Plea, firſt, as to ſubmitting to all known laws of the land; this is known to God and our neighbours, that our principle and practice is, and ever hath been, to ſubmit to every government, and to ſubmit to all laws of men, either by doing or by ſuffering, as at this day we reſiſt not the greateſt of afflictions and tribulations that can be impoſed on us; and this is well known to our neighbours and all

people, that we are ſubmiſſive to all laws of men, by patient ſuffering without reſiſtance; even when any law requires any thing of us, which we cannot perform for conſcience-ſake, that law we fulfil by patient ſuffering, reſiſting no man, nor rendering evil for evil to any. And the judgment of the Scriptures, which are according to both law and goſpel, and the precedents of ſaints juſtify us in this caſe, in chooſing patiently to ſuffer the greateſt penalties of the law, rather than to obey (by doing) any ſuch law as requires things contrary to our pure conſciences; as in the example of the three children, Dan. iii. who were commanded, to fall down and worſhip the golden image, at what time ſoever they heard the ſound of the muſick, upon the penalty of being caſt into the midſt of the burning fiery furnace: which commandment they could not obey, nor could they fall down to worſhip the image; but rather chooſed to ſuffer the penalty of being caſt into the midſt of the burning fiery furnace, which accordingly was done unto them. Again, in the caſe of Daniel, chap. vi. who was commanded to make no petition to any god or man for thirty days, ſave to king Darius, upon the penalty and affliction of being caſt into the lion's den: but Daniel did rather chooſe to ſuffer the penalty, to be caſt into the den of lions, than to obey the commandment; and was caſt into the lion's den. By theſe examples of holy men, with many more that might be given out of the Scriptures, it is evident, that righteous men will rather chooſe to ſuffer, than to obey any law of man contrary to their conſciences. So the law of God, and example of ſaints, and Holy Scriptures, give judgment for us in this caſe, of rather chooſing to ſuffer, than to obey laws contrary to our conſciences; and conſequently muſt needs condemn ſuch that perſecute and impriſon us, becauſe they require obedience of us in things againſt our conſciences.

Secondly. 'Though we diſobey laws, and cannot actively obey every law of man, when it requireth and commandeth things contrary to a good conſcience; yet herein alſo are we juſtified, by the law of God, example of ſaints, and Holy Scriptures, and they give judgment for us, and conſequently againſt our enemies in this caſe; and in

particular in the two examples before-mentioned in Daniel, the three children were expreſsly commanded, to fall down and worſhip the golden image; and Daniel was alſo required by the king's decree, not to pray to any god or man, ſave to king Darius; yet all theſe holy men of God did abſolutely diſobey the law and decree ſo requiring of them, and did contrary to the commandment: for the three children did not bow, nor Daniel ceaſe to pray to God, but prayed as at other times, and yet were juſtified of God in ſo doing. Alſo the apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (Acts iv. 18.) were commanded to preach no more in the name of Jeſus; but the apoſtles did diſobey their commandment, and went on and preached in the Spirit and power of Chriſt, contrary to the commandment of the rulers, and appealed to them, whether it were not better to obey God than man. Many examples we might collect out of the Scriptures, that the ſervants of God did diſobey the commands of kings and rulers, and could not obey (by doing) any command contrary to God; but rather choſe to ſuffer afflictions, and death itſelf, than to obey ſuch laws and decrees, as required any thing contrary to a pure conſcience: and this is our caſe at this day; we cannot obey (by doing) any thing againſt our conſciences, but muſt break the laws of men, and diſobey their commandments, rather than break the law of God, and ſin againſt our own conſciences, whatſoever we ſuffer becauſe hereof; and the examples of ſaints and Scriptures juſtify us in this behalf.

'And let our enemies ceaſe to cry out, 'Rebellious and diſobedient to laws and government;' for we are not ſuch as do wilfully and obſtinately diſobey any laws of men, but for conſcience-ſake, and that we may not ſin againſt God, nor offend his witneſs in us; therefore we cannot obey laws contrary to our conſciences, whatſoever we ſuffer, which we reſiſt not, nor rebel againſt any in this caſe: ſo that our principles and practices are to obey every law and government, either by doing or ſuffering. And though we diſobey ſuch laws as are not according to the law of God, and rather do chooſe to ſuffer, yet herein we are juſtified by the law of God, and the Holy Scriptures.

Thirdly. 'And as for our converſations among men, in reſpect of our daily walking and converſe with them in our dealing, in reſpect of honeſty and faithfulneſs, and truth and juſtneſs in works and words, our neighbours ſhall give witneſs for us. We will not juſtify ourſelves, it is God that juſtifies us, and the law of God, goſpel of Chriſt, Scriptures, examples of holy men, our neighbours, and the witneſs of God in all mens conſciences ſhall bear witneſs to us; and all theſe do give judgment for us in theſe caſes, to whom we do appeal for judgment. And, O Lord God everlaſting, do thou judge our cauſe; do thou make it manifeſt in thy due ſeaſon to all the world, that we are thy people; that we love thee above all, that we fear thy name more than all; that we love righteouſneſs and hate iniquity; and that we now ſuffer for thy holy name and truth, and for thy honour and juſtice, and for thy truth and holineſs. O Lord, thou knoweſt we are reſolved to periſh, rather than to loſe one grain hereof. Amen, Amen.

'Our accuſations and anſwers truly compared, and weighed in the balance of juſtice and truth in every man's conſcience, let all the world judge of the caſe: do we deſerve to be ruined, deſtroyed, impriſoned, and baniſhed, and to be devoured of wild beaſts, as our enemy threatens us he will do? Is it ſo? Are we hereticks? Are we ſeditious? Are we drunkards? Are we double dealers? Are we ſuch as the law of God condemns? What evil have we done in the land? Do we hurt any body? Are we not innocent before the Lord and men? We appeal to the juſt witneſs of God and men. Let it be anſwered; and though no man will hear and conſider our cauſe this day, yet the Lord will plead our cauſe in his time and ſeaſon, and make the world to know we are his people; in the mean-time we are willing to ſuffer the reproaches of ungodly men, till the Lord works deliverance in the earth.

'But now it may be objected by the magiſtrates and rulers, that we have now a law againſt you, and you muſt ſuffer, for we cannot but put the law in execution, accord-

ing to our oaths and offices; and it is not we that perſecute you, but it is the law of the land by which you now ſuffer; and we cannot be blamed for your ſuffering, we only execute the law. And after this manner is the reaſoning of ſome at this day,' &c.

Anſwer. 'To all which I do anſwer: It is true there is a law now enacted againſt us, which is pretendedly made the ground of our ſuffering; but whether that law be in itſelf juſt or unjuſt, I ſhall not now demonſtrate, but ſhall leave it to the judgment of all Chriſtian men that know us, our principles, doctrines, ways, and converſations, and let them judge whether we deſerve the penalties and puniſhments therein deſcribed, for any principles or practice held and maintained by us. And though there be a law againſt us, yet the magiſtrates that are executors thereof, may execute the ſame with moderation or with violence; with diſcretion, or too much rigour; and it will be well for them to uſe moderation and diſcretion in this caſe: hereby may they ſave themſelves from that weight of anger and indignation of the Lord God, that will come upon all violent doers, who ſeek to deſtroy the innocent, and rejoice in the occaſion adminiſtered.

'And though this law be enacted againſt meetings, not ours I may ſay, but ſuch meetings as are dangerous to the publick peace, and to the terror of the people: but our meetings are not ſuch, and therefore this law may not juſtly extend in its execution to the breaking of our meetings, nor to baniſh us becauſe of our meeting together, which is for the worſhip of God, and are peaceable and of good report among all good men; and are not for diſturbance of the peace, nor terror of the people, and therefore juſtly free from this law as aforeſaid.

'And though this law is pretended againſt us, for to baniſh us, and to rid the land of us, as ſome vainly ſuppoſe; yet muſt it needs be executed to the height of it, without limitation or reſtriction? Muſt this law be executed to its height more than ſome other laws that are as truly enacted, and as fully in force as this act can be? Yet

ſome ſuch laws there are, which better deſerve execution than this, yet they lie dormant, as is viſibly apparent at this day, as in 4 Jac. c. 5. in theſe words: 'Be it enacted, &c. that all and every perſon or perſons, which after forty days next following the end of this preſent ſeſſion of parliament, ſhall be drunk, and of the ſame offence of drunkenneſs ſhall be lawfully convicted, ſhall for every ſuch offence, forfeit and loſe five ſhillings, &c. to be paid to the hands of the church-wardens of that pariſh where the offence ſhall be committed, who ſhall be accountable therefore to the uſe of the poor of the ſame pariſh. And if the ſaid perſon or perſons ſo convicted, ſhall refuſe or neglect to pay the ſaid forfeiture, then the ſame ſhall be levied of the goods of every ſuch perſon or perſons, by warrant of precept from the court, judge, or juſtices, before whom the ſame conviction ſhall be; and if the offender be not able to pay the ſum of five ſhillings, then he ſhall be committed to the ſtocks for the ſpace of ſix hours.' I pray you read the ſtatute at large; it is worth a ſober man's pains to read over, and then judge whether that law be duly executed at this day; and alſo whether it deſerves not more ſtrict execution than the preſent act againſt us. Alſo the 1 Jac. c. 7. in theſe words: 'That all perſons calling themſelves ſcholars, going about begging; all idle perſons going about in any country, either begging or uſing any ſubtle craft, or unlawful games or plays, or feigning themſelves to have knowledge in phyſiognomy, or pretending that they can tell fortunes, or ſuch other like fantaſtical imaginations; all fencers, bear-wards, common players of interludes and minſtrels, wandering abroad, ſhall be taken, adjudged, and deemed as rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars, and ſhall ſuffer ſuch pains and puniſhments as are expreſſed, 39 Eliz. c. 4. viz. 'That every ſuch perſon ſhall be ſtripped naked from the middle upwards, and ſhall be openly whipped, until his or her body be bloody, &c. and ſhall be forthwith ſent from pariſh to pariſh,' &c. Read the ſtatute at large, and then conſider how duly it is executed now, and whether it deſerves not the execution as much as the late act againſt us, though in ſome places the one is more executed than the

other, where many of our friends being honeſt ſobeſt perſons, and of good converſation, yet are haled out of their meetings, where they are met only to worſhip God, and for no other end, and ſent to priſon, and perſecuted to the very height of the ſaid act; whereas idle perſons following unlawful games and plays, and bear-wards, common players of interludes and minſtrels of divers kinds, do wander up and down city and country, and having their play-houſes publick, where their wickedneſs is acted; ſuch perſons and ſuch things, though appearing publickly, yet are permitted, and little or no notice taken of them by ſome of the magiſtrates, ſo as to puniſh them for breach of the laws, for the preventing of theſe evils: but ſuch wickedneſs is too much ſuffered, though there be divers acts of parliament againſt ſuch perſons and ſuch actions, as well as there is one againſt our meetings; yet the act againſt us is more put in execution in ſome places, for the breaking of our meetings, which are for the worſhip of God, than the good laws for ſuppreſſing wickedneſs, though there is better law for the one than for the other. Divers other laws and ſtatutes made for good ends, for the ſuppreſſing of wickedneſs in the land there are, which are but eaſily executed at this day: but here is one act againſt peaceable meeting together for the worſhip of God, which is violently proſecuted and executed upon innocent men; let all juſt men judge of theſe things. Though there be a law enacted againſt our meetings, ſo there is againſt drunkards and drunkenneſs, and unreaſonable tippling in taverns and ale-houſes; and againſt minſtrels, fidlers, pipers and players, common players, and ſtage players, that go up and down the countries, and have their play-houſes in publick cities; which ſtatutes ought rather to be executed, though they are not: but theſe things we ſhall leave to all ſober people to judge of.

'And ſeeing that the law againſt us is more put in execution than theſe other laws, it doth appear that there is more envy againſt us and our peaceable religious meetings than there is againſt profaneneſs, and wickedneſs, drunkenneſs, and ſtage-playing, and ſuch like: and ſuch magiſtrates whereſoever they are, are not excuſeable in the ſight of

God, though there is a law againſt us, while they proſecute it againſt us, and not theſe other good laws, againſt profane and ungodly perſons and practices; and therefore ſeeing we do ſuffer, we muſt ſay it is not only becauſe there is a law againſt us; but it is alſo, or rather, becauſe there is enmity, and wrath, and wickedneſs in the hearts of men againſt us, which is the main cauſe of our ſufferings at this day.'

Thus was E. Burrough always laborious, and like a faithful and diligent miniſter of Chriſt, he was ſo totally devoted to the ſervice of God and the church, both in preaching and writing in the defence of the goſpel, that he ſcarce reſerved any time for himſelf, and ſeldom took reſt, but continued to work inceſſantly till the time of his departure drew near; plainly manifeſting that it really was his meat and drink to do the will of his heavenly Father; and this he endeavoured unweariedly to the end of his days.

Now I turn again to New England, where, though the murdering part was acted to the full, yet their blood-thirſtineſs was not quenched, as may appear from the following relation I ſhall give of the cruel whippings inflicted on ſome. If I ſhould relate all of that kind that happened there, it would make up a pretty big volume by itſelf; and therefore I will mention ſome few inſtances only.

Among theſe I meet with Joſiah Southick, (whoſe father and mother, Lawrence and Caſſandra, had been of the firſt that were baniſhed from Boſton becauſe of their religion, as hath been ſaid before; and whoſe brother and ſiſter had been ordered to be ſold for bond ſlaves,) who having been in Old England, and had found himſelf obliged notwithſtanding the ſevere law, to return to Boſton, was ſentenced to be whipped at a cart's tail, firſt at Boſton, and then at Rockſbury and Dedham, when with out-ſtretched arms, he ſaid to thoſe who ſentenced him, 'Here is my body; if ye want a farther teſtimony of the Truth I profeſs, take it, and tear it to pieces; it is freely given up; and for your ſentence, I matter it not:' adding further, 'it is no more terrifying unto me, than if ye had taken a feather and blown it up in the air, and had ſaid, take heed it hurt thee not: for ſurely tongue cannot ex-

preſs nor declare the goodneſs and love of God to his ſuffering people. Then he was ſtripped and tied to the cart's tail in Boſton, where the hangman ſcourged him with what vehemency he could. It is remarkable that the whip uſed for thoſe cruel executions, was not of whip-cord, as thoſe in England, but of dried guts, and every ſtring with three knots at the end, which, being faſtened to a ſtick, the hangman many times laid on with both his hands, which muſt cauſe violent torture to the body. But all this cruelty was not able to make Joſiah faint; for as he was led through the ſtreets of Boſton at the cart's tail, he ſung aloud, and was heard to utter theſe words: 'They that know God to be their ſtrength, cannot fear what man can do.' The ſame day he was whipped alſo at Rockſbury, and the next morning, it being very cold, at Dedham, where he was diſcharged and turned into the wilderneſs; for ſo inhuman were theſe furious New-England profeſſors, that they ſeemed to think that whatever it was, there was nothing done amiſs to the Quakers. Nay, it hath happened that being ſhut up with thieves, and endeavouring to turn them from their wicked lives, they have been ill treated on that account, and the thieves ſet at liberty, leſt they ſhould turn Quakers.

At Dover, in New-England, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambroſe, were ſentenced to very cruel whipping, only for being come there: the warrant was as followeth:

To the conſtables of Dover, Hampton, Saliſbury, Newberry, Rowley, Ipſwich, Wennam, Linn, Boſton, Roxbury, Dedham, and until theſe vagabond Quakers are carried out of this juriſdiction.

'You, and every of you, are required in the king's majeſty's name, to take theſe vagabond Quakers, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambroſe, and make them faſt to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your ſeveral towns, to whip them upon their naked backs, not exceeding ten ſtripes a piece on each of them, in each town; and ſo to convey them from conſtable to conſtable,

till they are out of this juriſdiction, as you will anſwer it at your peril; and this ſhall be your warrant.

Per me,

'Richard Welden.'

At Dover, dated December 22, 1662.

Cruel indeed was this order; becauſe to whip theſe three tender women through eleven towns, with ten ſtripes a piece at each place, through a length of near eighty miles, in bitter cold weather, would have been enough to have beaten their bones bare, and their lives out of their bodies.

Now in a very cold day the deputy Walden at Dover cauſed theſe women to be ſtripped naked from the middle upward, and tied to a cart, and then whipped them, while the prieſt looked on, and laughed at it; which ſome of their friends ſeeing, and taking notice of Walden's cruelty, teſtified againſt him; for which Walden put two of them in the ſtocks.

The women being thus whipped at Dover, were carried to Hampton, and there delivered to the conſtable, William Fifield, who having underſtood by the conſtable of Dover what work he had in bringing them through a deep road, thought to have daunted them, and ſaid, 'I profeſs you muſt not think to make fools of men.' To which they anſwered, they ſhould be able to deal with him as well as the other. This conſtable the next morning would have whipped them before day, but they refuſed, ſaying that they were not aſhamed of their ſufferings. Then he would have whipped them on their clothes when he had them at the cart; but they ſaid, 'Set us free, or do according to thy order; which was to whip them on their naked backs. He then ſpoke to a woman to take off their clothes; but ſhe ſaid ſhe would not do it for all the world. 'Why,' ſaid he, 'I profeſs I will do it myſelf.' So he ſtripped them, and then ſtood trembling with the whip in his hand, and ſo he did the execution, though at firſt he profeſſed himſelf ſo ſtout. Then he carried them to Saliſbury, through dirt and ſnow, half the leg deep, and here they were whipped again. Among

the reſt of the ſpectators Edward Wharton accidently paſſing along that way, came to be one; and beholding this whipping, one Thomas Broadberry, clerk of the courts of Saliſbury and Hampton, ſaid to him, 'Edward Wharton, what do you here?' 'I am here,' anſwered he, 'to ſee your wickedneſs and cruelty, that ſo if ye kill theſe women, I may be able to declare how ye murdered them;' for indeed their bodies were ſo torn, that if Providence had not watched over them, they might have been in danger of their lives. But it fell out ſo that they were diſcharged: for the conſtable at Saliſbury, who muſt have carried them to Newberry, was deſired by one Walter Barefoot, to make him his deputy, who thus receiving the warrant, ſet them at liberty; though John Wheelwright, the prieſt, adviſed the conſtable to drive on, as his ſafeſt way.

Theſe three women being thus unexpectedly releaſed, went to New Quechawanah, where they had a meeting, and Shubal Drummer, the prieſt of the place, came alſo thither, and ſate quiet. And the meeting being ended, he ſtood up and ſaid, 'Good women, ye have ſpoken well, and prayed well; pray what is your rule?' They anſwering, 'The Spirit of God is our rule, and it ought to be thine, and all mens to walk by;' he replied, 'It is not my rule, nor I hope ever ſhall be.' A clear evidence how prejudice may bias even diſcreet people; for being prepoſſeſſed thereby, men will ſpeak ſometimes raſhly, without conſidering what.

Not long after theſe women returned to Dover to viſit their friends; and being in a meeting the next Firſt-day of the week, the conſtables, Thomas Roberts, and his brother John, ruſhed in, and laid hands on Alice Ambroſe, as ſhe was in prayer, and taking her, one by the one arm, and the other by the other, they dragged her out of doors, almoſt a mile, with her face towards the ſnow, which was near knee deep, over ſtumps and old trees, having put on their old clothes on purpoſe not to dirty their better ſuits. Then they locked her up in a certain houſe, and ſo went back to fetch Mary Tomkins, whom they dragged in the ſame manner, which their father, old Thomas Roberts ſeeing, lamented, and cried 'Woe that

ever I was father to ſuch wicked children.' But they ſeemed not to matter what their father ſaid, who had been a member of the church at Dover above twenty years; but becauſe he no longer frequented their worſhip for their degeneracy, they took away his cow, which with its milk helped to ſupport him and his wife. Mary Tomkins being brought into the houſe where Alice was, Anne Coleman was alſo fetched. Next morning they got a canoe, and threatened the women they would now do ſo with them, that they ſhould be troubled with them no more; by which ſaying they ſeemed to ſignify that they would give them up to the mercy of the ſea; which made the women unwilling to go to the water-ſide. Then one Edward Waymouth took Mary by the arms, and dragged her on her back over the ſtumps of trees, down a very ſteep hill; by which ſhe was much bruiſed, and often died away. They alſo laid hold on Alice, whom they plucked violently into the water, and kept her ſwimming by the canoe, ſo that ſhe was in danger of being drowned or frozen to death. Anne Coleman was alſo rudely dealt with, and all this in the preſence of one Hateevil Nutwel, a ruling elder, who ſtirred up the conſtables to this wicked action, and ſo ſhewed that he bore a wrong name. But the wicked intention of theſe men was ſtopped by a power from on high, for on a ſudden a great tempeſt aroſe, ſo that they brought the women back again to the houſe, and about midnight they turned them all out of doors in the ſnow, the weather being ſo froſty that Alice's clothes were frozen like boards. How barbarouſly ſoever theſe women were treated, yet the Lord was pleaſed to preſerve and ſupport them.

Afterwards it happened that Anne Coleman and four of her friends were whipped through Salem, Boſton, and Dedham, by order of William Hawthorn, who before he was a magiſtrate, had oppoſed compulſion for conſcience; and when under the government of Cromwell it was propoſed to make a law, that none ſhould preach without licenſe, he publickly ſaid at Salem, that if ever ſuch a law took place in New-England, he ſhould look upon it as one of the moſt abominable actions that were ever com-

mitted there, and that it would be as eminent a token of God's having forſaken New-England, as any could be: and yet afterward this man became a fierce perſecutor of thoſe who aſſerted liberty of preaching; though formerly it may be, if any one had foretold him how he would be given to perſecution, he would have ſaid as Hazael to the prophet Eliſha, 'What, is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?' But to return to Anne Coleman, when ſhe was to be whipped at Dedham, and faſtened to a cart, deputy Bellingham having ſeen Hawthorn's warrant, ſaid, 'The warrant is firm;' and then bade the executioner go on; who, thus encouraged, laid on ſo ſeverely, that with the knot of the whip he ſplit the nipple of her breaſt, which ſo tortured her, that it had almoſt coſt her her life; and ſhe, who was a little weakly woman, thinking this would have been her lot, ſaid once that if ſhe ſhould happen to die thus, ſhe was willing that her body ſhould be laid before Bellingham's door, with a charge from her mouth that he was guilty of her blood.

The uſage Elizabeth Hooton met with, I cannot paſs by in ſilence, becauſe of her age, being about ſixty, who hearing of the wickedneſs committed by thoſe of New-England, was moved to make a voyage to America.

In order thereto ſhe went from England in the year 1661, having one Joan Brokſup with her, a woman near as aged as herſelf, who freely reſolved to be her companion: and becauſe they could not find a maſter of a ſhip that was willing to carry them to New-England, becauſe of the fine for every Quaker that was brought thither, they ſet ſail towards Virginia, where they met with a ketch which carried them part of the way, and then they went the reſt by land, and ſo at length came to Boſton. But there they could not ſoon find a place of reception, becauſe of the penalty on thoſe that received a Quaker into their houſes. Yet at length a woman received them. Next day they went to the priſon to viſit their friends; but the gaoler altogether unwilling to let them in, carried them to the governor Endicot, who with much ſcurrilous language called them witches, and aſked Elizabeth what ſhe came for: to which ſhe anſwered, 'To do the will of him that ſent me.' And

he demanding what was that: ſhe replied, 'To warn thee of ſhedding any more innocent blood.' To which he returned that he would hang more yet; but ſhe told him he was in the hand of the Lord, who could take him away firſt.* This ſo diſpleaſed him, that he ſent them to priſon, where many more of their friends were. After conſultation what to do with them, they were carried two days journey into the wilderneſs, among wolves and bears; but by Providence they got to Rhode-Iſland, where they took ſhip for Barbadoes, and from thence to New-England again, and ſo they returned to Boſton. But then they were put into a ſhip which carried them to Virginia, from whence Elizabeth departed to Old England, where ſhe ſtaid ſome time in her own habitation.

But it came upon her to viſit New-England again; and ſo ſhe did, taking her daughter Elizabeth along with her. And being arrived, thoſe of the magiſtrates that were preſent, would have fined the maſter of the ſhip an hundred pounds, for bringing her over contrary to their law. But he telling them that Elizabeth had been with the king, and that ſhe had liberty from him to come thither to buy her a houſe, this ſo puzzled theſe ſnarling perſecutors, that they found themſelves at a loſs, and thus were ſtopped from ſeizing the maſter's goods.

Elizabeth being come to Boſton, notwithſtanding the rulers, went to them, and ſignified that ſhe came thither to buy a houſe for herſelf to live in. She was four times at the court for that purpoſe, but it was denied her: and though ſhe ſaid that this denial would give her occaſion if ſhe went to England again, to lay it before the king, it was in vain, and had no influence upon them.

Departing then, and paſſing through ſeveral places, ſhe came to Cambridge, and was thurſt into a ſtinking dungeon, where there was nothing to lie down or ſit on. Here they kept her two days and two nights, without affording her any thing to eat or drink; and becauſe a certain man in compaſſion brought her a little milk,

* Which was fulfilled, for after that he never took away the lives of any more of thoſe called Quakers.

he was alſo caſt into priſon and fined five pounds. Being brought to the court, they ordered her to be ſent out of their coaſts, and to be whipped at three towns with ten ſtripes at each. So at Cambridge ſhe was tied to the whipping-poſt, and laſhed with ten ſtripes, with a three-ſtringed whip, with three knots at an end. At Water Town ſhe had ten ſtripes more with willow rods; and to make up all, at Dedham, in a cold froſty morning, ſhe received ten cruel laſhes at a cart's tail. And being thus beaten and torn, ſhe was put on horſe-back and carried many miles into the wilderneſs, and towards night they left her there, where were many wolves, bears, and other wild beaſts, and many deep waters to paſs through; but being preſerved by an inviſible hand, ſhe came in the morning into a town called Rehoboth, being neither weary nor faint: and from thence ſhe went to Rhode-Iſland, where coming to her friends, ſhe gave thanks to God for having counted her worthy, and enabled her to ſuffer for his name's ſake, beyond what her age and ſex, morally ſpeaking, could otherwiſe have borne.

After ſome ſtay there, ſhe returned to Cambridge, about eighty miles, to fetch her linen and clothes, which the inhuman perſecutors would not ſuffer her to take with her after they had whipped her. Having fetched theſe things, and going back with her daughter and Sarah Coleman, an ancient woman, ſhe was taken up by the conſtable of Charleſton, and carried priſoner to Cambridge; where being aſked by one of the magiſtrates, whoſe name was Daniel Goggin, wherefore ſhe came thither, ſeeing they had warned her not to come there any more: ſhe anſwered that ſhe came not there of her own accord, but was forced thither, after ſhe had been to fetch her clothes, which they would not let her take with her when ſhe was whipped and ſent away; but that now returning back, ſhe was taken up by force out of the highway, and carried thither. Then the other old woman was aſked whether ſhe owned Elizabeth and her religion: to which ſhe anſwered, ſhe owned the Truth. And of Elizabeth's daughter he demanded, 'Doeſt thou own thy mother's religion?' To which ſhe was ſilent: and yet they were ſent to the houſe

of correction, with order to be whipped. Next morning the executioner came betimes before it was light, and aſked them whether they would be whipped there: which made Elizabeth aſk whether he was come to take away their blood in the dark: and whether they were aſhamed that their deeds ſhould be ſeen: but not heeding what ſhe ſaid, he took her down ſtairs, and whipped her with a three ſtringed whip. Then he brought down the ancient woman, and did the like to her. And taking Elizabeth's daughter he gave the like to her alſo, who never was there before, nor had ſaid or done any thing. After this Elizabeth the mother was whipped again at a cart's tail at Boſton and other places, where ſhe came to ſee her friends: ſince which I have ſeveral times ſeen her in England in a good condition.

I could relate many more ſeverities of the New-England perſecutors; but I long to come to an end, and therefore ſhall make a large ſtep, and outrun ſome ſpace of time.

In the year 1664, it happened that Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambroſe came again to Boſton, having been in Virginia, where for their religion they had not only been pillored, but whipped alſo each of them with thirty-two ſtripes, with a whip of nine cords, and every cord with three knots; and they were handled ſo ſeverely, that the very firſt laſh drew blood, and made it run down from their breaſts. Being afterwards arrived at Boſton, Mary grew ſo ſick, that ſhe was thought to be near death; which made Edward Wharton with Wenlock Chriſtiſon come from Salem to viſit her. But after they had been there a little time, two conſtables came in, and notwithſtanding Mary's weak condition, forced them all to the governor's houſe. Now though Mary ſeemed to be a little on the mending hand, yet ſhe was ſo ill, that ſhe fell down as it were dead in the way. But one of the conſtables ſtaid with her till ſhe came to herſelf again, and then brought her before the governor, where was alſo deputy Bellingham and Thomas Daufort, one of the magiſtrates; who ordered all four of them to be whipped; but becauſe Mary was ſo weak, and leſt probably ſhe might die under their hands, they gave order that ſhe and Alice

ſhould not be whipped at Boſton, but at the towns beyond. And this was to have been executed, but that colonel Temple coming in, interceded and prevailed for three of them. And now Edward became the mark of their fury, on whom they vented their paſſion, though they had nothing to charge him with, but that he was come from Salem to Boſton to viſit his ſick friend; and for this pretended crime the following warrant was framed:

To the conſtables of Boſton, Charleſton, Malden, and Lynn.

'You are required to take into your cuſtody reſpectively Edward Wharton, convicted of being a vagabond, from his own dwelling-place; and the conſtable of Boſton is to whip him ſeverely with thirty ſtripes on his naked body. And from conſtable to conſtable you are required to convey him until he come to Salem, the place where he ſaith he dwelleth: and in ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant.

'John Endicot.'

Dated at Boſton, the 20th of June, 1664.

Purſuant to this warrant, Edward (who therein was called a vagabond, for no other reaſon but that he was gone from his dwelling-place) was led away to the market place, and there being ſtripped, his arms were bound to the wheel of a great gun. Then the conſtable John Loel, bade the hangman to do his work ſeverely; which he did ſo cruelly that it was teſtified peaſe might lie in the holes that the knots of the whip had made in the fleſh of his arms and back. And his body was ſwelled and very black from the waiſt upwards. Such was the doing of thoſe, who to enjoy the free exerciſe of their worſhip, had left Old England; and thus they treated a man that was of good repute, and had lived in that country above twenty years; and was once by the governor himſelf acknowledged to be his friend, when he ſupplied him with neceſſaries in his want, ſaying then, that if ever it lay in his power he would requite him; which now he did, but in

what an inhuman and barbarous manner! That this governor Endicot once had been a man of but a mean condition, appears from a letter written to him ſhortly after the death of Mary Dyar, by one John Smith, becauſe he had not only cauſed his wife to be whipped ſeverely, but had alſo kept her priſoner a whole winter, ſeparate from her children, and had been aſſiſting in the making of an order that no man or woman ſhould bring any thing to the impriſoned Quakers, or carry any thing from them, upon the penalty of five pounds for the firſt time, and ten pounds for the ſecond. In this letter John Smith ſaid:

'O my ſpirit is grieved for thee, becauſe that the love I did once ſee in thee is departed from thee, and there remaineth in thee a ſpirit of cruelty, of hard-heartedneſs to thy poor neighbours, which thou haſt formerly been much beholden to, and helped by, in time of want, when thou hadſt no bread to eat. O conſider of theſe times, and forget them not, and of the love thou didſt find among poor people in thy neceſſity, and how evil thou haſt dealt with, and requited ſome of them now; and how thou doſt walk and act contrary to what thou didſt formerly profeſs: yea, I have heard thee ſay that all the armies on earth cannot ſubdue one luſt in man or woman. And now thou pronounceſt ſentence of death upon ſome, becauſe they cannot ſubmit to your wills, nor worſhip as ye do.'

But I return to Edward Wharton, who after his whipping was not led the direct way to Salem, but by Charleſton, and ſo about the country, as if they had a mind to make a ſhow of him: yet at Charleſton the conſtable was ſo compaſſionate, that he entertained him in his houſe, and anointed his ſtripes; and the next day he was conveyed to his home. Since that time the ſaid Wharton was whipped again ſeverely; but I paſs by particulars to avoid prolixity. Yet I cannot forbear to ſay, that before he was whipped at Boſton, as hath been ſaid, it was told him that if he would promiſe the governor to come no more to the Quakers' meeting in Boſton, then it was likely the governor would let him have his liberty: to which Edward

returned, 'Not for all the world. And friends, I have a back to lend to the ſmiter, and I have felt your cruel whippings before now, and the Lord hath made me able to bear them; and as I abide in his fear, I need not fear what you ſhall be ſuffered to do unto me.'

The caſe of one Anne Needham being alſo very remarkable, I will give a ſhort hint of it. She was fined at Boſton for being one of thoſe called Quakers; but her huſband refuſing to pay the fine, aſking them, ſeeing the law for adultery was death, whether if his wife had committed adultery, he muſt by that law have ſuffered death. She then was ſentenced to be whipped, which the conſtable Thomas Roots performed with great cruelty; for ſeeing ſhe kept ſilent whilſt he laſhed her, he did whatever he could, with his tormenting whip, to make her cry out; but all his endeavours proved in vain; which made him ſay that the Quakers were a hard-hearted people: though this epithet much better fitted himſelf, and all thoſe cruel perſecutors that were really become hard-hearted to the higheſt degree, inſomuch that they had not only ſhaken off humanity, but all true ſenſe of piety, which I ſhall prove by inſtances whereof ſome are even blaſphemous.

One Barlow, who formerly had been a preacher at Exeter, afterwards turned lawyer, and at length being become a marſhal, would boaſt that when he went to diſtrain for fines, he would think what goods were moſt ſervicable to the Quakers, and then he would take them away. By ſuch doings he encouraged others to vice; for a certain Indian taking a knife from an Engliſhman's houſe, and being told he ſhould not ſteal, anſwered that he himſelf had thought ſo, but now he ſaw that Barlow and the magiſtrates did ſo by the Quakers. This Barlow in the days of Cromwell being grown rich with the ſpoils of the innocent, grew poor after king Charles was reſtored; which made Barlow ſay that he hoped for a good time again: and took the ſhameful liberty to add, he thought the Quakers would not let him want.

At Hampton, prieſt Seaborn Cotton, underſtanding that one Eliakim Wardel had entertained Wenlock Chriſtiſon, went with ſome of his herd to Eliakim's houſe, having like

a ſturdy herd's-man put himſelf at the head of his followers, with a truncheon in his hand. Wenlock ſeeing him in this poſture, aſked him what he did with that club: to which he anſwered, he came to keep the wolves from his ſheep. Wenlock then aſking whether thoſe he led were his ſheep, got no anſwer, but inſtead thereof was led away by this crew to Saliſbury. This ſame Cotton having heard that major Shapleigh was become a Quaker, ſaid he was ſorry for it, but he would endeavour to convert him. And afterwards drinking in a houſe in an iſle in the river Piſcatoway, and hearing the major was there in a ware-houſe, he went thither; but going up ſtairs, and being in drink, he tumbled down, and got ſuch a heavy fall, that the major himſelf came to help this drunken converter.

When Edward Wharton was told once by governor Endicot, that every ſoul ought to be ſubject to the higher power; he thereupon aſked whether that which ſet up the golden image, and required all to fall down and worſhip it, was the higher power: he anſwered, 'Yea.' Then Edward queried whether the power that required Daniel to be caſt into the lion's den, for praying to any beſides the king for thirty days, was the higher power; the governor ſaid, 'Yea.' The next queſtion Edward aſked was, whether the three children that were caſt into the fiery furnace for not falling down to, and worſhipping the golden image, did well: and whether Daniel for praying to his God contrary to what the ſaid higher power did command, did well: the governor replied, 'Yea,' alſo. But ſecretary Rawſon ſeeing how the governor had talked himſelf into a nooſe, to help him out ſaid, they did obey the higher power by ſuffering: to which Edward returned, 'So do we too.'

Another of theſe magiſtrates whoſe name was Brian Pembleton, was aſked by George Walton and his wife Alice, who was reputed one of the moſt godly women thereabout, what the anointing was which the apoſtle John exhorted the ſaints unto in that day: but what a wicked man this Pembleton was, may appear by the abominable anſwer he gave, viz. that John was either a fool or a madman, or elſe he did not know what he ſaid. And

blaſphemous in a very high degree was what he ſaid to the queſtion, 'What was that light which ſhone about Paul?' For his anſwer was, It was the light of the devil for aught he did know.

Joſhua Scotaway, alſo one of the magiſtrates, aſked Mary Tomkins in the court at Boſton, where ſhe dwelt: to which ſhe anſwered in the words of the apoſtle, 'In God; for in him we live and move, and have a being.' To which Scotaway did not ſtick to ſay, 'So doth every dog and cat.' No wonder truly, that men thus darkened in their minds, grew alſo quite hardened in perſecuting, ſo as to glory in it; as did Thomas Daufort a magiſtrate of Cambridge, who in the governor's houſe at Boſton, laying his hand on Wenlock Chriſtiſon's ſhoulder, ſaid to him, 'Wenlock, I am a mortal man, and die I muſt, and that ere long; and I muſt appear at the tribunal ſeat of Chriſt, and muſt give an account for my deeds done in the body; and I believe it will be my greateſt glory in that day, that I have given my vote for thee to be ſoundly whipped at this time.' This made Wenlock ſay, 'O wicked man, if thou haſt nothing to glory in in that day, but in drawing the blood of the innocent, and in laying ſtripes upon the ſervants of the living God, thy glory will be turned into ſhame, and woe will be thy portion.'

But no exhortation, how extraordinary ſoever, ſeemed to take any hold on theſe perſecutors: for once a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, called Hannah Wright, whoſe ſiſter had been baniſhed for religion, was ſtirred with ſuch zeal, that coming from Long-Iſland, ſome hundreds of miles from Boſton, into that bloody town, ſhe appeared in the court there, and warned the magiſtrates to ſpill no more innocent blood. This ſaying ſo ſtruck them at firſt, that they all ſate ſilent; till Rawſon the ſeceretary ſaid, 'What, ſhall we be baffled by ſuch a one as this; come, let us drink a dram.'

Here we ſee the religion of theſe men, who were once ſo preciſe that they would not join with the worſhip of the church of England. But it ſeems not improbable that they fell away to this hardneſs of heart, becauſe being convinced in their underſtandings of ſome ſuperſtitious ceremonies that were

yet remaining in the church of England, they were not faithful to teſtify againſt thoſe things, and to ſet their light on the candleſtick; but that to ſhun the croſs and avoid ſufferings, they choſe to go into a ſtrange country. And yet they were ſo preſumptuous as to ſay they were the pureſt church on earth, and their magiſtrates and preachers very godly men, and it may be ſome of their cruel executioners ſeeing how their magiſtrates (as hath been ſaid of Thomas Daufort) did glory in cruelty, have been fooliſh enough to perſuade themſelves that their exceſſive whipping was ſome kind of meritorious work. But whatever theſe Engliſh people thought, they were worſe than others, for in ſome places of America lived alſo Swedes, who in regard of their worſhip were no leſs deſpiſed by the Engliſh, than of the old Samaritans by the Jews; and yet theſe Swedes entertained the Quakers when they came amongſt them, far better than the Engliſh did: and thus they made it appear that they ſurpaſſed them in life, if not in profeſſion. But the preciſe New-England men ſeemed to place great virtue in a ſturdy ſeverity, of which the following is an inſtance.

A Dutchman, an Oſtender, whoſe name was John Lawrence, was committed for adultery, and brought before the court at Boſton, where the governor John Endicot, aſked him whether he was guilty or not guilty: to which the priſoner, who as it ſeems ſpoke but bad Engliſh, ſaid, 'No guilt.' On which Endicot ſaid in a ſcoffing manner, 'No gelt; there's no money:' for gheld ſignifies money in Dutch. Thus the Dutchman's words and meaning were ſcoffingly perverted; and though there was no clear evidence againſt him, yet he was condemned to be hanged; but he denying the fact, the execution was deferred; and in the mean-while the prieſts, John Wilſon and James Mayo, came to him in priſon to ſee what they could get out of him; and Mayo told him his time was near at an end, and that he muſt ſhortly die; and therefore he would have him now to confeſs. To which the priſoner returned, 'What will you have me to confeſs that which I never did?' But Mayo did not deſiſt, but ſaid, 'Confeſs my ſon, and give glory to God.' Yet the priſoner

continued in denying the charge, and affirmed he was clear. But, ſaid the prieſt, 'You cannot be clear; for our Lord and Saviour ſaith, "Whoſoever looketh upon a fair woman, and luſteth after her, he hath committed adultery with her already in his heart." Truly a very perverſe uſe of the Scripture for compaſſing a falſe end. But the Dutchman ſeeing how they came to betray him, was cautious, and at length, after a long and tedious impriſonment, found means to break priſon, and thus eſcaped from thoſe who grew accuſtomed to be mercileſs; ſo that ſometimes others as well as Quakers, felt the weight of their ſeverity.

As it happened about the time that William Leddra was put to death, when one Elizabeth Nicholſon and her two ſons, Chriſtopher and Joſeph, were charged with the death of her huſband and their father Edmond Nicholſon, who was found dead in the ſea; and information being given that theſe people did ſhew love to thoſe they called curſed Quakers, they were all three fetched from their habitation at Salem and carried to Boſton, and were tried for their lives merely on ſuſpicion; but nothing of murder was proved againſt them; yet the mother was fined a great ſum, and her two ſons were ſentenced to ſtand under the gallows certain hours with ropes about their necks, and to be whipped in the market-place, which was performed accordingly. And becauſe theſe young men were not daunted, prieſt Wilſon ſtanding by, ſaid, 'Ah, curſed generation.' And at Salem they were whipped alſo, which was done ſo mercileſsly that one of the young men ſunk down, or died away under the torture, though he was raiſed up and came to life again.

By this we may ſee how theſe New-England perſecutors were become inured to exceſſive ſeverity. But before I leave them, I muſt alſo mention the dreadful exit of ſome of them.

The laſt act of governor Endicot's bloody part that occurs, was the cruel whipping of Edward Wharton at Boſton, related before; for the time was now come that he muſt go off the ſtage, to give an account of his extravagant ſeverity before another tribunal than that of his

ſanguinary court. The meaſure of his iniquity was now filled up, and he was viſited with a loathſome diſeaſe, inſomuch that he ſtunk alive, and ſo died with rottenneſs, his name being like to give a bad ſavour through ages to come.

Yet more remarkable was the death of major general Adderton, who when Mary Dyar was hanged, ſaid ſcoffingly, and in an inſulting way, that ſhe hung as a flag, for others to take example by; and who alſo, when Wenlock Chriſtiſon being condemned to death, warned the perſecutors becauſe of the righteous judgments of God, preſumptuouſly ſaid, 'You pronounce woes and judgments, and thoſe that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us as yet.' But how he himſelf was ſtruck by theſe judgments, and ſerved for an example to others, we are to ſee now.

He, upon a certain day, having exerciſed his ſoldiers, and riding proudly on his horſe towards his houſe, when he came about the place where uſually they looſed the Quakers ſo called, from the cart, after they had whipped them, a cow came and croſſed the way, at which his horſe taking a fright, threw him down ſo violently, that he died, his eyes being ſtarted out of his head, his brains out of his noſe, his tongue out of his mouth, and his blood out of his ears. Thus God's judgments came upon him ſuddenly and unawares.

And John Norton, the chief prieſt of Boſton, died likewiſe on a ſudden. It was he who promoted the putting to death of thoſe martyrs that died at Boſton, as hath been related; and when he ſaw the magiſtrates pauſed upon the execution of W. Robinſon and M. Stevenſon, he encouraged them thereto, eſpecially becauſe John Winthorp, governor of Connecticut, earneſtly diſſuaded the ſhedding of innocent blood. He it was alſo, who when William Brend was beaten ſo barbarouſly with a rope, as hath been related in its due place, did not ſtick to ſay, ſince William Brend endeavoured to beat their goſpel ordinances black and blue, it was but juſt upon him if he was beaten black and blue alſo. But this

Norton was now ſtruck with a blow that made him ſink: for having been at his worſhip-houſe in the forenoon, and intending to go in the afternoon, as he was walking in his houſe he fetched a great groan, and leaning his head againſt the mantle tree of the chimney, he was heard to ſay, 'The hand, or the judgments of the Lord are upon me.' Theſe were his laſt words, and he ſunk down, and had fallen into the fire if he had not been caught by ſomebody that was preſent. More examples of this nature I could produce, but theſe may ſuffice.

What I have related of theſe cruelties and much more, was publiſhed in print about that time, that ſo the king and parliament of England might know what happened there; for thoſe actions were come in publick view, and known there all about the country. All that they did was to ſet a falſe colour upon their ſeverity, and to diſguiſe matters: and it was their happineſs that they had not to do with revengeful people, elſe they might have been involved in great ſtraits: but the friends of the perſecuted committed vengeance to God, though ſome of the great ones in England adviſed them to ſue the perſecutors, which according to law they might have done.

Richard Bellingham, a fierce perſecutor, and governor after John Endicot, went diſtracted ten years after, and ſo died. Not long before, William Coddington, governor of Rhode-Iſland, writ a letter to him, wherein he put him in mind of the former times; for he (the ſame Coddington) had been one of the firſt erectors of colonies in New-England, and the firſt that built an houſe at Boſton, and afterwards was a magiſtrate ſeven years, but when perſecution aroſe he declared againſt it; and the caſe was debated three days in the court, but the moderate party was the weakeſt, and was oppoſed by all the prieſts, except one John Cotton, who ſaid he remembered how at their departure from England he had preached on Acts iv. 11, and had ſhewed from that text that there was an inward grace which was to be minded, and that therefore he would not give his vote for perſecuting the aſſerters of that doctrine; ſhewing thereby much more ſenſe of religion than the other perſecuting prieſts. Now

though Coddington was one of the greateſt merchants or traders in that country, and in all probability might have acquired great riches there, yet ſeeing his good counſel was not hearkened to, he reſolved to depart that place, and to go and live ſomewhere elſe. But whatever he ſaid in his letter to Bellingham, this man remained hardened like Pharaoh, having ſhewed himſelf cruel, even when Mary Fiſher and Anne Auſtin firſt came to Boſton, where he treated them in a barbarous manner.

Yet one thing remarkable I may mention here, which when I firſt heard, I could not fully give credit to; but thinking it worth the while to make a narrow inquiry into it, I did ſo, not only by writing, but alſo from the mouths of perſons that had been eye-witneſſes, or had been informed by ſuch; and from theſe I got this concurring obſervation; viz. that the country about Boſton was formerly a very fruitful ſoil that produced excellent wheat; but that ſince the time this town had been ſtained with the blood of the Quakers, ſo called, no wheat, &c. would grow to perfection within twenty miles, though the ground had been ploughed and ſown ſeveral times; for ſometimes what was ſown was ſpoiled by vermin or inſects; at other times it grew up, but ſcarce yielded more than was ſown, and ſo could not countervail the charge; and in another year the expected harveſt was quaſhed by another accident; and theſe diſappointments continuing many years, the people at length grew weary of making farther trial, and ſo left the ground untilled; notwithſtanding that twenty miles off from Boſton the ſoil is fruitful, and yields very good corn. But there having been ſo many reiterated inſtances of unfruitfulneſs nearer the town, ancient people that are alive ſtill, and remember the firſt times, generally agree in their opinion that this is a judgment from heaven, and a curſe on the land, becauſe of the ſhedding of innocent blood at Boſton. This relation I had from ſo many credible perſons (though the one knew nothing of the other, as differing much in time) yet what they told me did ſo well agree in the main, that I could not but believe it, though I do not uſe to be credulous; and therefore I have been the more exact in my inquiry,

ſo that I can no longer queſtion the caſe; but it ſeems to me as a puniſhment on that blood-thirſtineſs which now hath ceaſed long ago.

In the iſland of Barbadoes thoſe called Quakers ſuffered alſo much by the people, inſtigated not a little by the prieſts, Samuel Graves, Matthew Gray, Thomas Manwaring, and Francis Smith; for theſe being often drunk, gave occaſion thereby to be reproved: and one Thomas Clark coming once into the place of publick worſhip, and exhorting the auditors to deſiſt from lewdneſs and to fear God, was ſo grievouſly beaten with ſticks, that he fell down in a ſwoon; and Graves who had preached then, went to the houſe of the ſaid Clark, pulled his wife out of doors, and tore her clothes from her back. And Manwaring, who had threatened Clark that he would procure a law to be made, by which his ears ſhould be cut off, once wrote in a letter to him, 'I am ſorry that your zeal ſurpaſſeth your moderation, and that a club muſt beat out of you what the devil hath inſpired.' And this was becauſe Clark had told him that his converſation was not becoming a miniſter of the goſpel. Other rough treatment Clark met with I paſs by, though once he was ſet in the ſtocks and impriſoned. But now I leave America, and return to England.

End of Vol. I.